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THE OLD AND THE NEW AT NEWCASTLE. In the background the Keep of the Castle. In the foreground one of the largest railway crossings in the world and trains driven by steam and electricity

A NEW HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY

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1890

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FROM THE ROMAN CONQUEST TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE GREAT WAR

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PREFACE

THE story of England has been written many times; and as one new history follows another, doubt is sometimes expressed concerning the need for yet one more. Nevertheless, if new text-books were never written, both teaching and learning would soon become stereotyped. It is true that the facts remain the same, but the current views about them vary almost from year to year. The old text-books contained a strictly political view of history: they chronicled the births and deaths of kings, the battles and the sieges, the beheadings of favourites and traitors, and the statutes passed by Parliament. The nineteenth century produced histories on a grand scale, such as those written by Macaulay, Froude, Freeman, Gardiner, and Lecky; these, which dealt only with special periods of English History, had comparatively little effect upon the text-books. The best account of English History, as a whole, was that written by John Lingard, a Catholic priest, whose last volume appeared in 1830. Lingard's work comprised eight volumes, and was written in a philosophical manner and with strict attention to contemporary sources. There was, however, no single-volume History of England which conformed to this standard of scholarship, and which gave to social and economic movements the same atten-

tion as to campaigns and constitutional changes, till John Richard Green wrote his *Short History of the English People* in 1874. This book, which at once sprang into extraordinary popularity, has become a classic; it is a work of genius, and still stands unrivalled for its literary beauty, its imaginativeness, its sympathetic rendering of the past.

Green, like every one else who tries to compress the story of England into one volume, had to take a selective view; for instance, he emphasized, in some centuries, literary history, in others, social. There are many gaps in his narrative, due to the imperative need of compression; and to these gaps we owe his singularly full treatment of other parts of our history. The *Short History* was not a complete statement: it was not meant to be such; but it is the account of what struck a man who possessed both knowledge and genius, as being the most important aspects of English History.

It is because any 'short history' of the English people must be selective in its method, that there will always be room for another. Moreover, fresh light is continually being thrown by research on almost every subject in the past. It is the duty of teachers to-day to keep abreast of these developments; and the text-books must be correspondingly up to date. Further, with the changing conditions of modern life, the emphasis of teaching must be modified. The facts remain always the same, but the educational value which they offer varies from period to period. In the reign of Queen Victoria it was necessary for a well-educated man to know much about the development of the Constitution, and something concerning foreign affairs, and the

Empire and the social development of the English people; but now the orientation of people's minds is not quite the same as it was. Constitutional affairs still bulk largely, as do also military affairs; but in addition a deeper knowledge of economics and social history, a closer touch with imperial development, and a more detailed acquaintance with foreign policy, are now necessary for every boy or young man who wishes to understand the trend of English life to-day, and to take his part in it.

I have tried to bear all this in mind in writing a short History of England; to give a continuous account of the life of the English nation, dealing fully with all those aspects of it that are still with us, so that for those who read it the past may throw light on the present and the present on the past. I have endeavoured, as much as space permitted, to let the past speak for itself, through the written words of those who were themselves spectators and actors. I have not tried, in any sense, to 'write down' to the minds of young people. The 'simple' language of many text-books is quite artificial; in the schools, just as much as at the University, teachers do not talk to their pupils in exaggeratedly simple language, but in the words of educated men, putting aside technicalities and pedantry; and so in this book I have written, so far as I can, the ordinary literary English, which every careful teacher uses and which boys and undergraduates understand. The youth of England are ardent, unselfish, quick to notice the nobler side of life; and I have tried to write of the past in a way that is worthy of them.

R. B. MOWAT.

Corpus Christi College,
March 1920.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

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The author desires to express his obligation to Mrs. Bond for permission to draw on the illustrations in *An Introduction to English Church Architecture* by Mr. Francis Bond, and to Mr. A. H. Thompson for permission to use illustrations from his *Military Architecture in England in the Middle Ages.*

In the illustrations of the period 1815–1914 the features of social and industrial development have been emphasized. Obligations for help received are too many to be recounted, but a special debt is owed to the President of St. John's College, Oxford, for his interest in selecting and lending the many postage-stamps which will be found in the volume.

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960 Dunstan made Archbishop
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1170 Murder of Becket
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1215 Magna Carta
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1265 Simon de Montfort's Parliament
1265 Battle of Evesham
1295 Model Parliament
1314 Battle of Bannockburn
1340 „ „ Sluys
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1347 Siege of Calais
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1356 Battle of Poitiers
1360 Treaty of Bretigny
1381 Peasants Revolt
1403 Battle of Shrewsbury
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1455 Battle of St. Albans
1460 „ „ Wakefield
1461 „ „ Towton
1471 „ „ Barnet
1471 „ „ Tewkesbury
1485 „ „ Bosworth
1492 Discovery of America
1517 Martin Luther begins Reformation
1532 Henry VIII divorces Katharine
1534 Separation of England from Rome
1559 Act of Supremacy (Elizabeth)
1568 Mary Stuart escapes to England
1587 Execution of Mary Stuart
1588 Spanish Armada
1628 Petition of Right

1640–60 Long Parliament
1642 Battle of Edgehill
1643 „ „ Newbury
1644 „ „ Marston Moor
1645 „ „ Naseby
1649 Charles beheaded
1650 Battle of Dunbar
1651 „ „ Worcester
1660 Restoration
1666 Fire of London
1678 Popish Plot
1685 Monmouth's Rebellion
1689 Bill of Rights
1701 Act of Settlement
1704 Battle of Blenheim
1707 Act of Union with Scotland
1713 Peace of Utrecht
1715 First Jacobite Rebellion
1745 Second „ „
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1759 Capture of Quebec
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1800 Act of Union with Ireland
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1815 „ „ Waterloo
1832 Great Reform Bill
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1885 Death of Gordon
1887 Jubilee of Queen Victoria
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1900 Relief of Ladysmith
1902 Peace with Boers
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1455–1485 Wars of the Roses
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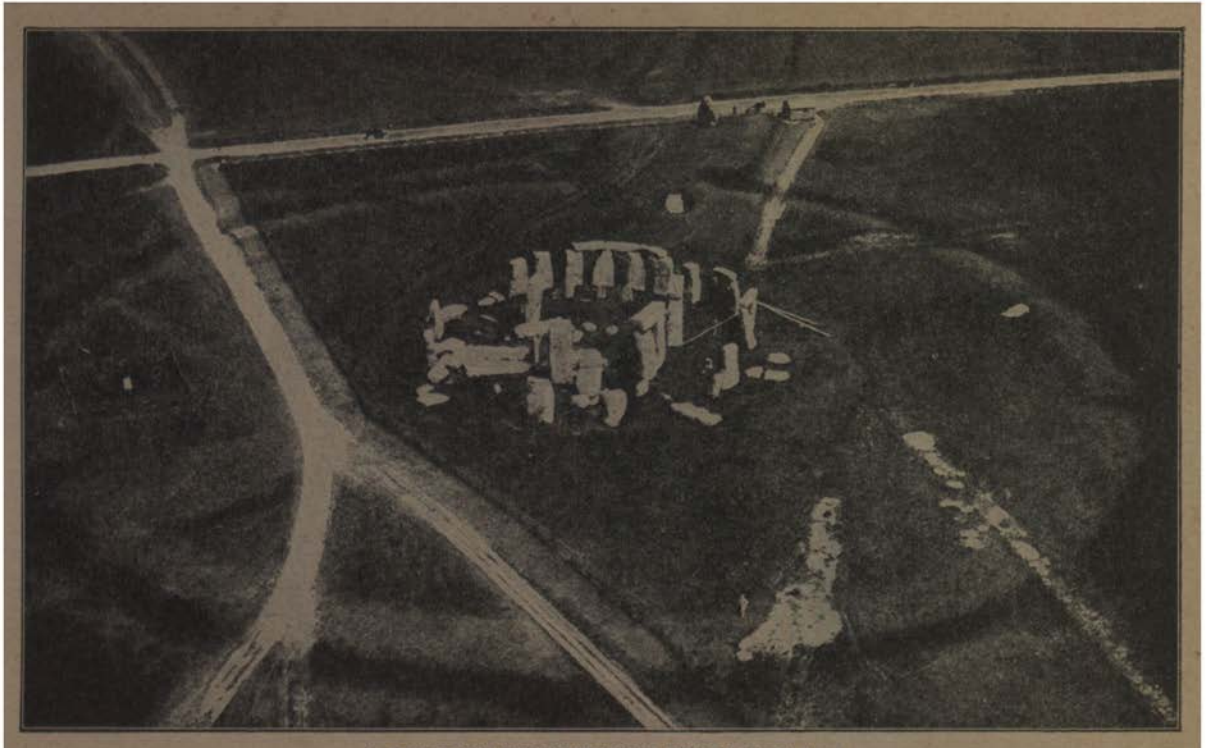
1689–1697 War of the Grand Alliance
1702–1713 War of the Spanish Succession
1743–1748 War of the Austrian Succession
1756–1763 Seven Years' War
1764–1783 American War of Independence
1793–1802 Revolutionary War
1802–1815 Napoleonic War
1808–1814 Peninsular War
1839–1842 First Afghan War
1854–1856 Crimean War
1857 Indian Mutiny
1878–1880 Second Afghan War
1898 Egyptian Campaign
1899–1902 Boer War



A VIEW OF STONEHENGE FROM THE AIR

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

CHAPTER I

ANCIENT BRITAIN

The two types of Britons. When the British Isles first became known in history, they were inhabited, not very thickly, by various tribes, belonging to the same stock as inhabited, about the same time, the countries of France, Spain, and the Rhine valley. There were two types of ancient Britons, and their descendants may be seen any day in almost any part of the British Empire. One type was rather small, with dark or black hair and darkish complexion. The other type was tall and blond—light-haired, sunny men, with white and red skins. The dark men—the 'Iberians'—are the more ancient race, in western Europe, and came most probably from the Pyrenees, where the Basque people still preserve their ancient look and speech. The blond men, the Celts, are settlers in Europe, having arrived, through years, centuries perhaps, of wandering, from the plains and mountains of central Asia. The dark people are found now most commonly in cities, being, it seems, most suited by physique and temperament to survive amid the pressure and congestion of town life. The tall, light-complexioned men live easily in the country, but after a few generations in the town are said, in many instances, to die out.

Ancient British villages. The ancient Britons lived for the most part in villages or towns (which were only larger villages). Their huts were of wood, with roughly thatched roofs; and the whole village or township was surrounded by a palisade or prickly hedge, with perhaps a ditch, for defence against a raider. For intermittent war existed throughout the country, although, owing largely to the sparseness of inhabitants and the

density of the forests, peace was the more common condition. Sometimes, under pressure of a common danger, a number of tribes would join together under one leader, but as a rule each tribe lived separately under its own chief, or even chieftainess.

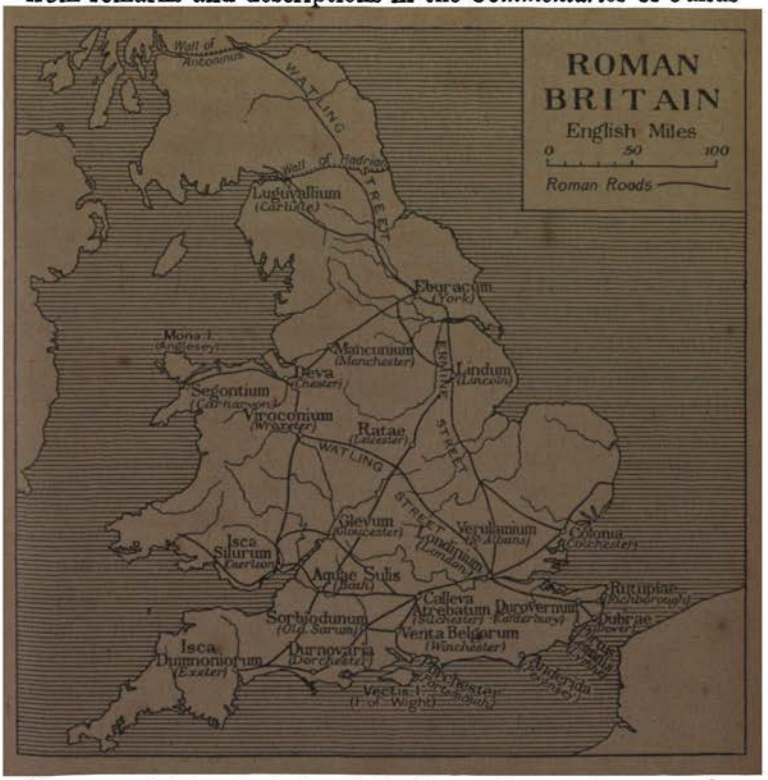
The natural tracks used by Britons. The country in all the lower parts was covered with forest or swamp; therefore all the most used tracks ran along the high country, the 'down' land, especially the chalk ridges of the south of England, where no rivers interrupted the way, where the short tender grass gave good pasture for the sheep, and where the fleet horses of the richer Britons could draw the rough chariots at a brisk trot over the firm close turf. To this day these natural roads, these ridgeways, can be seen on the Downs, together with the dew-ponds, the shallow, shelving, perfectly circular hollows, about thirty feet in diameter, which, collecting moisture from the air, are never dry, and still afford water to the down-country flocks.

Occupations of the Britons. The British lived, as a rule, in clearings in the forests, or on islands, like London, amid the almost trackless waste of a marshy valley. They hunted, they kept sheep, and they grew a little poor wheat. Though far below the Romans in material wealth, they were not mere savages. The hides and tin of Britain were taken by Phoenician traders to the Mediterranean countries.

Religion of the Britons. The British had some knowledge of their own history, kept alive by their priests, the Druids, who committed stories to memory and passed them on from generation to generation. Their religion, however, had much that was savage about it. Amid some things that were attractive, such as a fanciful respect for the mistletoe as a sacred plant which only the Druids could cut, amid perhaps harmless superstitions, according to which the groves of the forests were the abodes of various known spirits, good and evil, there was also the monstrous and malevolent practice of human sacrifice; and many a man soiled by crime, many too, it must be feared, prisoners of war, had their bodies tortured

with cumbrous instruments of cruelty before they expired upon the sacrificial stones of Anglesey and Stonehenge.

Invasions of the Romans. Such is the account of Britain to be gathered from the ancient writings that are left, chiefly from remarks and descriptions in the *Commentaries* of Julius



Cæsar and the *Agricola* of Tacitus. It was because the southern British gave aid to the kindred tribes in Gaul, during the Gallic Wars of Rome, that Cæsar invaded Britain in 55 and 54 B.C.

We are accustomed to think of our country as an inviolate isle, but the truth is that until the time of the Normans it was invaded many times. The earliest invasions of which

there is written evidence were made by the Belgae, who inhabited north-eastern France and Belgium. Many of these tribesmen, Caesar was informed by their kinsmen in Gaul, had settled in Britain. Caesar's first expedition, consisting of only 7,000–8,000 men, started probably from Boulogne. The time of sailing was just after midnight on August 26, 55 B.C. At 9 a.m. next morning the ships found themselves below the high chalk cliffs of Dover, and the soldiers could see the Britons on the top of the cliffs ready to slay with their darts any stranger who landed on the beach below. Sailing along the coast, Caesar made a landing on the flat shores between Walmer and Deal.[1] The landing would never have taken place, for the British with their war-chariots held the shore in great strength, and even the veteran legionaries were aghast; but the standard-bearer of the Tenth Legion threw himself into the water, crying: 'Leap down, soldiers, unless you would betray the eagle to the enemy. I at least will do my duty to the Republic and to my general.' Thus encouraged, the rest of the soldiers followed, and the Britons were driven back. For about three weeks Caesar remained in Britain, continually attacked by the natives and in continual danger. The ships which were coming to reinforce him from Gaul were all wrecked in a storm. After gathering as much information as he could about the country, he was glad to get back safely to Gaul.

Next spring, 54 B.C., Caesar invaded Britain with a much larger force—five legions and a body of cavalry, in all 15,000–20,000 men. A landing was made at the same place as in the previous year, and, after constructing a strong camp to serve as a base, he advanced inland. Somewhere in Kent he fought a hard battle with the Britons who were acting under Cassivellaunus, chief of the Catuvellauni, the inhabitants of the region north of the Thames—Essex, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex. Successful in this battle, Caesar found that he had to fight his way across the Thames; this he did at a ford,

[1] See Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, iv. 23 (edited by T. Rice Holmes, Oxford, 1914), note on § 6.

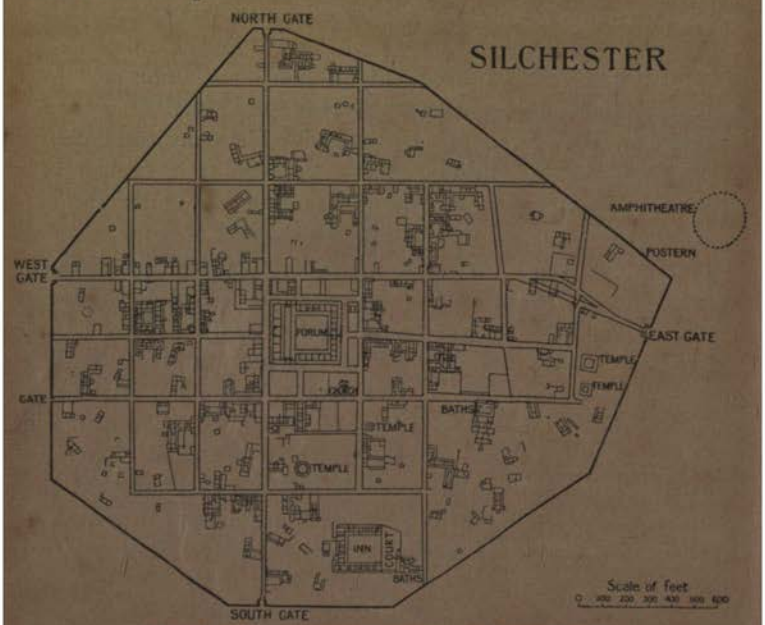
which may be Coway Stakes, at the mouth of the Wey, in Surrey. But the indomitable Cassivellaunus had another stroke ready; he had sent a strong body of men to attack Caesar's base on the coast. This attack was beaten off, but Caesar saw that it would take years to reduce an enemy of this kind. He had probably only come to teach the Britons a lesson, to make them respect the Roman power. He had, no doubt, also hoped to get much booty, and in this he was disappointed, for he makes no mention of booty in his account. So after imposing tribute on Cassivellaunus (which so far as is known was never paid), he withdrew his army to Gaul.

The activities of Julius Caesar were soon to be transferred from Gaul, which he had brought completely under Roman sway, to Italy, Spain, and Egypt. In the rest of his wonderful career, which was to end with his becoming lord of the whole civilized world and with his assassination almost at the same time, he can have had little thought of the far-away island which once attracted his eager desire for knowledge.[1] The invasions of 55 and 54 B.C. had little if any effect on British history, except that the name of Caesar has been made thereby more familiar to the youth of England than any other Roman; and it was perhaps on this account that the tremendous story of his life and death attracted the genius of Shakespeare, and gave us that wonderful play. Shakespeare, however, says nothing about the invasions of 55 and 54 B.C. in *Julius Caesar*, just as in his play of *Cymbeline* (a name taken from Cunobelinus, the son of Cassivellaunus) he says little of ancient Britain.

It was not till A.D. 43 that a real attempt at conquest was made. In this year, Aulus Plautius, a general of the Roman army of occupation in Gaul, was sent with four legions to undertake the conquest of Britain. The chief British ruler at this time was Caractacus, son of Cunobelinus. In spite of

[1] Caesar's account of Britain and of his invasions are in the *De Bello Gallico*, iv and v. The whole of this fascinating work has been fully elucidated in Mr. Rice Holmes's edition.

a brave and obstinate resistance made by a body of federated tribes under this great chief, Aulus Plautius, who, shortly after the invasion began, was joined by the Emperor Claudius himself, subdued the greater part of England. For over three hundred and fifty years, till the year 410, Southern Britain was a Roman province.



PLAN OF A ROMAN TOWN IN BRITAIN.[1]

Britain as a Roman province. Rome during this period had a great colonial empire, and governed its 'provinces' with care and efficiency. The province of Britain soon showed the effects of the Roman occupation, effects which are by no means obliterated to this day. Roads were made, bridges built, towns planted, schools were established, and finally Christianity was introduced. The numerous towns which still have 'chester' in their name—Manchester, Col-

[1] Based on plans by Sir William Hope.

chester, and so forth—recall the Roman occupation. Only that part of Great Britain which extended up to the Forth and Clyde felt the beneficent influence of the Romans. The rest of Scotland, and also Ireland and the other isles, were practically untouched.

The governor of Great Britain was always some distinguished Roman general. Under him were the garrison com-

ROMAN TESSELLATED PAVEMENT AT SILCHESTER.

manders and various civil officials, who dealt out justice and administered the districts into which the country was divided. The Britons lived on in their tribal communities, ruled, under the Roman authority, by their own chiefs. Thus the native British civilization continued to exist, developed, but not superseded, by Roman ideas and improvements. The actual number of Romans who settled in the country was very small. The civil officials and high officers returned to Italy at the end of their period of service, but numbers of the soldiers married in the country, and became ' Romano-Britons '.

The Roman army of occupation consisted of three legions, in all about 10,000 men, with about the same number of auxiliary, that is, lighter armed troops. The Roman legions, like the regiments of the British Army, were known according to their corps number, and round this number history and associations gathered in the course of time. The same legions were always kept in Britain, the XXth at Chester, the XIVth at Wroxeter, the IInd 'Augusta' at Caerleon, the IXth at London.[1] They were mainly recruited abroad, in Gaul, Spain, Italy, Greece, and, except when fighting, spent all their life in the garrison town, living with their wives (who might be British women) in cottages, on the pieces of land which the Roman Government allotted to them. Smaller companies of soldiers were stationed in various parts of the country, especially in the guard-houses along the great Roman Wall.

The high Roman officers and civilians, as well as the most civilized and wealthy of the Britons, lived in villas—substantial large houses, one story high, made of brick, with beautiful tiled floors, bath-room, and furnace for heating all the rooms centrally. In the country districts, a small estate cleared from the forest went with the villa, and tenants, the poorer British, cultivated the owner's land along with their own plots. Only foundations of those villas are left, but of these whole streets can be traced, for instance, at Silchester, near Reading, or Corbridge, on the Tyne near Hexham.

The rebellion under Boadicea. The legions, naturally, had fighting to do, when necessary; for instance, in the rebellion (A.D. 61) of Boudicca, or Boadicea, the 'queen', or chieftainess, of the Iceni; or in the campaign of Agricola into Scotland, north of the Forth, which ended with the assertion of Roman supremacy at the Battle of Mons Graupius (A.D. 84).

[1] The IXth legion, however, was destroyed in the rebellion of Boadicea, in A.D. 61.

The rebellion of Boadicea is known from the splendid account given by Tacitus in the *Annals*, and also in the *Agricola*. Under the Governor Suetonius Paullinus, the Roman officials had been allowed to oppress the people; and the British warrior-queen, who, according to Tacitus, had herself felt the weight of the Roman rods, was able to rouse her countrymen against the Romans.

'Nothing is now safe from their avarice, nothing from their lust. In war it is the strong who plunders; now, it is for the most part by cowards and poltroons that our homes are rifled, our children torn from us, the conscription enforced, as though it were for our country alone that we could not die.'[1]

The revolt of the Iceni occurred when Suetonius was in North Wales, where he had defeated the British in Anglesey and broken up the centre of Druid worship there. The Britons in the east rose, cut to pieces the Ninth Legion near Colchester, and sacked this town (which was called Colonia Camulodunum) and London. Meanwhile, however, Suetonius had come racing back along Watling Street from Anglesey, and in a great battle, fought near the site of the last, by Camulodunum, the Britons were finally overthrown. Boadicea put an end to her life by poison.[2]

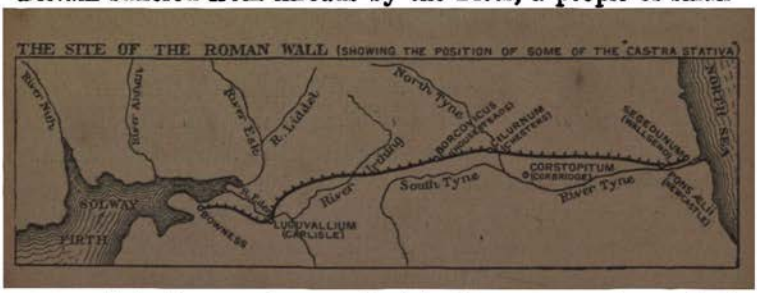
In the years 83 and 84 the great Roman Governor Agricola made campaigns in North Britain, and in the latter year overthrew the Caledonian chief Galgacus at Mons Graupius, probably in Forfarshire. That same summer his ships sailed as far as the Orkneys. He planned also an invasion of Ireland, but had not time to carry it out. 'I have often heard him say', writes Tacitus, 'that a single legion with a few auxiliaries could conquer and occupy Ireland.'[3]

Roman roads. But the normal condition of the province was peace, and the soldiers were employed for the greater part of their time in making roads. Magnificent highways were

[1] Tacitus, *Agricola*, 15 (trans. Church and Brodribb).
[2] 'Boudicca vitam veneno finivit,' Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv. 37.
[3] Tac. *Agric.* 24.

constructed throughout the entire length of the marshy forested province, along routes which are practically followed to-day by the great highroads of England, for instance, from London to York, to Chester, to Bath. These roads were splendidly engineered, and can still in many places be traced, driven directly over the hills and along the ridges, either to command a prospect on all possible sides against enemies, or in order to avoid the water-courses.

Roman Walls. The walls which the Romans built were a great feature of the northern part of the province. Roman Britain suffered from inroads by the Picts, a people of small



stature but of great vigour, who inhabited the greater part of Scotland. In A.D. 80 the Roman governor and general, Agricola, had built a Wall from the Forth to the Clyde. But this did not prove sufficient. In the year 120, Hadrian, one of the few emperors who came in person to Britain, had the great Wall made from the Tyne to the Solway Firth. The Wall was really a great earthen rampart, with stone towers or guardhouses at intervals all along the line. Companies of soldiers held the guardhouses, and maintained a continuous watch from end to end. Considerable portions of the Roman Walls still remain.

Britain becomes Christian. For the first two centuries after Christ, the religion of the province was the worship of the Roman gods. Druidism gradually disappeared among the Britons, and temples were built for the Roman divinities. Christianity was not officially recognized in the Roman Empire

till A.D. 323. By the year 304, when St. Alban was made a martyr at Verulamium (the modern St. Albans), Christianity had spread to Britain, and, although very few details of its progress are known, it gradually spread over the whole province. The Britons received the new doctrines; and although,

REMAINS OF THE GREAT ROMAN WALL.

during the Anglo-Saxon invasions, paganism was re-introduced, the Christian faith never died out in the island.

The withdrawal of Romans from Britain. In the third century the Empire suffered from disputed successions to the throne; the legionaries in Italy, in Gaul, in Britain even, took to 'emperor making'. The unity of the Empire was destroyed and its strength enfeebled. At the same time the Picts were assailing the Wall of Hadrian with ever-increasing violence, and the seafaring pirates, the Saxons, from the mouths of the Elbe and the Oder in Germany, were continually

crossing the North Sea and harrying the coasts. Assailed by enemies without, and distracted by civil war within, the Imperial Government was unable to maintain its more extended frontiers. In 410 the last Roman soldiers were withdrawn from Britain, and the peoples there were left to their own devices, and to the ravages of the Saxon rovers.

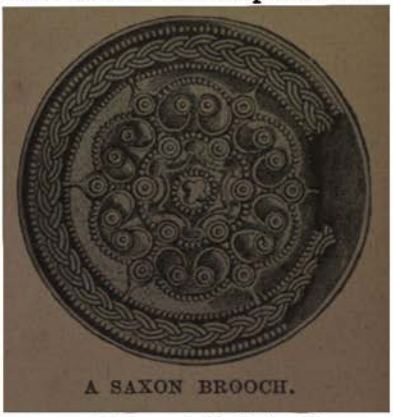
Britain after the withdrawal of the Romans. The Roman occupation of Britain may in many respects be compared with the British rule in India. The Romans gave the blessings of peace and order in a country where many separate peoples had quarrelled and fought before. They put down barbarous rites, the bloody practice of human sacrifice, as the British in India abolished suttee, the burning of widows upon their husband's pyre. They made roads, and took steps to clear the forest and drain the marshland. They introduced education, improved the breed of cattle, and provided increased opportunities for careers in the Roman service. The evacuation of Britain by the Romans gave opportunity again for internal wars, and for foreign attack and spoliation. Something of Roman culture survived for a time, but in fifty years the greater part of it disappeared, and the Britons became the suffering victims of a cruel and predatory people. The forest and marsh again covered the land, and desolation reigned in places which had blossomed with the flowers of peace. War and starvation, the groans of strong men, the wailing of women, and the anguished cries of innocent little children, are what may be gathered from the pages of Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as the consequence of the loss of the 'Roman Peace'.

A JUTE BROOCH.

CHAPTER II

THE ANGLO-SAXON CONQUEST

A comparison of the Roman and Saxon Conquests of Britain. The Romans had not occupied Britain through lust for territory, but simply through the inevitable extension of a strong, orderly government over the undeveloped and disorderly peoples on its frontier. The Roman rule had respected the existing system of the Britons, had not interfered with their property and local government, and had simply imposed the Roman peace and a comparatively humane civilization upon the British tribes. The Saxon conquest of Britain, on the other hand, was inspired by no other ideals than the desire for new land, for plunder, and perhaps for adventure.



A SAXON BROOCH.

Mankind progresses in strange ways. The period of the Saxon conquest was a great decline from the strength and orderliness, the justice and educative efforts, of the Roman rule. But the great days of the Romans had passed, and much of their antique virtue had been lost amid the corruptions of great cities, and with the enervating influence of slavery. Out of the welter of blood and greed, which, among many heroic episodes, still stands out as the most prominent feature of the Saxon conquest, there emerged gradually the English people, capable at its best of displaying the ancient Roman virtues, with the highest ideals, and with the simplest faith.

The Saxon Invasion. The usual date given for the coming of the Saxons as conquerors is 449, when a British king, Vortigern, is said to have taken a war-band, under two chiefs,

'Hengist and Horsa', into his service to fight against the Picts. Hengist and Horsa with their men occupied the Isle of Thanet. The new-comers turned their arms against the Britons and invited other war-bands to come and help. Men from three tribes in Germany came, says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, from the Saxons of the Elbe region, the Angles of Schleswig, and the Jutes of Jutland.

The settlements of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. The invaders came as conquerors, bringing, as it seems, their women and children with them, to settle on the land. They sailed across the North Sea in frail ships, not so large as a modern fishing-smack, and landed in the estuaries of rivers, and in bays of the south and east coast. The Jutes landed in Kent and the Isle of Wight, the Saxons to the north of the Thames, in Essex; other Saxons landed to the south of the Andredsweald in Sussex, and in Hampshire and Dorset. The Angles landed on the east coast, in what is now known as Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincoln, Yorkshire, and Northumberland. A hundred years of intermittent fighting followed, before three solid kingdoms were established by the invaders: Wessex, which consisted of most of England south of the Thames; Northumbria, which extended from the Humber, sometimes even from the Trent, to the Forth; and between these two, between Wessex on the south and Northumbria on the north, was Mercia, the March or Frontier land, the Midlands of England, settled by Angles, between the North Sea and the mountains of Wales. Wessex was Saxon; Mercia and Northumbria were Angle.

Resistance of the Britons. The British, living on after the departure of the Romans, in their tribal communities, seem to have remembered something of Roman discipline, as well as their native valour, and offered a persistent and fierce resistance. The raiders were old foes, and as early as 429 (nineteen years after the departure of the Romans, twenty years before the coming of 'Hengist and Horsa'), they had defeated the invaders in a battle at some unknown spot in the south of England. This victory, known as the 'Halle-

luiah Victory', was rightly considered to be a triumph of Christianity over paganism. The old British historian, Gildas, who emigrated to Brittany after the great Saxon invasions, tells of a British prince, Ambrosius Aurelianus, who led the resistance against the invaders and defeated the Saxons in a great battle in Dorset, at Mount Badon in 520. But it was

MIGRATIONS OF ANGLES, SAXONS, AND JUTES.

not an enduring triumph. By the end of the sixth century the Angles and Saxons had won everywhere, and Christianity had almost, though not quite, disappeared from England.

The Angles and Saxons. In the Anglo-Saxon invasion and settlement of Britain lies the foundation of the English people. The Angles and Saxons were rough, strong men from the forests and river valleys of North Germany. They took readily to the sea, and battled with the waves and the winds, with all the potent forces of nature, as bravely as they battled with the British tribes that stood in their way. If we may apply to them something of what the Roman Tacitus has related of the

old Germans in his *Germania*, about A.D. 100, we find a people faithful to their leaders, faithful to their word, fond of the country, hating towns (so far as they knew them), fond of their wives and children, looking upon treason and impurity as the greatest of crimes. They were heathen, which means literally men of the *heath*, away from civilization, living in places where Christianity had not yet penetrated. They worshipped Thor and Wodin, and others (whose names are preserved in the days of the week), the personification in their eyes of the awful natural forces which they felt more keenly, because they did not understand them,—the forces of thunder or lightning, of wind, rain, sunshine, heat and cold, dearth and plenty.

The Britons pressed westwards into Wales. Whether these men, rough, strong, uncultivated, alone gave rise to the English people, or whether something of the ancient British, or Romano-British race, entered into their composition, has been long disputed. The Britons, it is known, offered a fierce and protracted resistance from their forests and marshes. One by one their strongholds were stormed by the invaders, as when in 491 'Aella and Cissa besieged Andredscester, and slew all that dwelt therein, so that not a single Briton was there left'.[1] Slaughtered where no escape was left, receiving no quarter and expecting none, the Britons, it is held, were in places exterminated, in others pushed back, till at last they reached safety, comparative safety only, in the mountains of Wales. The Angles and Saxons had left their German homes because famine afflicted them, and because they wished to find new lands for hunting, and to despoil the British churches. So they dispossessed the Britons and occupied their land.

The survival of the Britons. But this account does not complete the picture. It is only possible to exterminate a race if it is inferior in vitality, in physical, mental, and moral strength, to its conquerors. The Britons were not markedly inferior in these respects. They were not so good at fighting, though even in this respect they were skilful and

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *sub anno* 491.

efficient, and if united would have held their own. The Romano-British survive to-day in Wales and in Cornwall; in Wales their ancient tongue is still spoken. In the rest of England British elements must have entered into the English stock. Conquerors have always taken wives from the conquered; between the Anglo-Saxons and the British women there was no 'colour-line'; the children would look much like any Saxon children. Other British men and women would be kept as slaves or menial servants. A few isolated and forgotten communities seem to have continued to exist in the forests.

'Public as well as private structures were overturned; the priests were everywhere slain before the altars; the prelates and the people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed with fire and sword. . . . Some of the miserable remainder, being taken in the mountains, were butchered in heaps. Others, spent with hunger, came forth and submitted themselves to the enemy for food, being destined to undergo perpetual servitude, if they were not killed even upon the spot. Some, with sorrowful hearts, fled beyond the seas. Others, continuing in their own country, led a miserable life among the woods, rocks, and mountains, with scarcely food enough to support life, and expecting every moment to be their last.' (Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, chap. xv.)

Gradually what was left of the British race outside Wales blended with the Anglo-Saxon; to the strength of the conqueror was added something of the versatility and imagination of the conquered.

CHAPTER III

THE CONVERSION OF BRITAIN

Disappearance of Christianity from Britain. With the Saxon conquest, Christianity disappeared from Britain, except among the hills and valleys of the West, where it continued, isolated among the 'Welsh'—the foreigners—as the Saxons henceforth called the Celtic population of Britain. Under the Romans themselves, Christianity in Britain had not been very vigorous; at first it had to make its way against persecution.

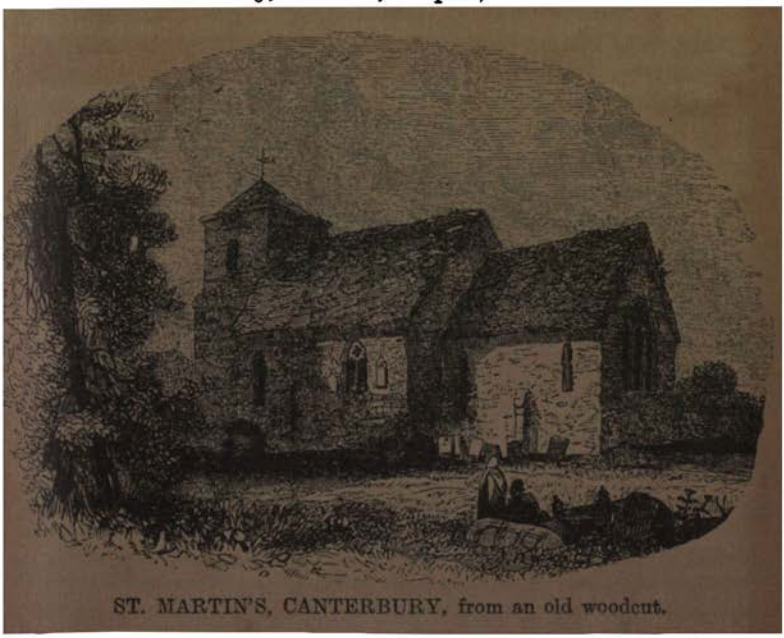
Among others mentioned by Bede as having suffered for their faith is St. Alban, who was tortured and then beheaded, about the year 305.

After the Roman Empire officially adopted Christianity in 323 the Church was peacefully organized in Britain, but the Anglo-Saxons, when they came, plundered the churches. Within a century the Angles and Saxons had established themselves completely in England, divided into many small kingdoms, from which three greater gradually emerged—Wessex, Mercia, Northumbria—although, for a short time, towards the end of the sixth century, the small kingdom of Kent, under a king called Æthelbert, had a somewhat vague supremacy of all England.

Gregory wishes to convert England. It was during Æthelbert's reign that Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, was able to carry out the design of reconverting England, a design which had been suggested to him years before by the sight of some fair English slave-boys in Rome. The story is related by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History*, in a simple style in Latin.

'It is reported, that some merchants, having just arrived at Rome on a certain day, exposed many things for sale in the market-place, and abundance of people resorted thither to buy: Gregory himself went with the rest, and, among other things, some boys were set to sale, their bodies white, their countenances beautiful, and their hair very fine. Having viewed them, he asked, as is said, from what country or nation they were brought, and was told, from the island of Britain, whose inhabitants were of such personal appearance. He again inquired whether those islanders were Christians, or still involved in the errors of paganism, and was informed that they were pagans. Then fetching a deep sigh from the bottom of his heart, "Alas! what pity", said he, "that the author of darkness is possessed of men of such fair countenances; and that being remarkable for such graceful aspects, their minds should be void of inward grace." He therefore again asked what was the name of that nation? and was answered that they were called Angles. "Right," said he, "for they have an Angelic face, and it becomes such to be co-heirs with the Angels in heaven. What is the name", proceeded he,

"of the province from which they are brought?" It was replied, that the natives of that province were called Deiri. "Truly are they *De ira*," said he, "withdrawn from wrath, and called to the mercy of Christ. How is the King of that province called?" They told him his name was *Ælla*; and he, alluding to the name, said, "Allelujah, the praise of God the Creator must be sung in those parts." (Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book II, chap. i.)



ST. MARTIN'S, CANTERBURY, from an old woodcut.

Æthelbert's Queen, Bertha, was a daughter of a Frankish king, and had brought with her a chaplain from Gaul. She worshipped in an old Roman church, at Canterbury, the church of St. Martin, which somehow had escaped complete destruction in the Saxon invasions.

St. Augustine's Mission. So the soil was prepared for the reception of the Abbot Augustine, the priest whom Bishop Gregory had chosen to lead the mission of Benedictine monks into England. They landed in 597 in the Isle of Thanet,

where Hengist had landed over a hundred years before: 'and the king received them sitting in the open air, on the chalk-down above Minster, where the eye nowadays catches miles away over the marshes the dim tower of Canterbury.'[1] In a wonderfully short time, a few years at most, all Kent was converted. Within fifty years Wessex had received Christianity too, at the hands of Birinus, who came from Gaul and founded the great church at Dorchester, nine miles from Oxford.

The British Christian Church. The advent of St. Augustine is one of the great facts in the history of Christian England; for it brought in the Roman system of Church government and ritual, which was ultimately adopted all over the islands. Yet the importance of St. Augustine must not be over-estimated; for the Celtic (or British Christian) Church, which had got out of touch with the Roman system, had survived the Anglo-Saxon invasions in Wales, and in Ireland, which St. Patrick, a noble-born British youth, had converted in A. D. 405, it had continued living and vigorous. In the sixth and seventh centuries Ireland was an island of saints. Monasteries were founded in every district, and the abbots were practically the chiefs of the tribes. Their power was boundless, their fidelity to their ideals, their duty of succouring the oppressed and of spreading the knowledge of Christ, never wavered. From Ireland St. Columba went to the barren little island of Iona off the west coast of Scotland, and from Iona St. Aidan carried the Gospel to Northumberland, whose king, the lowly Oswald, had as a boy been sent for safety to Iona during one of the periods of internal war which so often disturbed the early English thrones. Thus the Island of Britain, divided into several petty kingdoms, was also divided ecclesiastically under two different Church 'rules': Wessex and Kent followed the Roman rule, established by St. Augustine; Northumbria, and Mercia (which adopted the Roman rule when St. Chad was bishop, in 670) followed the Celtic (or

[1] J. R. Green, *Short History of the English People*, chap. i, § iii.

Columba's) rule. The differences were slight, and in no way concerned doctrine. The British Church received no orders from Rome, and its system through the different lands which it covered was less uniform, less co-ordinated. The Roman rule meant centralization and uniformity. The British Church was the more free, and in the early missionary days, the time of expansion and burning faith, was more effective, more moving in its enthusiasm. But the unity of the Roman rule, with its careful organization, its combined efforts, was in the long run more powerful, and eventually won the whole island.

Early Literature in Britain. With the spread of Christianity, education and learning began again in England. The Celtic Church especially, with its many monasteries, where the monks had peace and quiet to pursue their studies, contained many scholars. But the first great poem which is claimed as, in some sense, belonging to English literature is Beowulf, a fine Norse Epic, composed not in the British Isles at all, but by some Scandinavian bard who collected ancient poems, in the seventh or eighth century. The story is of the heroic deeds of the great Norse chief Beowulf, whose career had long been known and sung by the Angle peoples, even before they came to Britain. It is an epic of war, of the slaying of dragons and of men, and is filled with awe before the supreme forces of nature, by which the Norse people felt themselves encompassed. In this epic, life in the house of an ancient Angle or Saxon chief reappears for our view to-day:

'Countless nobles guarded the Hall, as they had often done in earlier time: they cleared away the bench boards; it was strewn throughout with beds and bolsters. One of the revellers, whose end was near, lay down to rest in hall a doomed man. At their heads they set the shields, the bright bucklers; there, on the bench was over each etheling, plain to be seen, the towering war-helmet, the ringed mail-coat, the shaft of awful power. Their custom was that they were constantly ready for war, whether at home or in the field, in both cases alike, whatever the occasion on which their liege lord had need of their services; it was a good people.' [1]

[1] *Beowulf* (Eng. trans.), by Earle (1892), p. 40.

Amidst the clash of arms, the poet has still time to pause and observe the works of nature:

'So marched the valiant man, with his band of comrades; he went along the strand treading the sea-laved floor, the spacious fore-shores. The world's candle, the sun in his course, shone from the south—they pursued their journey, with mighty pace they covered the ground, to where report said that the shelter of warriors, the banesmen of Ongentheow, the war-king young and brave, was in his towers distributing rings.' [1]

Beowulf's work was not war for its own sake, for plunder or conquest, but to slay the dragons, the devouring enemies of mankind. In his last great struggle the old king is successful, but he dies himself from his wounds. The poem ends with the funeral of Beowulf:

'Then there rode around the tumulus war-chiefs, sons of ethelings, twelve in all; they would bewail their loss, bemoan the king, recite an elegy, and celebrate his name. They admired his manhood, and they loftily appraised his daring work; as it is fitting that a man should with words extol his liege lord, should cherish him in his affections, when he must take his departure from the body which holds him.

'Thus did the lords of the Goths, the companions of his hearth, lament the fall of their lord; they said that he was of all kings in the world, the mildest and most affable to his men; most genial to his lords; and most desirous of praise.' [2]

Cædmon. With Christianity came a milder spirit, and poems were written in English, to make known the ways of God. The chief singer of the seventh century, writing not in Latin but in the Angle tongue, was Cædmon, a monk in the monastery of Streaneshalch or Whitby, which the Abbess Hilda had founded. He entered the monastery late in life. Among the Northumbrians it was the custom, at feasts, for the guests in turn to play upon the harp and to sing, in turn, songs of their own composing. But Cædmon (this was in the days before he entered the monastery) could not sing or make verses, for which reason

[1] Ibid., p. 64. [2] Ibid., *ad fin.*

'When he saw the instrument come towards him, he rose up from the table and returned home.

'Having done so at a certain time and gone out of the house where the entertainment was, to the stable, where he had to take care of the horses that night, he then composed himself to rest at the proper time; a person appeared to him in his sleep, and saluting him by his name, said, "Cædmon, sing some song to me." He answered, "I cannot sing; for that was the reason why I left the entertainment, and retired to this place, because I could not sing." The other, who talked to him, replied, "However, you shall sing." "What shall I sing?" rejoined he. "Sing the beginning of created beings," said the other. Hereupon he presently began to sing verses to the praise of God, which he had never heard, the purport whereof was thus: We are now to praise the Maker of the heavenly kingdom, the power of the Creator and his counsel, the deeds of the Father of Glory. How he, being the Eternal God, became the author of all miracles, who first as almighty preserver of the human race, created heaven for the sons of men as the roof of the house, and next the earth. This is the sense, but not the words in order as he sang them in his sleep; for verses, though never so well composed, cannot be literally translated out of one language into another, without losing much of their beauty and loftiness. Awaking from his sleep he remembered all that he had sung in his dream, and soon added much more to the same effect in verse worthy of the Deity.'[1]

Cynewulf. Cædmon wrote in Old English the story of the creation of the world, the history of Israel, and the story of Our Lord. His is the first and, till Milton wrote *Paradise Lost*, the greatest religious poem in English. None who came after him, says Bede, could vie with him in religious poetry. Yet Cynewulf, another Northumbrian, who was after Bede's time, wrote the story of Christ in a long poem which has great beauty: the feeling of religion and the feeling of the sea run through his works:

> Now tis most like as if we fare in ships,
> on the ocean-floor, over the water cold,

[1] Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, chap. xxiv.

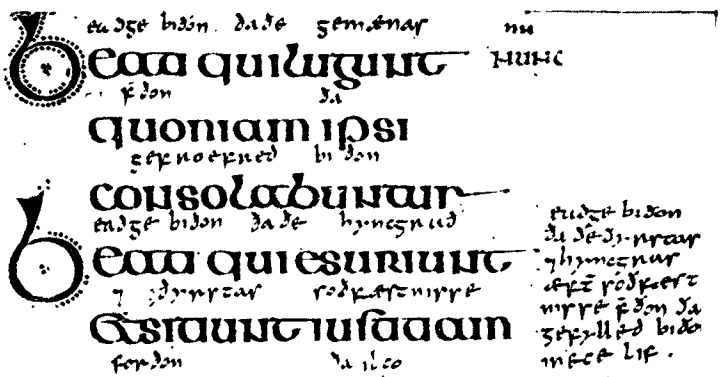
driving our vessels through the spacious seas,
with horses of the deep. A perilous way is this
of boundless waves, and these are stormy seas,
on which we toss here in this feeble world,
o'er the deep paths. Ours was a sorry plight,
until at last we sailed unto the land,
over the troubled main. Help came to us,
that brought us to the haven of salvation,
God's Spirit-Son, and granted grace to us,
that we might know, e'en from the vessel's deck,
where we must bind with anchorage secure
our ocean-steeds, old stallions of the waves.
O let us rest our hope in that same port,
which the Lord Celestial opened for us there,
holy on high, when He to heaven ascended.[1]

Bede. The greatest scholar of the eighth century was Bede, who was born in Northumbria about the year 673. He became a monk of Jarrow in Durham, where his life was passed till his death in 735. The tranquil life of a scholar may be combined with enormous industry; and Bede, whose greatest pleasure, as he says, was learning, teaching, and writing, became, like Aristotle in the fourth century before Christ, a master of all the knowledge of his time. Even the Greek language, which was practically forgotten in western Europe till the fifteenth century, was known to Bede. The monastery of Jarrow became a great school, where Bede instructed the six hundred monks, and the men from other places who came to hear him. The text-books which he wrote covered all known subjects: astronomy, physics, history, grammar, medicine, music. 'The quiet grandeur of a life consecrated to knowledge, the tranquil pleasure that lies in learning and teaching and writing, dawned for Englishmen in the story of Bæda.'[2] The work that has the most interest for us is his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, the ecclesiastical history of the English people. Bede was the first to recognize that there was an English nation or people,

[1] *Cynewulf's Christ* (trans. Gollancz, 1892), p. 73.
[2] Green, *Short History*, p. 37.

divided though it was in the eighth century among several warring kingdoms. The Ecclesiastical History is the greatest record of our people, before the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Bede died at Jarrow, surrounded by his scholars.

Roman ecclesiastical customs adopted in England. Before this happened, all England, except Wales, had come under one ecclesiastical jurisdiction, although still divided among



HANDWRITING about 700. Lindisfarne Gospels.[1] (The Anglo-Saxon gloss is later.)

the kingdoms. At the Synod of Whitby, in 664, where the chief men of the Celtic and Roman Churches north of the Thames met to discuss their differences, it was decided to conform to the Roman rule and customs. Four years later, Theodore, a learned and able Greek monk, was sent by Pope Vitalian to be Archbishop of Canterbury. Under him England was more systematically divided than before into bishopries and parishes, the discipline of the clergy was improved, and the harmony and uniformity so characteristic of the Roman system prevailed ecclesiastically, though not politically, throughout the land.

[1] Beati qui lugunt nunc | quoniam ipsi | consolabuntur | Beati qui esuriunt | et sitiunt iustitiam.

CHAPTER IV

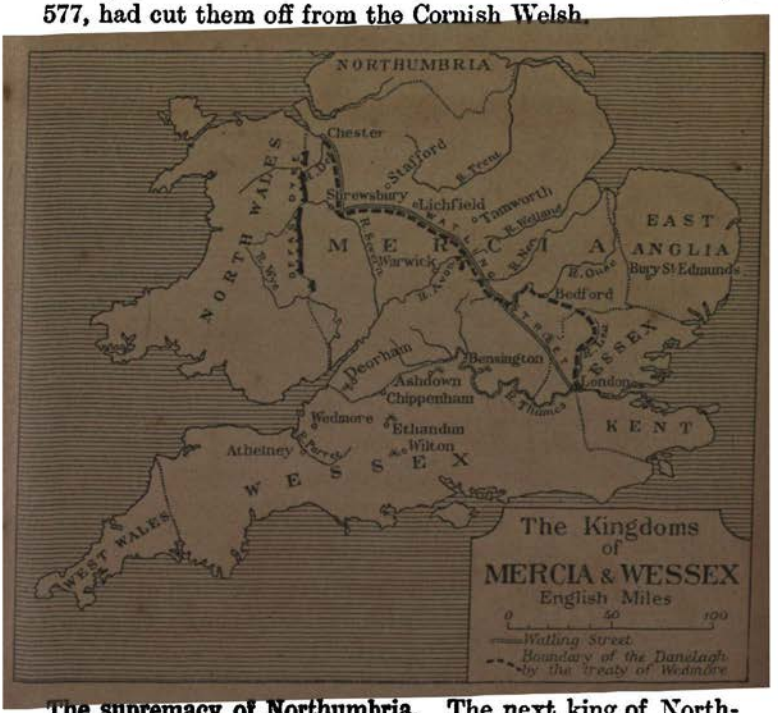
THE CONSOLIDATION OF ENGLAND

Three kingdoms in turn supreme in England. For five hundred years after the invasions of the Angles and Saxons began, England remained divided, and the entries in the

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for this period are little more than the record of fighting.

After the short-lived supremacy of Kent under Æthelbert (A. D. 560–616), three kingdoms, one after the other, became supreme over the greater part of England. The first was Northumbria, next came Mercia, finally came the supremacy of Wessex. Northumbria had been made out of the two northern kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira. Under King Æthelfrith it became strong, heavily defeating the Picts who came from the north at Degsastan in 603, and the Welsh at

Chester in 613, when the two thousand monks of Bangor-is-y-coed (on the Dee) were massacred. This victory cut the Middle Welsh off from the Strathclyde Welsh, just as a previous victory of the West Saxons at Deorham in Gloucestershire, in 577, had cut them off from the Cornish Welsh.



The supremacy of Northumbria. The next king of Northumbria, Eadwine, made the kingdom greater than ever: he was acknowledged to be 'Bretwalda', or overlord, of England. The fortress of Edinburgh, on the commanding rock overlooking the Firth of Forth, was founded by him. Eadwine was converted to Christianity, and then fell before the might of the heathen Mercian king, Penda. In 633 he was slain at Heathfield in Yorkshire, and the land was laid waste by the terrible Mercian and his Welsh ally, Cædwalla. For a time, however, Northumbria recovered its strength and happiness,

under the saintly king Oswald, till Penda defeated him too, ten years after the death of Eadwine. Oswald's brother, Oswy, a devout Christian also, was successful in overthrowing Penda, but Northumbria never recovered its supremacy. England remained divided and distracted.

Mercia. The greatest kingdom in the eighth century was still Mercia. After Penda's death Mercia was converted to Christianity by St. Chad. The Mercian ruler, Offa, who reigned from 757 to 796, was one of the greatest men of the time. He was considered to be the friend and equal of Charlemagne, the mighty king of the Franks, two letters from whom, addressed to Offa, may still be read. Yet Mercia's supremacy passed away too. In the struggle for existence between the kingdoms, the state which had in it the most permanent bases of strength gradually asserted itself.

Wessex. At the end of the eighth century a young prince of Wessex, Egbert, driven from his native country in one of the many civil wars which retarded so grievously the early West Saxon state, was living at the court of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle. In 802 he was brought back to Wessex and accepted as king. Like nearly all members of the West Saxon royal house, he was a strong, capable man, and he had learned something about government and administration at the carefully organized Frankish Court. From this time Wessex began to take its place as the chief state in England—a place which was at first threatened, then, as it seemed, destroyed, finally confirmed and vindicated, in the great Danish invasions that soon followed.

The Danish invasions. The Danes appeared in their low black ships, off England, before the end of the eighth century. They came, vigorous, unspoiled, barbarous, like the men we read of in Beowulf of old. Many causes pressed them from their own lands—from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Frisia, for they came from all these. The people were increasing, life was getting more difficult, in Scandinavia; adventurous spirits sought to free themselves from the strict rule of their

kings. At first they came to England, like the Angles and Saxons in the fifth century, in small bands; gradually these increased. Egbert and his successors were just able to maintain themselves. As the ninth century went on, both north and south were seriously threatened. In 870 the king or sub-king of East Anglia was taken and shot to death against a tree; 'his martyrdom by the heathen made him the St. Sebastian of English legend; in later days his figure gleamed from the pictured windows of every church along the eastern coast, and the stately abbey of St. Edmundsbury rose over his relics'.[1] But it was long before the saint thus met with due recognition. Meanwhile, the English villages were burned, the men and women made captive, the helpless children slaughtered or left to starve. The churches were overthrown, the priests killed at the altar. The arts and learning disappeared, so that when Alfred succeeded to the West Saxon throne there was not one priest north of the Humber, and very few south of it, who could say the mass in Latin. It was an England being driven forcibly back to anarchy and misery that Alfred grew up to save.

Alfred. Alfred was born in 849 at Wantage, in the Berkshire Downs, the magnificent range of low rolling hills, smooth and grass-covered, which are felt to be so thoroughly, so typically English by all who live near them. At the age of four he was sent to Rome by his father Ethelwulf, 'with an honourable escort,' as his biographer Asser tells us. The visit can scarcely have made much impression on the mind of the small boy, yet some memory remained, and the magic of the name of Rome, so potent in the Middle Ages, was doubtless strengthened for the rest of his life in the mind of the devout and noble king. In 856 he was brought back to England, and in 871 succeeded to the kingdom of Wessex, with a poor harassed people of simple sheep-breeders and wheat-growers, whose heroic struggle against the bloodthirsty Danes seemed likely to end only in calamity and ruin. Troubled by ill-health,

[1] Green, *Short History*, p. 44.

bearing the whole weight of governing a people who knew no other to whom to turn, Alfred never wavered. He became the soldier, the leader, the judge, and teacher of his people: the most noble example of hardworking devotion and self-sacrifice in the whole story of England.

The Danes attack Wessex. When Alfred, still a young man of twenty two, succeeded his brother Ethelred I, the tide of battle seemed gradually, in spite of heroic efforts, to be turning against the English. For a few years, however, the Danes' attention was chiefly occupied with the conquest of Northumbria and Mercia; but in 876, after they had overrun the greater part of these two kingdoms, they began to come in full force against Wessex. The Danes who invaded England were experienced warriors. Their whole life was spent in fighting; plunder was their reward, and they fought for it furiously. Yet they were not mere barbarians. They had rules of military discipline, and carried out their expeditions with something of the regularity of a professional army. Against this Alfred could only oppose his personal followers, his 'thegns', and the mass levy of freemen, the 'fyrd', peasants who left their holdings of land to fight the invader, unskilled in arms, and unable long to stay in the field, for their women and children were left behind, and had to be provided for, and their land to be tilled.

RING OF KING ETHELWULF.

Alfred withdraws westwards, but ultimately conquers. Gradually the attacks of the Danes seemed to grow more powerful, and the resistance of the West Saxons to weaken. In 878, in the winter, Alfred had to retire to the western part of his kingdom, to Athelney, an 'island' among the Parret marshes in Somersetshire. The invaders wintered in Wessex, but in spring the resourceful king was upon them; issuing from his marshes, with his forces recruited and reorganized,

he fell upon the Danes at Ethandun in Wiltshire (A. D. 878), and routed their army. They were glad to make peace. The boundary between the Danes and the West Saxons was fixed by a line running through Mercia. The struggle reopened a little later, but it only brought a fresh success, for Alfred captured London. Alfred and Guthrum's Frith, in 886, settled the frontier again: it was to run 'up on the Thames, and then up on the Lea, and along the Lea unto its source, then right to Bedford, then up on the Ouse unto Watling Street'.

THE ALFRED JEWEL.

The English under Alfred. Furthermore, the Danish king received Christianity, and this itself was a victory for the cause for which Alfred had been fighting. The Danes were pagan, and war was their great business. The English were Christian, and war and plunder were not the aims of their life; life with his wife and family upon the good land which his father held before him was all the Saxon 'ceorl' wished to achieve. The English ideal may not have been high, but at least it was not cruel or ignoble. And fortunately they had an idealistic king, who looked beyond the things of this world only: a man of learning, scholarly, devout, religious, seeking above all things to lead his people along the path of righteousness.

Alfred's navy. The war against the Danish peril was a long-drawn-out, heroic episode. As a brave soldier and leader, Alfred is among the greatest of a brave race of kings. He had genius too, the rarest of all gifts; his ideas flashed into the future; he saw things hid to other men. He began the English navy, and if his ships at first made little headway against the expert Danes, the greater credit is due to him for persisting, and in keeping together a fleet, which, though not

immediately successful, was, he knew, what England needed. Nor must we forget those nameless men, whether hired Frisian or Saxon ceorl, who first answered for England the perilous calling of the sea:

> He must not float upon his watery bier
> Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,
> Without the meed of some melodious tear.[1]

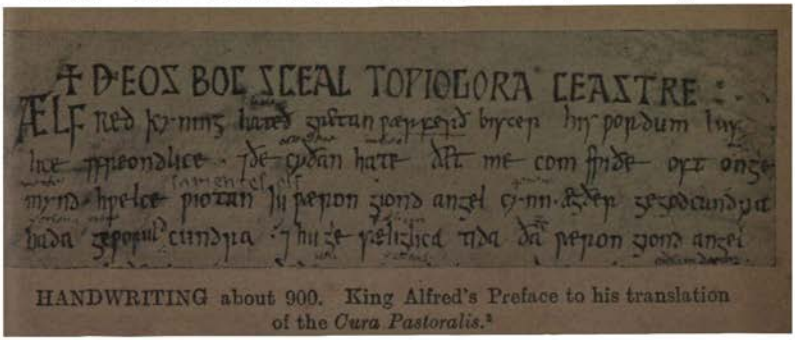
Alfred's industry; his written works; his schools. With peace Alfred became England's schoolmaster. The Danes had destroyed the existing civilization of the country, north of the Thames at least. Northumbrian learning had disappeared, its monasteries were in ruin, its schools dispersed. Wessex had never been highly educated, and most of the elementary culture which had existed was forgotten in the Danish wars. Alfred had to write the very books by which his people were to be taught. In addition to the whole work of government, to the daily task of hearing complaints, settling disputes, judging in trials; to receiving the treasurer's accounts, to supervising the still needful task of defence, to the thousand and one necessary details which fill up a busy administrator's life—he found time. He translated a *History of the World* by Orosius, and the *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* of Bede. His interest in history, indeed, was of the liveliest kind, and he conceived the superb plan of having a national chronicle, a record of the public life of the nation, which was begun, it is believed, with his own hand, and kept up to date, year by year, by the members of certain monasteries, notably the monks of Winchester and Peterborough, down till the reign of Stephen. Thus the noble *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is due to Alfred. He translated, too, the *Consolations of Philosophy* of Boethius, some of the Book of Psalms, and other religious works. His prefaces are the first English prose. He built schools for boys, and set the monks to teach them. Education, *leading out*, is the way of life; and Alfred, England's soldier, lawgiver, judge, is one of the first, too, in the noble company

[1] Milton, *Lycidas*, 12–14.

of men of letters, and teachers, who keep life sweet amid the materialism which presses upon every age. A scholar, yet his life was not given to retirement, a student from his youth, he spent his days in active service for his country.

'I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.' [1]

Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria won back from the Danes. When Alfred died in 901, more than half of England



HANDWRITING about 900. King Alfred's Preface to his translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*.[2]

was still under the Danes. It was left to his son Edward 'the Elder', and then to Athelstan, to complete the reconquest of the country. Edward's sister, Ethelfleda, had married the King of the Mercians, who ruled under Alfred. The Lady of the Mercians proved a vigorous leader like her brother. By the year 918, when Ethelfleda died at Tamworth, the greater part of Danish Mercia had been regained. As each district was reconquered, a fortress or 'burgh' was founded, like Tamworth, Warwick, Stafford, and the families that were given land in each burgh were bound to defend it. Edward

[1] Milton, *Areopagitica*.

[2] ✠ ÐEOS BOC SCEAL TOWIOGORA CEASTRE:.
ÆLFred kyning hateð gretan wærferð biscep his wordum luf | lice (and) freondlice: (and) ðe cyðan hate ðæt me com swiðe oft ónge | mynd. hwelce wiotan Iu wæron giond angel cynn. ægðer gegodcundra | hada geworul[d] cundra: (and) hu ge sæliglica tida ða wæron giond angel

himself completed the reconquest of East Anglia, and after his death in 925, his son, the golden-haired Athelstan, won Northumbria. The Danes in England submitted to the West Saxons. In 937 the Danes (or 'Norse') who had settled on the east coast of Ireland made a great attempt, in conjunction with the Strathclyde Welsh, to overthrow the West Saxon power in the north. Athelstan met them at Brunanburh, probably somewhere in Cumberland, and the invading army was scattered. For years afterwards minstrels sang the song of this victory in the halls of Saxon thegns.

Here Athelstan, king,
of earls the lord,
of heroes the bracelet-giver,
and his brother eke,
Edmund etheling,
life-long glory
in battle won
with edges of swords
near Brumby.
* * * *
There was made flee
the North-men's chieftain,
by need constrained,
to the ship's prow
with a little band.
The bark drove afloat:
the king departed
on the fallow flood,
his life preserved.
* * * *
The North-men departed
in their nailed barks;
bloody relic of darts,
on roaring ocean
o'er the deep water
Dublin to seek,
again Ireland,
shamed in mind.
* * * *
Carnage greater has not been
in this island
ever yet
of people slain,
before this,
by edges of swords
as books us say,
old writers,
since from the east hither,
Angles and Saxons
came to land,
o'er the broad seas
Britain sought
mighty war-smiths,
the Welsh o'ercame,
earls most bold,
this earth obtained.[1]

Edgar, the Peaceful. Three short reigns followed Athelstan, and then came Edgar, the Peaceful (959–75), who brought the golden age of the West Saxon dynasty. All England, even the Welsh, acknowledged him as king. The administration was

[1] Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 375.

A SAXON KING, from a contemporary illuminated MS.

reformed, and the hundreds, the old territorial divisions, large enough to support a hundred families, were reorganized.

'This is the Ordinance how the Hundred shall be held: First, that they meet always within four weeks; and that every man do justice to another. Second, that a thief be pursued.... If there be present need, let him make it known to the hundredman, and let him make it known to the tithing-men; and let all go forth to where God may direct them to go.'

Thus the whole land was put under just laws, carefully administered. The memory of the long-drawn-out wars against the Danes, the orphaned children, the broken hearts, the good countrymen maimed and shattered, became softened. Dane, Saxon, and Angle were living under the same king, enjoying the same peace. The peaceful king resolved to treat them all alike. His chief councillor was the saintly Dunstan, at first Abbot of Glastonbury, made Archbishop of Canterbury in the second year of Edgar's reign. The King's thegns might be either Danes or English, and equally enjoyed the King's trust. A milder way of life was introduced by Dunstan. The clergy were strictly overlooked, and made to live good lives: new schools were established, and through singing, especially, the children were instructed in religion and history. The land was at rest, and the saying, applied to several kings from the time of Ethelbert, seemed at last to come true, that a man could fare across England with his bosom full of gold, and meet no harm.

CHAPTER V

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS

Ethelred the Redeless. The last century of the Anglo-Saxon period, preceding the Norman Conquest, was a troubled time, but a time of steady progress in civilization. The troubles came first with a renewal of the 'Danish question', of invasions from Scandinavia. The Danes outside England had never forgotten that once they held the greater part of England,

a land which in the early centuries, as throughout the rest of the Middle Ages, was reputed wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice, a kind of Mecca of the plunderer. The Danes themselves had advanced in wealth and in military power since

SAXON ARCHITECTURE. Tower of Earl's Barton Church, showing rib-work and 'long and short' work at the angles.

the days of Guthrum. Sweyn, King of Denmark and Norway, was a powerful monarch, and when he set out to conquer England it would have taken a stronger king than Ethelred the Redeless, the man without counsel, to drive him off. The English spirit, it is said, had become slack in the days of peace. It would be more true to say that the ill effects of the first long struggle with the Danes continued and ripened in the peaceful days which followed. When the early Danish

invasions spread panic and desolation over the land, many free Saxon peasants—yeomen they would have been called later—'commended' themselves to some greater man, some landed thegn. The ceorl became a vassal, bound to serve the lord, receiving in return protection from him.

'Thus shall a man swear fealty oaths: By the Lord, before whom this relic is holy, I will be to [N.] faithful and true, and love all that he loves and shun all that he shuns, according to God's law and according to the world's principles; and never, by will nor by force, by word nor by work, do aught of what is loathful to him; on condition that he me keep, as I am willing to deserve, and all that fulfil that our agreement was, when I to him submitted and chose his will.'

Thus ran the oath of commendation. In the prolonged state of warfare freedom was lost. The system of commendation, a kind of feudalism, had good points in a troubled age, but it extended too far.

With a decline in individual freedom came, it seems, a decline in spirit. Not that the antique courage of the Saxons was dead, but that it required reviving, idealizing. But now there was no Alfred on the throne, no noble, unselfish, untiring leader. Instead, there was the weak Ethelred, weak and headstrong by turns, lacking in balance, lacking in persistency, thinking that cruelty was decision, and that cunning was judgement. After one unsuccessful battle at Maldon in Essex, he took to buying off the Danes, levying Danegeld upon the country, 'with the counsel of his Witan'. The Witan was the King's council of wise men, which developed in Norman days into the Great Council, and under Edward I into Parliament. The first levy of Danegeld in 991 is the beginning of Parliamentary taxation.

The Danish Invasion under Sweyn. Cnut, King of England. The policy of buying off the Danes proved unsuccessful: they took the money, but subsequently returned for more. Many of the Danes, descendants of the invaders of Guthrum's time, who had settled in England, seem to have helped the new

Danish invaders. Ethelred tried to massacre all those Danes on St. Brice's Day (November 13), 1002. Sweyn came back to England for vengeance, harried the country, forced the 'Unready' Ethelred to fly, and made himself king. Next year, 1014, he died, and his son Cnut reigned in his stead over England, Norway, Denmark, Sweden. But Ethelred, who had found refuge in Normandy, returned to his country, and showed something of the ancient spirit of his house. Cnut was driven out of Wessex. In the year after (1015), however, the traitor Edric Streona (an 'alderman', or ruling noble of Danish descent) went over to Cnut's side with forty ships of the English fleet. Cnut was carrying his victorious arms through Mercia in 1016 against Wessex, when Ethelred died. His son, the heroic King Edmund 'Ironside', defended Wessex with unconquerable determination. In three hard-fought battles he beat off the Danes from London. Edric Streona had come back to the Saxon side. Yet again he turned traitor, and took the way of perdition. At Ashington in Essex, where Cnut later built a chapel to commemorate his victory, Edmund's army was overthrown by Cnut. Yet even this was not the end. The men of Wessex again rallied round their king, and Cnut, a keen-witted statesman, who knew the sort of man he had to deal with, consented to a treaty of partition. Edmund kept Wessex; Cnut had the rest. In six months of fighting the Ironside had saved Wessex. A month later he was assassinated by an unknown hand, perhaps at the word of Cnut. Wessex accepted the Danish king, and all England was once more under one rule.

Cnut as King. Cnut, having won his way through blood and slaughter to the throne, became, nevertheless, a good and just ruler, zealously forwarding the interests of England. He issued a code of laws, carefully seeing that the courts should be open to every man. His wide empire, including Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, lessened the insularity of England, stopped the self-complacency of the later Anglo-Saxons, gave new means for learning and for trade. His visit to Rome

in 1027 began a period of closer connexion with the Roman Church, which became more obvious under Edward the Confessor. His 'Letter to his people' was probably read to the Witan, and shows the simple monarch, on his passage through Europe and in the Eternal City, thinking kindly of those he had left behind.

'Canute, King of all England, Denmark, Norway and part of the Swedes, to Ethelnoth, metropolitan, and Ælfric, archbishop of York, and to all bishops, nobles, and to the whole nation of the English, high and low, health. I notify to you that I have lately been to Rome, to pray for the forgiveness of my sins; for the safety of my dominions, and of the people under my government. Be it known to you, that at the solemnity of Easter, a great assembly of nobles was present with pope John, and the emperor Conrad, that is to say, all the princes of the nations from Mount Garganus to the neighbouring sea. All these received me with honour, and presented me with magnificent gifts. But more especially was I honoured by the emperor, with various gifts and offerings, in gold and silver vessels, and palls and costly garments. Moreover, I spoke with the emperor himself and the sovereign pope and the nobles that were there, concerning the wants of all my people, English as well as Danes; observing that there ought to be granted to them more equitable regulations, and greater security on their passage to Rome; that they should not be impeded by so many barriers on the road, nor harassed with unjust exactions. The emperor assented to my request, as did Rudolph the king, who has the chief dominion over those barriers; and all the princes confirmed by an edict, that all my subjects, traders, as well as those who went on a religious account, should peaceably go and return from Rome, without any molestation from warders of barriers, or tax-gatherers. Again I complained before the pope, and expressed my high displeasure that my archbishops were oppressed by the immense sum of money which is demanded from them when seeking, according to custom, the apostolical residence to receive the pall: and it was determined that it should be so no longer. Moreover all things which I requested for the advantage of my kingdom, from the sovereign pope, and the emperor, and king Rudolph, and the other princes through whose territories our road to Rome is situated, they have

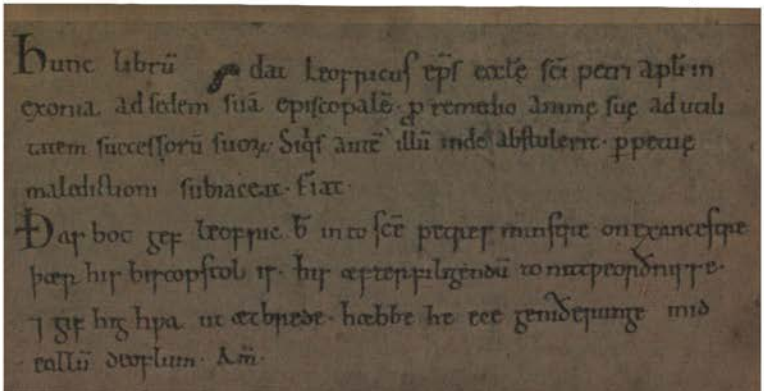
freely granted, and confirmed by oath, under the attestation of four archbishops and twenty bishops, and an innumerable multitude of dukes and nobles who were present. Wherefore I give most hearty thanks to God Almighty, for having successfully completed all that I had wished, in the manner I had designed and fully satisfied my intentions. Be it known then, that since I have vowed to God himself, henceforth to reform my life in all things, and justly, and piously to govern the kingdoms and the people subject to me, and to maintain equal justice in all things: and have determined, with God's assistance, to rectify any thing hitherto unjustly done, either through the intemperance of my youth, or through negligence; therefore I call to witness and command my counsellors, to whom I have entrusted the counsels of the kingdom, that they by no means, either through fear of myself or favour to any powerful person, suffer, henceforth, any injustice, or cause such to be done in all my kingdom. Moreover I command all sheriffs, or governors throughout my whole kingdom, as they tender my affection, or their own safety, not to commit injustice towards any man, rich or poor, but to allow all, noble and ignoble alike, to enjoy impartial law, from which they are never to deviate, either on account of royal favour, the person of any powerful man, or for the sake of amassing money for myself; for I have no need to accumulate money by unjust exaction.'[1]

The house of Alfred restored to the throne. Cnut died in 1035 after a reign of eighteen years. Two more Danish kings ruled, but over a turbulent and dissatisfied England, till in 1042 the Witan recalled the house of Alfred, in the person of the devout Edward, a young man who had lived all his life at the Norman Court, and had become almost a Frenchman.

The reign of Edward the Confessor prepared the way for the Norman Conquest. Edward was almost a monk upon the throne; he was simple and guileless, but without strong character. He found Saxon England, the Saxon Court, rough and uncultivated, compared with the Norman-French society he had known at Rouen. His great interest was to reform the Church in England. In the middle of the tenth century, in the Benedictine monastery of Cluny in

[1] William of Malmesbury, Book II, chap. ii.

Burgundy, a stricter way of life than was observed by the rest of the clergy in Europe, was established. The triple vows of monks—poverty, celibacy, obedience—were rigidly enforced. The ascetic movement spread to Normandy, and the Benedictine monastery of Bec was founded, and became a model of strict and learned churchmanship in the north of France. Young Prince Edward, at the Norman Court (his



HANDWRITING about 1050. Bishop Leofric's curse on any person who should remove his gift books from Exeter Cathedral.[1]

uncle was Duke Richard), conceived a strong devotion to this strict churchmanship. When he returned to England as king, in 1041, he found a state of things sadly different. The zealous monks of Dunstan's day were no more; many priests were married; the religious and disciplinary observances of the Church were not strictly maintained. Edward devoted his life to setting this right, and whenever opportunity offered, replaced a Saxon Abbot or Bishop by a Norman cleric, who would bring strict and uniform discipline, and a close connexion with the papal authority in Rome, into the insular English Church. For this reason, when Archbishop Eadsige

[1] Hunc libru(m) dat Leofricus ep(iscopu)s eccl(esi)ę s(an)c(t)i Petri ap(osto)li in | Exonia ad sedem sua(m) episcopale(m), p(ro) remedio animę suę ad utili | tatem successoru(m) suor(um). Si q(u)is aute(m) illu(m) inde abstulerit, p(er)petuę | maledictioni subiaceat. Fiat.

died in 1051, Edward put in his place the Norman monk, Robert of Jumièges. With the introduction of a stricter self-sacrificing and devout spirit, came better architecture. He began to build the glorious Abbey of Westminster. Norman monks and builders helped him. He had no son of his own, and some people thought he might even leave England to the Norman Duke. In 1051 he invited young Duke William over to England on a visit, and is supposed then to have promised him the crown.

Earl Godwin. Against this 'Normanizing' policy one man at least struggled, the first man in English history, says the historian Freeman, who being neither priest nor king, deserves the name of statesman. Earl Godwin had risen by talent and force of character to be chief man of the kingdom under Cnut and under Edward. He became Earl of Wessex. His sons, the honest hard-working Harold, the lustful Sweyn, courageous Gurth, turbulent Tostig, all became earls likewise, governing great districts of England.

Godwin formed a national party, and steadily worked to suppress the Norman interest. With Edward's favourites he was always at enmity. It was as if he saw afar off the coming of the Norman host to England, the claiming of the crown by a Norman duke, the mailed heel of the Norman baron upon the neck of the Saxon ceorl, and he set himself steadily to prevent this. Stroke and counter-stroke followed. Once Godwin was in exile, and again he returned. The men of Wessex would follow him anywhere. He forced Edward to let go the Norman priests: they fled overseas, and Godwin had the Saxon Stigand made Archbishop of Canterbury. Godwin was chief councillor, and Stigand held the Church. Then Godwin died (1053); Edward died twelve years later (January 1066). The Witan chose Harold, Godwin's son, king in his stead.

Harold, King. Now England stood at the parting of the ways. Would she remain Saxon, insular, northern, out of touch with Western Europe, with the hard feudalism of the Norman-French, with the milder graces of the Latin Church?

Harold stood for Saxon England, a country still of unclaimed forest and marsh, with masses of freemen living on their own land, with wooden churches, few towns, no frowning stone castles. William the Norman stood for a more perfect feudalism, less liberty, more order, a stricter churchmanship, a wider learning, a stricter code for everything, an iron hand over all. William's system triumphed. In the Museum

SAXON SHIPS, from the Bayeux Tapestry.

of Bayeux, men who live eight hundred years after Duke William died, can still see the marvellous tapestry, wrought perhaps by Queen Matilda and her maids, after the battle of Hastings. They can see pictured, act by act, the story of the Norman Conquest: William, first of all, beating his own barons at Val ès Dunes, making himself thoroughly master in his own duchy; then Harold, wrecked on the Norman coast, and being made, it is said, to swear to help Duke William to England. Then, scene by scene, the breathless story is unfolded, till in the fight at Senlac (or Hastings), Harold is last seen, vainly trying with his ebbing strength

to pluck the Norman arrow from his eye. He died on the field of Hastings, with his housecarls around him (October 14, 1066).

The Campaign of Hastings. William, Duke of Normandy, was thirty-nine years old at this time, and was a man of great firmness of mind, and equally skilful in war and administration. He had for years been waiting for the chance to become King of England. On September 27 he sailed from St. Valéry

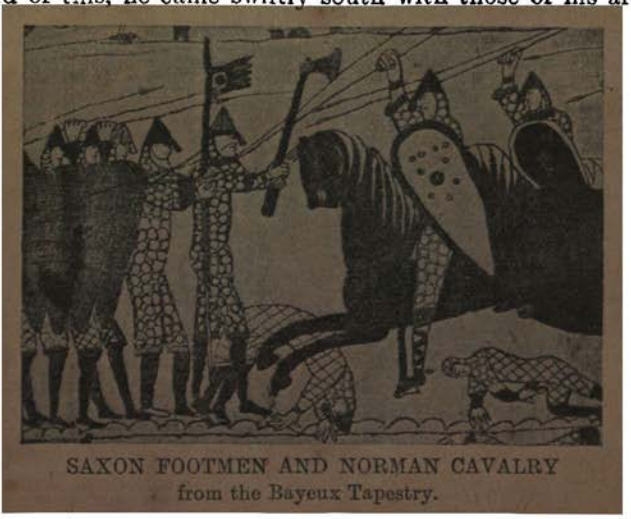
EARLY ARMOUR. 'Scale', 'Trellis', and 'Chain' patterns.

at the mouth of the Somme, and landed next day at Pevensey on the coast of Sussex, about eight miles east of Beachy Head. The number of men in his army is not accurately known; probably he had 10,000–15,000 men.

King Harold had been ready to meet the invasion all summer, but in this very month of September he had to meet another invasion in the north. One of his brothers, Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, exiled for misdeeds in that county, had brought the King Harold Hardrada of Norway against England. There seems to be no doubt that Tostig and William of Normandy acted in concert. Tostig and the Norwegians landed in the Humber, defeated the Earls Edwin

and Morcar at the bloody battle of Fulford on the Ouse, south of York, and took that city. Harold at once took the fyrd of Wessex to the north country, and at Stamford Bridge on the Derwent he utterly defeated the Norwegians. Both Tostig and Harold Hardrada were slain.

The battle of Stamford Bridge was fought on September 25, three days before William landed at Pevensey. When Harold heard of this, he came swiftly south with those of his army



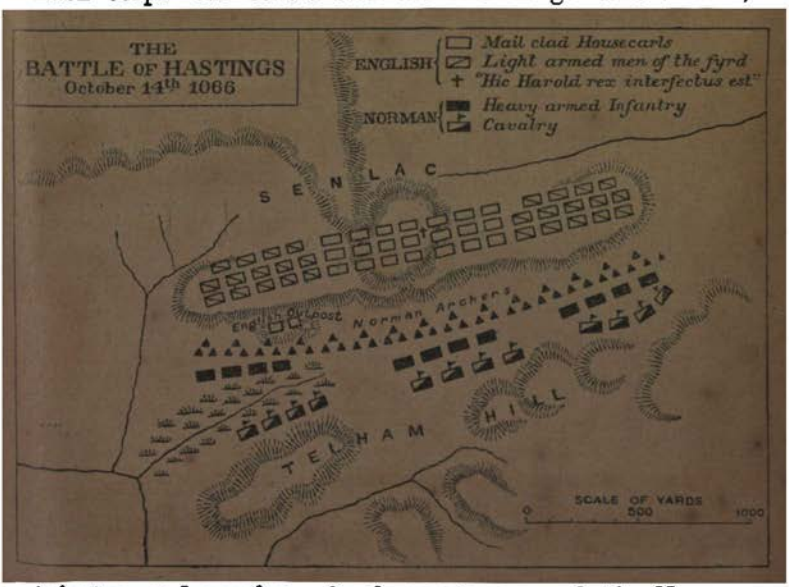
SAXON FOOTMEN AND NORMAN CAVALRY
from the Bayeux Tapestry.

who could follow, and, receiving fresh forces at London, he advanced into Sussex. William had not attempted to advance upon London, and had indeed scarcely moved from his landing-place Harold planted himself on a hill seven miles inland from Hastings, commanding the road which goes to London. On October 14, William, who had his camp in Hastings, marched out to attack him.

The Saxon army had a good position on the hill, and they had protected themselves by a rough stockade. The men, however, were poorly armed, many having no armour at all, and only scythes, flails, and knives for weapons. Harold's housecarls, however, a magnificent body of some 2,000–3,000

men, had helmets and breastplates, and heavy Danish axes, which they wielded with terrible effect.

William's army advanced in three divisions—a central corps and two wings. First came the archers; when these had discharged their volleys they gave way to the infantry; finally came the heavy cavalry, the mounted men-at-arms. Each corps—the centre and the two wings—had archers,



infantry, and cavalry. As they came onward, the Norman minstrel Taillefer, riding in front, kept throwing his sword into the air and catching it, singing the *Song of Roland* as he advanced. The attack failed, however; the Breton contingent gave way and was chased down the slope. This check suggested to William the device by which he won the day. When he led his men to the attack again, he told his steadiest infantry to pretend to be beaten; they retired down the hill, pursued by the English; then the Norman men-at-arms rode through the broken ranks of the English and slaughtered them.

Yet Harold's housecarls still held the hill, and from noon till sunset they fought around their leaders, Harold, Gurth, and Leofwine, the last heroic princes of Saxon England. The heavy Danish axes crashed through the armour of the Normans, and lopped off their arms and heads. Then, however, the arrows were pitilessly rained from the Norman host, till at last, fatigued, famished, and wounded, the housecarls, unable longer to bear the strain, began too to break from their ranks, as by two and threes they ran forth to meet their death hand to hand. A few charges of the Norman cavalry settled the fortune of the day. Harold, Gurth, and Leofwine all died on the field of battle ; a few only of the English were able to withdraw into the Andredsweald.

After the battle, William pushed forward to Dover, which surrendered at once. There he rested a week, as his army was suffering from dysentery. Then he set forth to gain London, the heart of the kingdom. He was too good a general, however, to attempt a direct advance. He marched his men westwards and northwards, and did not cross the Thames till he got to Wallingford, about fourteen miles below Oxford. Here the Chilterns run, like a broken wall, across the country between the Thames and the Bedford Ouse. William crossed this undefended wall, passed by Berkhamsted, and came down upon London from the north. The gates of the city were opened. The English Witan at London had perforce to elect him as king, and on Christmas Day, 1066, he was crowned in Edward's Abbey of Westminster.

Thus it was that William the Norman won his crown, and the old Saxon rule came to an end. It was indeed a worthy ending. Harold and his housecarls, fighting for their England on the hill of Hastings, with their backs to the mild October sun that was setting behind the Sussex Downs, show the Anglo-Saxon people at their best—a people whose sun was setting only to rise again in a new life after the battle and the death before which they had not flinched.

CHAPTER VI

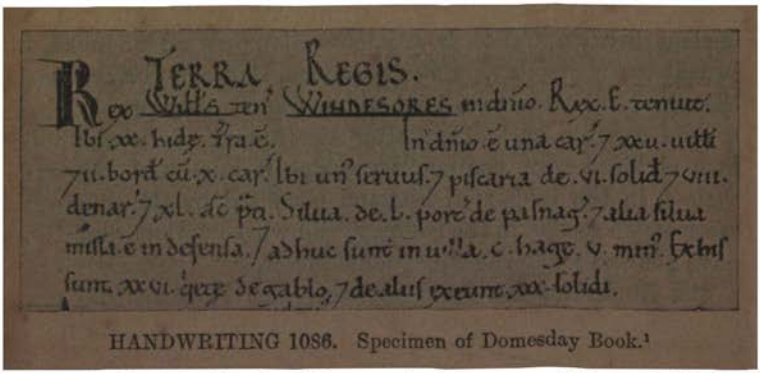
THE NORMAN KINGS

The four Conquests of England. The Norman Conquest was the fourth and last conquest of England. Of these four—the Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman—only the Roman settlement can be compared with the modern colonial movements. The Romans were a people with a higher civilization than the ancient British, and their administration was an undoubted benefit to the country. But the Saxons, Danes, and Normans, each in turn, came to a land which was already peopled by a race capable of looking after itself, and of developing, in a civilized way, the country which it inhabited. Nevertheless, in the long run, England benefited by the different races which settled in the country, and whose various qualities have gone to make the English character.

The Anglo-Norman Land System. The Normans did not come to England as a people. They were simply a governing aristocracy, numbering about five thousand in all, who received land in England from King William as a reward for their services at the Conquest, and who settled on the land with their families. The organization of the Anglo-Norman land system must have cost William some thought, and on the whole it must be allowed that, considering the difficulties of the time, the work was efficiently done. The principle on which William and his lawyers proceeded was that there must be no lordless land in England; every acre of it must be under some one, either in the King's own hands, or a baron's or a knight's, who would be responsible for the land, and for the people on the land, to the King.

The re-allotment of the land. When William conquered the land, it consisted of Crown lands (estates of the King regarded simply as a landowner), estates of nobles (earls or thegns) or of monasteries, and the land of the free villages, where the villagers owed neither service nor rent for their holdings.

After the Conquest William was able to re-allot all this land, for all the Saxons who had held it either had fought *against* him or had not fought *for* him, and therefore, as he considered himself the legal King of England from the death of Edward the Confessor, they were all traitors and their land forfeit. To some of the Saxons, William regranted their land on payment of a fine; others lost their land altogether, and it was given to Normans. All the villagers were given a lord, from whom



HANDWRITING 1086. Specimen of Domesday Book.[1]

they held their land, either as freemen or villeins. All the land in England came under lords, and for that land the lords were bound to serve the King and to maintain his peace. The estates thus held varied greatly in size, and one man's land might lie in many different parts of the country. The bishoprics and monasteries had large scattered estates; the major barons had large estates likewise, the minor barons and knights had smaller holdings. The King reserved large estates for himself in almost every county. For the King's hunting, especially, much forest land was reserved.

The Forests. The Royal Forests were tracts of country suitable for the life of forest animals—the red and fallow deer,

[1] TERRA REGIS.
Rex Will(elmu)s ten(et) Windesores in d(omi)nio. Rex. E(dwardus) tenuit. | Ibi .xx. hide. t(er)ra e(st). In d(omi)nio. e(st) una car(ucata). & xxii. uill(an)i | & ii. bord(arii) c(um) x. car(ucatis). Ibi un(us) seruus. & piscaria de. vi. solid(is) & viii. | denar(iis) & xl. ac(ris) p(r)a(ti).

the hare, the boar, and the wolf. These tracts were to a large extent wooded, but also contained much open pasture-land. In some, the land belonged to the King, in others it had private owners. Even where forest belonged to private owners, the King had rights of hunting; the killing of wild beasts by any one else was forbidden, and special Forest Laws, not the common law of the land, regulated everything. Royal Forests therefore meant particular districts of England, where the common law did not run, and which were under the Forest Laws

In 1079 William I declared all the land between Southampton Water, the Solent, and the Avon, to be Royal Forest. The chief villages of this great region are Lyndhurst, Ringwood, Brockenhurst, and Beaulieu. Although private men still could own their land and use it for pasture, the number of these had to be limited, as close settlement of inhabitants would sooner or later have driven away the game. Therefore William made a considerable number of the inhabitants of the New Forest go elsewhere, and thus he called down upon himself the curse of many families. Therefore people said it was a divine judgement when one of his sons, Richard, was killed in the New Forest by a stag, and another, Rufus, by an assassin's arrow.

As the common law did not run in the Forests, a special code was administered by three courts: the Court of Attachment, which met every forty days and was attended by all the freeholders of the forest; the Court of Swainmote, held three times a year; and the Court of Justice-seat, held once every three years. There were two Chief Justices of the Forests, one for the forests south of the Trent, and one for the forests north of the river (*intra et ultra Trentam*).

The punishments inflicted under the Forest Laws were severe, but so were those inflicted under the common law. The chief grievance was felt by the landowners, who naturally objected to the King's suddenly declaring a part of their land to be forest, so that they themselves could not hunt in

it without leave. Hence the continual struggle between the barons and the Crown, to get the forests defined—to have the limits of the forests once and for all declared and fixed; and Article 47 of King John's Magna Carta declared that 'all forests which have been afforested in Our time shall be immediately de-afforested'.

The Forest Laws were enforced throughout the Middle Ages, and thereafter intermittently till the Revolution of 1688, when they were dropped once and for all. The woods and forests on Crown land have exactly the same laws now as the rest of the country.

The Manor. Every large estate consisted of so many *manors*, while a small estate might be but a single manor. What was considered as a manor from the civil point of view was generally also a parish from the ecclesiastical point of view: it usually consisted of a village, with the house or 'hall' of the lord of the manor, with a church and priest's house, and with enough contiguous land to maintain the whole community. The village would consist of wooden cottages on either side of a road, near some stream. The lord's house was near by, surrounded by the demesne, the park as it would now be called. The rest of the manor consisted of three parts: arable fields, in which the lord and the villagers each had a number of 'strips'; each man's strips lay in different parts of the fields, so that he should have a share of the more and less fertile parts. After the arable land there was the common—open, uncultivated—on which each villager had the right of keeping a certain number of cattle or geese. Beyond the common there might be woodland or waste, where pigs could be driven for feeding, and where wood could be gathered for fuel, and bracken cut for fodder.

The 'Townships'. The villagers, as they appear in Domesday Book, the great survey of the land made in 1086, were all either free or unfree. The freemen paid to the lord rent for their holdings, but could leave them if they chose to go anywhere else and could find an occupation. The

unfree were villeins: in return for their holdings they had to work upon their lord's strips two or three days each week. They could not leave the land, and if the land was sold, the villeins went with it. The manorial system was rigid, and retarded the development of the people, but it was not without advantages. Every one outside the towns was settled on a piece of land, and though life was hard, his livelihood was secure. The villagers, the men of the 'township' as it was called, had their own court, which was at the same time their lord's court, to settle minor grievances. Even the villeins were not at the arbitrary mercy of their lord, and were protected by the King's courts. In Henry I's reign we have a record that a manorial lord, 'Aluredus de Cheaffeword, paid a fine of forty shillings for beating his villein'.[1]

The Courts. All the villagers met in the manorial court, under the presidency of the lord's steward. The villagers present were themselves the judges of the court. For greater suits there was the court of the hundred, an area larger than the manor, but much smaller than the county. In Surrey, for instance, there were 13 hundreds, in Sussex 58, in Yorkshire (where they were called Wapentakes) there were 28. The county was a large area, dating perhaps from the time when it had been an old kingdom in the earliest Saxon days; or from some administrative division made by Alfred or Edgar, after their Danish wars. The hundred court consisted of all the freeholders of the hundred and the 'four best men and the reeve [or head man]' of each village. The county (or shire as the English called it) had a court too, consisting of the bishop, any barons, the freeholders, and four best men and the reeve for each village. The sheriff, the King's official in each county, presided. The county court was thus a popular legal assembly, in which every class was represented. In the thirteenth century it was used as a constituency for the election of members of Parliament.

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, i. 466, 'Aluredus de Cheaffeword reddit compotum de 40*s*. pro rustico verberato'; from Pipe Roll, 31 Henry I.

The Feudal levy. Every lord of a manor, or of many manors forming a larger estate, held his land as a tenant either from some greater lord, or direct from the King. In return for his land each lord was bound to supply a certain number of armed knights for service with his immediate overlord, who was bound to supply them in his turn for service, exclusively with the King. In addition to this 'feudal levy', all the freemen (but not the villeins) were bound to answer the King's call at any time to defend their country, a legal obligation which has never been done away with.

William Rufus. The establishment of the 'feudal system', and the administration of the county under it, is, with a number of Saxon rebellions, the story of the greater part of the first William's reign. He died in 1087 at Caen in his duchy of Normandy. 'He was mild', says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'to those good men who loved God, but severe beyond measure to those who withstood his will.' His rule was hard, but it was even; and again of him the chronicler repeats the proverb that a man 'might travel over the kingdom with a bosom full of gold unmolested'. His son, William Rufus, was strong like his father, but without the elder William's sense of justice. Yet the native English followed him loyally when the barons rose against him, for they felt that in the royal power lay their safety. In this they were satisfied: the Norman barons were powerful men, but war and too great power had made them cruel: any one who has looked upon the recumbent figure in Dorchester Church will understand the character: the mail-clad figure of a man with huge limbs and powerful physique; the strong lines of his face are twisted with passion; his right hand grasps a huge sword, in an ecstasy of fury; the cruel mouth sneers, and the blunted nose gives an air of ruthless obstinacy. Such men had to be chastened by the king's might, and in this task, during the frequent rebellions of barons, the English gladly helped; and William of Malmesbury tells us how King Henry I would 'go round the ranks of his rude English levies and

teach them how, in order to avoid the ferocity of the knights, they should oppose their shields to them, and return their blows, by which he brought it about that by their own wish they asked for battle, in no way fearing the Normans'. When the barons had been checked by the King, the Crown in turn became too powerful and despotic; and then those strenuous

THE NORMAN KEEP, LANCASTER.

and fearless barons were good instruments in checking the Crown which had checked them and taught them wisdom. So the world moves, and the jarring forces of men may be directed to a nation's progress.

Henry I. In Henry's reign Norman and English drew nearer together. The King set the example by marrying Edith (Matilda), a descendant of Edmund Ironside. Her mother, Margaret, was wife of Malcolm III of Scotland. The Norman barons disliked this policy; William, the monk of Malmesbury, who lived during Henry's reign, says they would rather have had Henry's easy-going brother Robert as king, and they mimicked Henry and his wife, calling them in Saxon, Godric and Godgiva. But Henry kept them in order, and at Tinche-

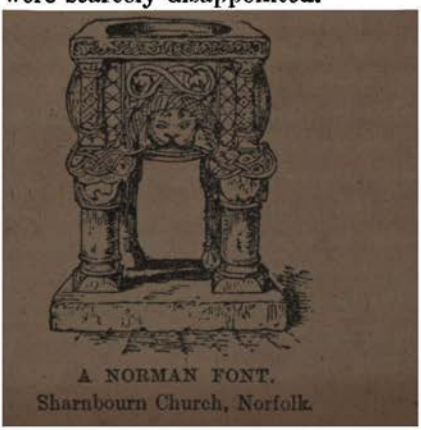
brai in 1106, which the English said was a requital for Hastings, the King, with the Saxon 'fyrd', or levy of freemen, defeated Robert and the Norman barons. When Henry died, in 1135, the English remembered his just and firm rule. 'He made peace for man and beast,' says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, adding the accustomed tribute to a just king, 'that whoso bare his burden of gold and silver, no man durst say to him aught but good'.

Stephen. The English, indeed, had reason to regret King Henry, for the next seventeen years were years of anarchy and bloodshed, civil war between Henry's daughter Matilda, the rightful queen, and Stephen, her cousin, whom the barons had elected king against their oath. This period showed feudalism at its worst, for without a strong king over all, each baron was able to do as he pleased; unbridled power and savage lust went together. They compelled the wretched villeins to help at the building of fortified castles, from which they could defy the King and each other; and, according to William of the Yorkshire monastery of Newburgh, 'there were in England, so to speak, as many kings, or rather tyrants, as there were lords of castles. . . . And as each was anxious to excel, and could not bear, some a superior, others even an equal, they fought against each other with savage hatred. The fairest regions were devastated with rapine and fire, and in what had once been the most fertile of fatherlands, almost all the food was destroyed.' For those seventeen winters, when no class increased but the priesthood, and no buildings (other than castles) rose, except churches or monasteries, the spectre of famine haunted the doors of the whole people, and men were tempted to curse God.

'Then was corn dear, and flesh and cheese and butter, for there was none in the land; wretched men starved with hunger . . . never was more misery and never heathens acted worse than these. . . . The earth bare no corn; you might as well have tilled the sea, for the land was all ruined by such deeds, and it was said openly that Christ and his saints slept' (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *sub anno* 1137).

In 1138 King David I of Scotland, who was Matilda's uncle, led an army into the north of England to help his niece, but he was defeated by Thurstan, Archbishop of York, in the 'Battle of the Standard', at Northallerton. In the same year, however, Matilda's son Henry was acknowledged Duke of Normandy, and in 1152 Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, invited him to come over to England. He was then nineteen years old.

Henry II. The coming of young Henry, the grandson of Henry I, from his country of Normandy in 1153, was looked upon by the people as the coming almost of a Messiah. Henry, the Angevin, was fiercer than the fiercest baron, more determined than the proudest Norman. Gradually his forces made headway, and in 1153 it was agreed that he should succeed the now childless Stephen. With the announcement of peace, a great sigh of relief and wave of happiness went over the country. Matthew Paris, who began about sixty years later his long career as chronicler of the Monastery of St. Albans, says that forthwith 'the knights will turn their swords into sickles, their lances into pruning-hooks; and from the camp to the ploughfield, from the tent to the workshop, the men, fatigued with long service, but breathing the common gladness, will return'. In these high hopes, during the rest of Henry II's life, the people were scarcely disappointed.



A NORMAN FONT.
Sharnbourn Church, Norfolk.

CHAPTER VII

ENGLAND UNDER THE ANGEVINS

The Anglo-Saxons and Normans become one people. Under the first three kings of the house of Anjou or Plantagenet, as it came later to be called, the English people made great progress in many directions. More particularly they became one people instead of two, Norman and Anglo-Saxon. The *Dialogus de Scaccario*, the noble work on the English Exchequer written by the Bishop of London under Richard I, says that in Henry II's time with regard to freemen, you could not tell the difference between Norman and English. The villeins, he thought, could always be assumed to be pure English, for the Normans were all of gentle birth. When Normandy was lost in 1204, the last sign of the difference between English and Norman under the English king was wiped away.

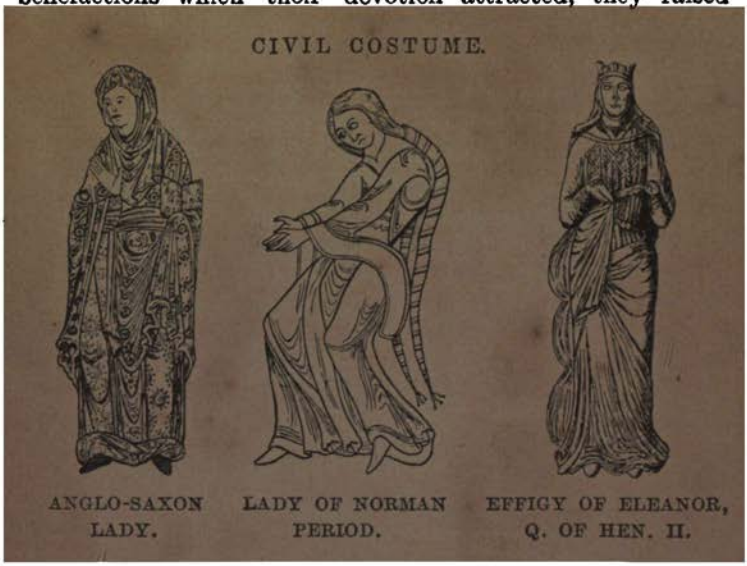
Henry II. Henry II, however (who reigned till 1188), was Duke of Normandy throughout his reign. His mother Matilda, the daughter of Henry I, had married Geoffrey, Count of Anjou; so young Henry inherited Anjou, and added it to the domains of his crown. Before succeeding to the throne, he had married Eleanor, the divorced wife of King Louis VII of France, Duchess in her own right of Aquitaine—the rich provinces of Poitou, Guienne, and Gascony. Thus Henry became lord of a greater realm than ever English king had ruled, except Cnut. He was King of England, and Lord, by various titles, of about half France. Although bound, for his French possessions, to do homage to the King of France as his feudal overlord, his continental possessions were far greater than the domains directly under the French king. To this 'Angevin Empire' he added Ireland in 1171, and the overlordship of Scotland, which he received after the capture of William the Lion, King of Scotland, in 1174.

In his reign, much was done to improve the legal and the military system of the country by the King himself. At the

same time, a change was coming over the face of the land, through the great monastic orders. The most important of these was the Cistercian Order, founded by Robert, a monk of Molême (in Burgundy), and Stephen Harding, a native of

Sherborne, at Citeaux. This was a desolate place, full of pools of water (*citeaux* or cisterns), between Dijon and Chalon; the Cistercians soon made it by their labour a smiling land of peace and plenty. The movement spread to England, and in 1129 a Cistercian monastery was founded at Waverley, on the Wey, near Farnham in Surrey (a name used by Scott for his *Waverley Novels*). The Cistercians went to the most

desert spots they could find, cultivated them, stocked them with sheep, and combined this with work for the poor, and with the regular and assiduous worship of God. With the riches which their labour won (they were the greatest wool-growers in England in the thirteenth century), and with the benefactions which their devotion attracted, they raised



some of the most splendid abbey-churches in England, like Rievaulx, near Thirsk, and Fountains, near Ripon.

Improvements in English law. Henry's greatest work for England was not in extending his foreign possessions, which were not permanent, but in making the English law more comprehensive, equal, and reasonable. The jury system, by which legal suits are heard fairly and openly, before a man's own compeers, is largely due to Henry II. He dealt with both kinds of cases at law, civil and criminal: civil law, between man and man, in disputes over property or damages; criminal cases, where offences against society have been committed, and where the State officials, not the

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL. The presbytery, 1079–1095 (showing fully developed rounded Norman style).

injured individual, conduct the prosecution. The old method, before Henry II's time, both as regards crimes and civil wrongs, was for the case to be heard in the hundred or shire-court, and for decision to be given, unless the witness of the community was unanimous on one side or the other, by ordeal or combat. Ordeal was judgement by water or fire: the suspected person submitted to some test, being thrown into a pond, or holding hot iron. According as the local priest, who was present, interpreted the result of the test, the decision of the court was given. Trial by combat was a method introduced by the Normans for free-born people. Henry II did not exactly do away with those practices, but in civil suits he established an alternative which soon ousted the barbarous methods of ordeal and combat. Instead of fighting or holding hot iron, two claimants to a piece of property, for instance, could submit their case to a jury of twelve 'lawful knights' who would investigate the case in the shire or hundred court, before the King's sheriff, and would decide between the two men. The popularity of the jury system was quickly established.

Criminal trials. In criminal jurisdiction, a regular system was established for prosecuting violent wrongdoers before the sheriff or other royal judges. In every hundred twelve lawful men were to be named, whose duty it was to be to find out if any man was considered to be a thief, robber or murderer, and to 'present' the man before the royal justices. This jury of presentment is the origin of the modern Grand Juries which commit suspected criminals for trial. The suspected man, thus presented before the justices, was tried in Henry II's time by the test of the ordeal, which in criminal cases generally ended in execution. The jury which tries a suspected criminal *after* 'presentment' or committal for trial was not established till some years after Henry II. He left the ordeal in criminal cases, but he left it discredited and contemned: a man whom the voice of the community proclaimed to be a felon might save himself at the ordeal, yet he had to

'forswear the kingdom and within eight days cross the sea, unless the winds detain him'.[1] It required only one step more, in Henry III's reign, to do away with the ordeal altogether; a 'petty' jury was established in Edward I's reign.

Judges 'on circuit' revived. The King's peace under Henry II extended everywhere, even into all the feudal 'franchises', the most privileged domains of barons. And to make certain that the King's justice should be open to every one, he not merely saw that the sheriffs administered justice in every county, but he sent judges from Westminster regularly 'on circuit' round the country. Henry I had begun this system, but it lapsed entirely in the anarchy of Stephen's reign. Henry II revived it, using for judges the able lawyers who, as Barons of the Exchequer, had been in the habit of going round the country to inquire into all matters of taxation and revenue. Thus he got judges who knew the ways of the people in each shire, and who were skilled at deciding difficult questions. The courts held by these itinerant justices have become the modern 'assizes'. The story of how Henry simplified and strengthened the legal system of England can be read in the Latin work attributed to his great Justiciar Ranulf Glanvil.

Thomas Becket opposes Henry in his reform of the Church Courts. Henry II brought the nobles completely under his own jurisdiction; he laboured hard, not altogether ineffectually, but without complete success, to bring the Church courts under control. William the Conqueror, perhaps out of gratitude to the monk Hildebrand (later Pope Gregory VII) who supported his expedition in 1066, had given the Church in England separate courts[2]; so that every man in clerical

[1] Assize of Clarendon, clause 14.

[2] Complete exemption from the King's Courts was not formally recognized till King Stephen issued his Second Charter in 1136. 'I decree and confirm that the justice and control of ecclesiastical persons, and of all clerks, and of their goods, and the distribution of ecclesiastical honours, be in the hands of the bishops' (Stubbs, *Charters*, Davis's edition, p. 143).

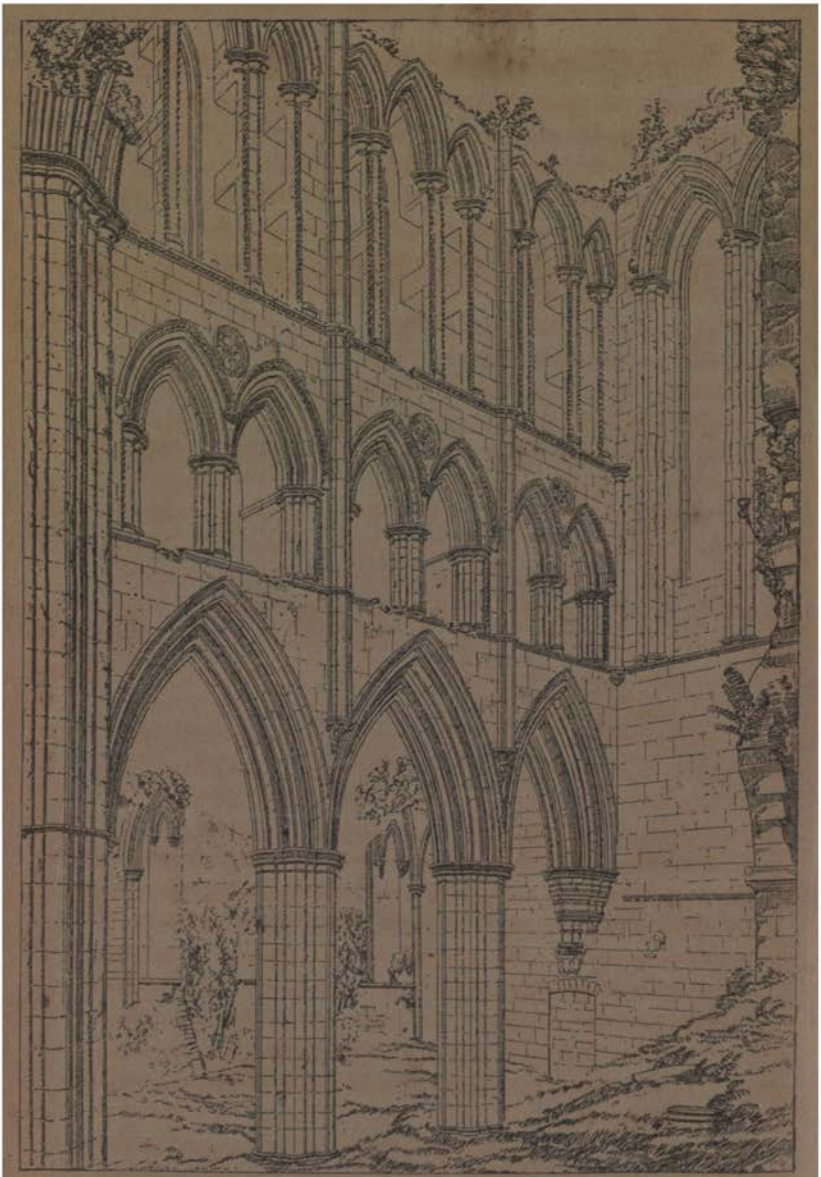
orders, whatever his offence, was exempt from the King's courts, and was tried by clergymen, who, by Canon Law, the rules of the Catholic Church, could not inflict the severest penalty. A clerk might commit a murder, but the worst that could happen to him in a clerical court was to be made a layman. Henry demanded that the 'ancient customs' should be restored, and by the Constitutions or Customs of Clarendon (1164) the Great Council of the Barons enacted that clerics condemned in Church courts should have their punishment fixed in the King's courts. But Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, refused the Church's consent to this. The kingdom was divided in a fierce controversy between Church and State.

The 'Investiture Contest'. This was the second time that England had been so divided. Sixty years earlier, Archbishop Anselm, a gentle saintly man, a scholar whose works on philosophy are among the greatest books of the Middle Ages, had refused to agree to the King's treating the bishops and abbots as mere barons, to his appointing a new bishop by royal authority whenever there was a vacancy. Prelates, said Anselm, received their spiritual office from the Church alone. This famous dispute was part of a similar great struggle, the 'Investiture Contest', which was going on at the same time between Church and State in Europe. In England it was amicably settled. Anselm and Henry I respected each other, and in 1107 made a reasonable compromise. As a baron, as a holder of land direct from the King, every prelate was to be the King's 'man', and as such to swear allegiance; as a bishop, however, he was the spouse of the Church only, and took his spiritual emblems, his marriage ring, and his pastoral staff, from off the altar of his cathedral or chapel. The actual election of bishops was to be in the hands of the cathedral chapter, the election of abbots in the hands of the monks of the abbey. But elections were to take place in the presence of the King or his deputy; as Jocelyn de Brakelond, the Chronicler of the great Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, ingenuously relates,

a strong-minded king could secure the election of any man he pleased. Since the compromise of 1107 between St. Anselm and Henry I, elections of bishops in England have been nominally free, in the hands of the cathedral chapter, and they still are so to-day, but the appointment is actually made by the Prime Minister and Lord Chancellor, in the name of the King.

Thomas Becket murdered. Archbishop Thomas went into exile; violent words were often heard on both sides. In 1170 a truce was patched up and Becket returned to England; but at once the unbending prelate proceeded to excommunicate some of the King's supporters. Then took place the awful scene of December 29, on the steps of the altar of Canterbury Cathedral, when three knights, acting on a hasty word of the passionate King, murdered the Archbishop. His body was buried in the Cathedral, where his shrine became an object of pilgrimages, and where miracles were said to happen. King Henry did penance at the tomb for his fatal words; the control of the Church over criminous clerks was restored, but the rest of the Constitutions of Clarendon remained part of the law of England, and the independence of Church from State was gone. Under the Constitutions, the King continued to control the election of prelates, and all disputes about property between clerks and laymen were tried in the Royal Courts.

Conquest of Ireland. It was just after the murder of Becket that Henry II thought it best to go to Ireland to look after his rights there. Seventeen years earlier Pope Adrian IV (a native of St. Albans) had 'presented' Henry with Ireland, saying that all islands converted to Christianity belonged to the Pope. At that time, the Irish, though certainly Christian, did not follow all the rules and customs of the Roman Church. Henry II accepted the gift, but did nothing till 1169, when he allowed a Baron, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke ('Strongbow'), to go to Ireland and seek his fortune there. Strongbow won most of what is now called



RIEVAULX ABBEY—South Transept, *c.* 1230. The pointed arches and lancet windows of the Early English style.

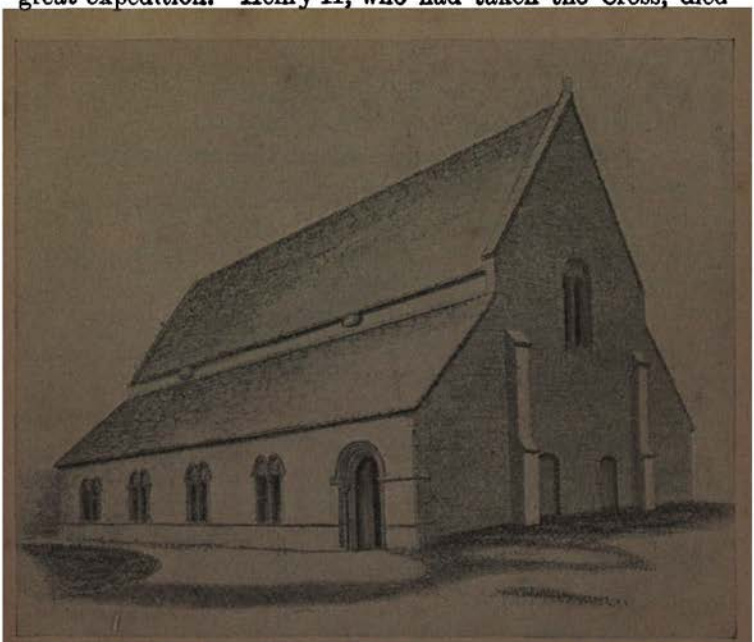
Leinster from the native chiefs. When Henry II went over to Leinster in 1171, he found Norman knights there, and manors and castles being established on the regular feudal model. He received their allegiance, and from that time till Henry VIII's reign, the English monarch was called *Lord of Ireland*. Henry VIII was the first to take the title of King of Ireland.

Before he left the island, Henry II held a synod of all the Irish clergy at Cashel, and brought the Irish Church within the regular Roman system. Giraldus Cambrensis, the Archdeacon of St. David's, tells the story of this and of the rest of Henry's doings in Ireland, in the *Expugnatio Hibernica* or 'Irish Conquest'. When Henry left the country, he had fixed the seat of English government there, at Dublin, which he elevated to the rank of a city by the grant of a charter. The district north and south of Dublin, which was all that the English held firmly, became known later as the *English Pale*.

The Crusades. Richard I. At Henry's death, England was one of the leading States of Europe. 'Our Island,' says a contemporary verse in the Dialogue of the Exchequer, 'content with its own goods, has no need for strangers. Therefore this land our forefathers deservedly called the bosom of riches, the home of every delight.'[1] A nation so fortunate could not stand aside from the great effort which Western Europe was making to recover the Holy Land. Jerusalem, where our Lord was buried, had passed with the whole of Palestine into the hands of the Saracens, an Arab power, about a century before this time. It had been rescued by the heroic Godfrey of Bouillon and the men of the First Crusade, who were mainly French, in 1099; and a feudal State, on the pattern of Normandy or France, had been established, the 'Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', under the house of Bouillon. But in 1187 the famous Saladin, Sultan of the Saracens, captured Jerusalem, and thus created a great Mohammedan power

[1] *Dialogus de Scaccario*, i. 11.

in Syria, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. To regain the Holy Land from this conqueror, the monarchs of France, the Empire (which under the great Emperor Frederick Barbarossa included Germany and Italy), and England, joined in a great expedition. Henry II, who had taken the Cross, died



OAKHAM CASTLE EXTERIOR about 1180. The germ of the modern house is the early mediaeval *Hall*.

before the Crusade started; but Richard I, his son, took up the burden, and carried off many of the English knights to the Holy Land. Richard was an active, generous man, but fierce and unrestrained. His life was spent in fighting, where he justly gained the name of Lion-heart; and in after years Saracen mothers are said to have used the threat of King Richard's coming, to quiet their children. He was at his best in the Holy Land; cheerful, self-sacrificing, full of resource; the camp was his home, the saddle and the sword

his usual means of exercise. In this character he appears in *The Talisman* of Sir Walter Scott, a novel in which the glamour of the Crusade, the romance of war amid the sands of Syria, are strikingly described. So too he appears in the beautiful story of *Ivanhoe*, where beside the glitter of the

OAKHAM CASTLE INTERIOR.

feudal system, of high life in the castle, we get some description of the life of the Saxon serf.

The Crusade of 1191. The English Crusaders, barons and knights who went at their own expense, and the lesser folk who received pay, landed at Acre on the coast of Syria in 1191. The city was captured, and communications by land thus secured. Then the combined host, English, French, a few Germans, and the Syrian Franks, with the knights of the Hospital and the Temple, took the road for Jerusalem, following the coast, keeping in touch with the ships, which carried the provisions and took on board the sick and wounded. The

French King, Philip Augustus, had gone home after the fall of Acre; the old Emperor Barbarossa had been drowned in a river in Cilicia on his way to the Holy Land. So Richard commanded the host, but he could not take it to Jerusalem. Many English left their bones upon the Syrian sand; those who returned brought back a knowledge of better armour, a greater proficiency in the use of the cross-bow—the long-bow did not come till later—and in castle-building. They learned, too, in their passage, something about the Mediterranean and its trade, and the Mediterranean was then the centre of the world's commerce. About thirty miles from Jerusalem, the Crusading army had to turn back. The city was strong, the bad season was coming, provisions and water were scarce, the numbers of the army, with little chance of drafts from home, were diminished. The historian of the expedition, Richard's chaplain, in his *Itinerary of King Richard* tells how one night the romantic king set off with a few companions, and rode to within a few miles of the Holy City. In the morning, from the fountain of Emmaus, he saw the vague outline of Jerusalem.[1] Then he turned back, with his great cause lost. Yet before his army left the Holy Land, he had made a treaty with Saladin assuring safety to any pilgrims who thereafter should visit Jerusalem; and from that day the Holy City has never been without some faithful Christian servants. Saladin was a noble adversary, who always fought honourably, and showed himself generous both in victory and in defeat. Dante, in the *Divina Commedia*, places him in Limbo, along with other noble heathen—Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Hector, Aeneas, Caesar, and others:

> Vidi quel Bruto che cacciò Tarquino,
> Lucrezia, Julia, Marzia e Corniglia,
> e solo in parte vidi il Saladino. (*Inferno*, iv. 127.)

The bulk of Richard's army, once on the ships, reached England safely, but the King himself was wrecked in the

[1] 'Rex prospiciens vidit eminus civitatem Ierusalem apparere' (*Itin.* v. 49).

Adriatic, and imprisoned in Austria by authority of the Emperor Henry VI. The minstrel Blondel from England sang his way through Germany to the land of the Danube, and cheered the King with singing outside his castle-prison. So ended England's first great enterprise overseas.

Richard did not get back to England till 1194 (March), after the nation had, with the greatest difficulty raised an enormous ransom (£100,000, equal to about £2,000,000 of to-day's currency) for his release. He left England again in May 1194, and never returned. Nearly all his time was spent in war against Philip Augustus, who had been encroaching on the frontier of Normandy. It was not in battle against France, however, that Richard fell. He was terribly avaricious, and when in 1199 his vassal the Viscount of Limoges found some gold plate in the ground, Richard claimed the whole of it. The Viscount refused, and so Richard besieged one of the Limousin castles, Chaluz. In front of this stronghold, the King received his death-wound from the bolt of a cross-bow. Before he died, the castle surrendered. It is well known how Richard generously pardoned the archer who had shot the fatal bolt. It is not so well known, however, how the king's sister, Joanna, disregarded her brother's wish, and had the archer mutilated, flayed alive, and then torn asunder by wild horses.

King John and Magna Carta. The reign of King John, Richard's brother, is famous for the granting of the Great Charter, which fixed for ever the liberties of England; so that, in the view of Bishop Stubbs, the whole of the constitutional history of England since then is simply a commentary on Magna Carta.

Till the reign of John, the barons had been the great danger to English freedom. They had often tried to fetter the King's Government, and to take the jurisdiction into their own hands, away from the popular courts. The attempts of the baronage to make itself an arbitrary ruling class had been checked by the combined action of the Crown and

middle or lower classes. But in the course of this struggle, the Crown, in checking baronial power, had itself gained a power that was almost absolute and uncontrolled. So now the pendulum began to sway the other way; and the barons are found acting with the rest of the people to check the arbitrary power of the King.'

Causes producing the Great Charter. Three causes produced the combination against John that culminated in the granting of the Great Charter. The first cause was the opposition aroused by the cruel and lustful nature of the King; the second cause was the loss of Normandy and Poitou in 1204; the third included John's quarrel with the Pope and all the inconveniences to the country which flowed from this.

John shows the character of the house of Anjou at its worst. The family, it was commonly said in Anjou, was sprung from the devil, and Richard I, in his most reckless moments, used to say that from the devil they came and to the devil they would go. All the counts and princes of the house of Anjou, until John's time, were passionate and fierce, and terrible in their anger. Of their ability there was never any question: they were equally distinguished in the field and at the council-table, and so they had risen from being counts of a few square miles in Anjou, to be kings of England and lords of more than half of France. John had much of the ability of Henry II: he was as skilled in diplomacy, and an even abler soldier. But he was indolent, although capable of periods of enormous energy. Strong in mind and body, his life was a failure through lack of purpose and through sheer self-indulgence. He denied himself no pleasure; he could never be counted on to do the work of his kingdom. No one at court was safe from his cruelty and lust, so that at last for his public misgovernment and his private crimes the barons combined to depose him.

The Loss of Normandy. It was scarcely to be expected that the French would indefinitely tolerate the rule of the English

sovereigns in Normandy and in Aquitaine. Accordingly, every French King since the time of William the Conqueror had had an 'English War'. There had been critical times, especially under Henry II, when Louis VII fostered a great revolt of the Barons, in England and in Normandy, in 1173; and again under Richard I, who after his return from the Crusade had to fight against Philip II's forces on the southern border of Normandy. It was to guard the capital of Rouen that Richard built the famous Château Gaillard, at Les Andelys on the Seine, in 1196. Richard was able to keep his possessions as long as he lived, but he died prematurely before Chaluz Castle in the Limousin on April 6, 1199 (see above, p. 71).

After Richard's death the new King of England, John, soon got into trouble with his barons, and so gave the wily Philip Augustus a chance. John was married to Avice, heiress of the Gloucester earldom, but in 1199 he divorced her, probably because they had no children. He then offered himself to the Count of Angoulême; the Count accepted the King's suit for his twelve-year-old daughter Isabella, whose beauty had already attracted John. But Isabella, young as she was, was already betrothed to Count Hugh, of the powerful Poitevin family of Lusignan. Hugh did not take his disappointment easily. He appealed to John's and his own overlord, the King of France. Philip summoned John to the court of Paris to answer the charges of Hugh of Lusignan, but John, naturally, did not go.

Philip soon had another excuse for war. John's elder brother Geoffrey was long since dead, but Geoffrey's son Arthur, Count of Brittany, was alive, aged 15 (in 1202). Arthur claimed the English crown, and, supported by King Philip Augustus, invaded Poitou. He besieged the castle of Mirebeau, which was held by Queen Eleanor, the widow of Henry II, then eighty years old. King John, who could be wonderfully decisive and rapid when he chose, rushed from Le Mans to his mother's assistance, and captured the whole

besieging force (August 1, 1202). Arthur was kept prisoner in the Castle of Rouen, and early next year he disappeared —murdered, most people believed, by John's orders. By this time most of the Norman as well as the Poitevin barons were thoroughly disgusted with John, and when Philip of France, late in the summer of 1203, invaded Normandy, they offered no resistance.

John did nothing to stop the progress of the French arms. While Château Gaillard blocked the way down the Seine, John idled away his time at Rouen. In November he left the duchy and returned, almost alone, to England. Château Gaillard held out bravely till March 6, 1204, and only surrendered through starvation. The other towns of Normandy were quickly reduced, and on June 24, Rouen, the capital, fell. Thus (in addition to Poitou) all Normandy was lost, except the Channel Islands, which remain still to remind us of the domains of William the Conqueror.

Ten years later John brought together a formidable combination of powers against France: the Emperor, Otto IV, and the Count of Flanders invaded the country from the north-east, John himself brought up an army along the Loire. But the army of the Emperor was defeated by a great national army of French at Bouvines, and John, who was at La Roche-au-Moine, had to break up his camp and depart. The loss of Normandy is said to have made the barons in England feel that their lot was now for ever cast with the English people. They were already beginning to feel this when Henry II died. In 1204 there were only seven or eight barons who had estates in Normandy as well as in England.

John rejects the Archbishop chosen by the Pope. The failure to maintain his rule in Normandy and Poitou was a blow to John's prestige, and consequently to his authority, in England. He stood condemned as a statesman. He was now to be condemned as a Christian. In 1205 Archbishop Hubert Walter died, equally distinguished in the affairs of Church and State. The monks of Canterbury, who formed

the Chapter of the Cathedral, met in the presence of the King's deputy to elect a successor. For once some of the monks chose to disregard the custom of electing the King's nominee; the younger and more spirited chose their sub-prior, the rest followed John's wish and chose a certain John de Grey. The monks appealed to Rome for a decision, to Innocent III, the most powerful of mediaeval popes. Innocent set both elections aside, and named as Archbishop, Stephen Langton, a sensible upright Englishman, at that time a Cardinal at the Papal Court. John refused to admit the Archbishop. He stood on firm ground in this dispute, as by the laws of England the Pope had no right to interfere; by a law of William the Conqueror the Pope's decrees or 'bulls' required the King's leave for their entrance into England. Few people, however, respected John, even when his cause was reasonable. Innocent III, arbitrary in his methods, always aimed at good, and the people for the time being acquiesced in his action. But John would not, and forbade Stephen Langton to enter the kingdom. Innocent replied by placing England under an interdict, and for five years all the people were denied the consolation of public religious services. The church doors were locked and were opened only for baptism and confirmation. In 1209 John was himself excommunicated. Yet he cared little, and went on with his pleasures. But in 1213, menaced with rebellion at home, and a French invasion from without, he submitted to the Pope. He agreed to hold England as a 'fief' from the Papacy, and to pay a tribute of 1,000 marks (£333 6*s*. 8*d*.) each year. Archbishop Stephen came to his See. The triumph of Innocent was complete: he had humbled the fervid and terrible John, and had obtained a hold upon the kingdom which might help to ensure the sovereign's good behaviour. Events, however, showed that Innocent had pushed his victory too far. The surrender of England as a fief to the Papacy disgusted the people with John; but it offended them with the Pope too, for the English were a proud people, and valued their independence. At first,

however, they confined themselves to checking the power of the King: it was not till later that they bent their efforts to limiting the Pope's power in England.

The Great Charter. Meanwhile, John's misdeeds did not cease, his levying of unjust taxes, his neglect and defiance of justice. At last the chief barons joined together to lay the grievances of the country before the King; they were joined by Archbishop Stephen on behalf of the clergy, and by the Mayor of London on behalf of the towns. At Runnymede, a meadow on the Surrey side of the Thames between Staines and Windsor, the Great Charter was presented to John, and, with vain and fierce regrets, accepted at the sword's point.

The most famous and effective clause in the Great Charter is Article 39:

'No free man is to be taken or imprisoned or disseised or outlawed or exiled or in any way destroyed, nor will we go against him nor will we send against him, except by the legal judgment of his equals or by the law of the land.'

Although villeins seem to be excluded from the benefit of this rule, they gradually came to share in it, as the legal disabilities of villenage went on dwindling through the centuries. And whatever doubts may now exist concerning the meaning of 'judgment by equals' or 'law of the land', or even 'freemen' as intended by the barons of 1215, those words were always interpreted by the English judges in a wide and liberal sense; and down to the most recent date the clause has been quoted by the bench to warn even the most powerful administration that it must only deal with citizens under the established law of the land. The other clause, which has had the most far-reaching effect, although the principle often again had to be struggled for, is Article 12, 'No *scutage* or *aid* is to be levied upon our kingdom except by the common counsel of our kingdom'. Scutage and aid were feudal taxes, and the common counsel of the kingdom was only given by the barons assembled in the Magnum Concilium. Yet the principle of taxation with the consent of the community, and only with the consent, was

established by this article. Kings or governments that arbitrarily levied taxes were told in later days that they must conform to the Charter. The Church in England received the confirmation of all its privileges, including 'freedom of elections' (Article 1), and all merchants were guaranteed free trade (subject to the payment of the regular dues): 'all merchants are to have a safe and secure going from England, and coming to England, and remaining and going through England, both by land and water, to buy and sell, without any "maletotes" [unjust impositions], but only paying the ancient and right customs' (Article 41). The barons (one could not expect the mail-clad lords of the early thirteenth century to be perfectly unselfish) were confirmed in their private courts or jurisdictions (Article 34). The villeins are only mentioned once (Article 20): 'the villein if he falls into our mercy is to be amerced, saving his wainage'. This meant that villeins who came into such a condition that they could be taxed or fined at the discretion of the King, must at least have their plough-team or cart and horse and necessary tools left to them; they must not be deprived of the means to make their livelihood.

The importance of Magna Carta. Attempts have been made to cast doubt upon the importance of Magna Carta in the development of the English constitution before the seventeenth century. It is pointed out that Shakespeare, whose play of *King John* covers the years from 1203 to 1216, never once mentions or alludes to the Great Charter. The first commentary on it was written by Chief Justice Coke in the reigns of James I and Charles I. But no arguments can do away with the undoubted fact that all through the thirteenth century, all men who stood up for liberty against autocratic and arbitrary administration never felt safe till they had induced the Crown to 'confirm the Charter'. And whatever personal privileges the barons in 1215 hoped to gain by it, they added a final clause which ensured that benefits should be shared by all, down to the very lowest. Article 60, the

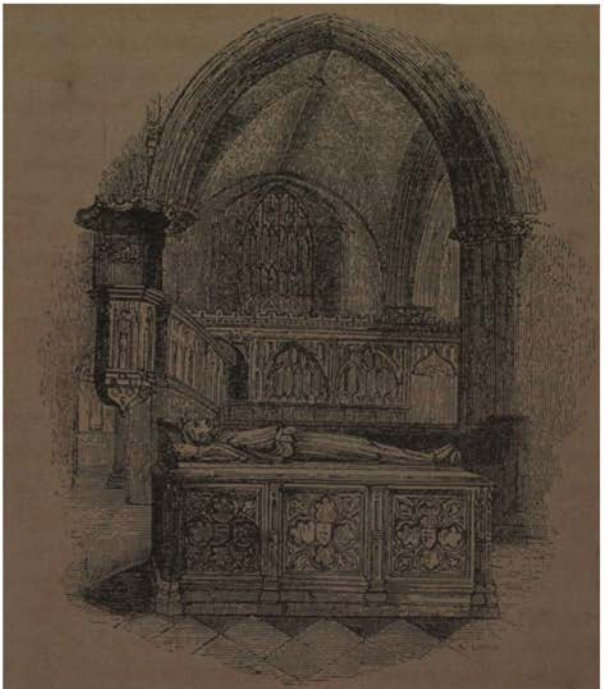
last, enacted that whatever privileges or rights the King gave to his barons, the barons must give to their own men: 'Further all these aforesaid customs and liberties, which we have granted, to be observed on our part towards our own men, everyone in the kingdom, both cleric and lay, will observe on their own part toward their own men'. Thus there could be no special privileges, but whatever one class gained must be passed on to the others.

Death of King John. John was not the man to keep a promise unless it suited him, or unless he was compelled; therefore the barons, in the concluding section of the Charter, obtained the curious right of making war upon the King, in the event of his breaking the oath. They soon had to exercise this anomalous right of civil war; they went further, and offered to make the son of the King of France King of England in John's stead. Prince Louis, afterwards Louis VIII of France, was actually fighting along with the barons in England against the King when John died, after a brilliant brief campaign, at Newark in Nottinghamshire (October 19, 1216). Fatigue and self-indulgence had brought on a high fever. There were rumours, of course, of poison:

> Poison'd—ill-fare—dead, forsook, cast off:
> And none of you will bid the winter come
> To thrust his icy fingers in my maw,
> Nor let my kingdom's rivers take their course
> Through my burn'd bosom, nor entreat the north
> To make his bleak winds kiss my parchèd lips
> And comfort me with cold. I do not ask you much,
> I beg cold comfort; and you are so strait
> And so ungrateful, you deny me that.
>
> (Shakespeare, *History of the Life and Death of King John*, V, vii).

The Navy. His subjects were not ungrateful, for they had little cause for gratitude. In one respect, however, there is credit to be given him. He paid attention (for his own sake) to the Navy, which on occasion put to sea in strength, and, under John's half-brother, the Earl of Salisbury, beat the

French in 1213 off Damme, the port of Bruges. A hundred French ships were burned, and three hundred more were captured. Philip of France, who was besieging Ghent at the time (the Count of Flanders being an ally of King John), had to give up the siege, owing to the loss of his supply-ships, and was compelled to return to France. He had meant originally first to take Ghent and then to invade England. Thus, as so often in our history since then, the Navy saved the country from invasion.



TOMB OF KING JOHN, WORCESTER.
(From a woodcut.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE BEGINNING OF PARLIAMENT

THE Great Charter was granted in 1215. King John died next year. The rest of the century was covered by the reigns of only two kings, Henry III and Edward I, under whom parliamentary institutions became established in England.

The Great Council. Every society of human beings (and a nation is only a very large society) has to have some regulating body at the head of it. In the early Middle Ages the regulating body, the government, of the nation was simply the King assisted by the chief barons, either assembled in a small permanent council called the Curia Regis (Court of the King), or more occasionally in a larger assembly called the Magnum or Commune Concilium, the Great or Common Council. This Magnum Concilium consisted, in theory, of all the barons, that is, of all men who held land by owing feudal service directly to the King. These barons consisted of two kinds, *major* and *minor*, differing simply in the size of their estates. Every major baron was summoned to the meetings of the Great Council by a writ, addressed personally to himself. The minor barons were only summoned by a general writ, which the sheriff read aloud or posted up on a wall or tree or market-cross in each county. The result of this system of summoning was that the major barons, being personally and specially invited, usually attended the Great Council, as indeed they could well afford to do. The minor barons, who in later days were known instead as the knights of the shire, receiving only a general invitation (in which no one was mentioned by name), saved themselves the expense of attending the Great Council, where it was felt their presence, not being personally asked for, was not greatly wanted. Thus the laws of England, down to the middle of the thirteenth century, were passed by the King and major barons.

The Great Council and Taxation. As a consequence, however, of Article 12 of Magna Carta, it had become established that no monetary aids (which came in time to mean no taxes of any kind) could be levied in the kingdom without the consent of the Great Council; and accordingly that the Great Council, and only the Great Council, could impose taxation which the whole nation must pay. But the major barons of the Great Council numbered less than a hundred in all; and the knights and freemen of the shires, as well as the burgesses of the towns, naturally objected to paying taxes to which they felt they had never consented.

Itinerant commissions. One method which was tried by all kings to the end of the thirteenth century, in order to meet this difficulty, was to send commissions round the shires. The commissioners would attend the shire court, and bargain with the men of the shire assembled there concerning the proportion which they would pay of the tax that the Great Council had voted. But this was a cumbersome and uneven method; and a distant and warlike shire might escape with a very light assessment. Down to the close of the Middle Ages the great difficulty of every government, in England or elsewhere, was to collect all the money which the central authority had voted.

Concentration of representatives in London. The country at large would not hold itself bound by the votes of forty or fifty barons. The system of sending separate commissioners round the shires was not very successful. A better plan was to bring the shires and towns, or rather representatives of the shires and towns, to Westminster, to add them to the Great Council, which, thus enlarged, could speak for the whole community of England. It was this plan that was tried at different times, and gradually established as a working system, under Henry III and Edward I. The Model Parliament of 1295, which set the form of the British Legislature down to the present day, was created by the simple expedient of continuing to summon the major barons (who became the House

of Lords) by individual writs, and summoning the minor barons (who were called henceforth the knights of the shire), not as a whole (for all would not come), but in the person of two elected from each shire; and by adding to these, to make the representation of the whole community complete, two burgesses from each burgh, and also deputies of the clergy.

The reign of Henry III. The various experiments, which finally crystallized in the historic British Parliaments, began in the last years of King John's reign. In 1213 he was said by Matthew Paris to have issued writs summoning men from the towns, as well as the barons, to a Great Council at St. Albans. Much more was done in the reign of Henry III. The reign of this king, as far as Henry's own efforts at government were concerned, was a striking failure; he was in disagreement with large numbers of his people throughout all his active years. The menace of civil war was never absent, and open hostilities were a prominent feature of the latter part of his reign. He himself was a man of no strength of character, the only member of the house of Plantagenet, except Henry VI, of whom this can be said. Matthew Paris calls him the king with the waxen heart. Yet he had many good qualities: Dante calls him the 'king of the simple life', and places him (but not his wife) in Purgatory, with the sure hope of salvation:

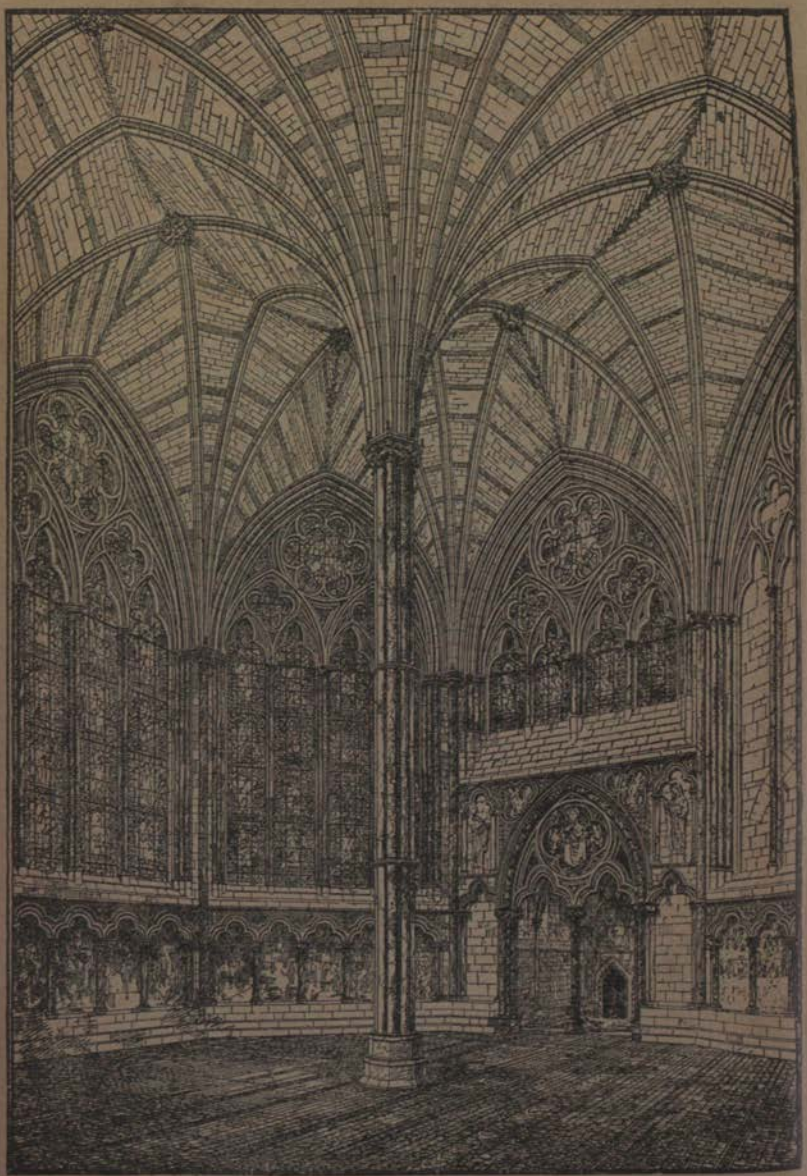
> Vedete il re della semplice vita
> seder là solo, Arrigo d'Inghilterra.
>
> (*Purgatorio*, vii. 131.)

He was a religious man, devoted to the interests of the Catholic Church, fond of his wife and children, gentle in manner, kindly to his friends. It was indeed his friends that the people objected to. He gave his confidence first to the Poitevin courtiers who had come to England with his mother, and subsequently to the Provençals who came with his wife. These people exploited the kingdom: they got the best positions at court, they received large incomes through the King's bounty. What was not dispensed to these aliens was largely

sent to Rome to meet the demands of the Pope. By the year 1258 the situation had grown intolerable; the barons rose to put the Crown under constitutional checks. The greatest baron of all was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who formed the idea of summoning knights and burgesses to the Great Council, to strengthen the control of the country over the arbitrary policy of the Crown.

Experiments in Representation. Before this occurred, however, Henry had been ruling for sixteen years as a minor, under a regency, and for twenty-six more on his own authority (1216–58). The need for money had been growing yearly greater, through his pensions to courtiers, his gifts to the Pope, his war with France. The class of lawyers, which had been growing up since Henry I's reign, was strong in England by this time, and may have suggested the summons of other people beside the barons to the Great Council, so that the levy of taxes might be made easier, or in order to secure some measure of agreement concerning the interpretation or execution of certain clauses of the Great Charter. Thus, in 1225 (while Henry was still a minor), instructions were issued to sheriffs, bidding them send four knights of the shire to a Great Council at Lincoln. In 1254 four knights of each shire were summoned to Westminster, in order that they might grant what the writ of summons calls 'a competent aid' to the King.

Misgovernment under Henry III. Under Henry III the relations between the King and his barons were becoming extremely tense. At the beginning of the reign, public affairs had been transacted by Archbishop Stephen Langton, by the Legate of the Pope, Pandulf, a skilful Italian priest, and William, Earl of Pembroke, an honest man, who as 'Earl Marshal' was head, under the King, of the military system of the land. But William died in 1219. After that the vigorous, straightforward soldier, Hubert de Burgh, who had distinguished himself both on sea and on land, controlled the administration, and, as the people said when he fell, kept England for the English. As Henry grew older, however, the influence of the



WESTMINSTER CHAPTER HOUSE, about 1253. The vault many-ribbed, the windows with the patterned tracery of the Decorated period.

aliens, chief of whom was Peter des Roches, a Poitevin, Bishop of Winchester, grew greater. In 1232 they were able to drive the Justiciar Hubert into exile. From this time affairs went from bad to worse. Peter des Roches became the chief man in the kingdom. When the barons told him that they, as peers, had a definite place in the Constitution of the Realm, he impudently told them there were 'no peers' in England—none, that is to say, in the French sense of the term, which meant equals of the king. The money of the people continued to flow to Rome, where it was largely spent by the Pope in carrying on his fearful struggle with the Emperor Frederick II. Archbishop Stephen had died in 1228. He was succeeded in turn by two Englishmen, but the second, the gentle and saintly Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1234, left his see as a protest against the flagrant misuse of the goods of the Church in England, and went into exile.

In 1236 Henry III married Eleanor of Provence, who brought her Provençal friends and relations with her. At the same time the Papal demands for money grew greater, and were met by the weak king, who is also said to have reserved part of the money for his own court.

King and Pope, alike in this, to one purpose hold,
How to make the clergy yield their silver and their gold.[1]

So says a song of the time. In 1254 matters got worse, for Pope Innocent IV 'offered' the Crown of Sicily (his adversary the Emperor Frederick II was King of Sicily) to Henry's second son Edmund. The offer was accepted, and young Edmund for a time wore Sicilian dress. He never saw his kingdom, but the Pope was able to draw upon England for another £50,000 for his Sicilian war.

The Provisions of Oxford. At last in 1258 the barons, the only people in the country who had any traditions of organized political action, began a definite resistance under Earl Simon

[1] *Political Songs*, ed. Wright, Camden Society, p. 49.

of Leicester. A 'Parliament' of barons only was summoned to Oxford, and the King, seeing that the barons were in sufficient strength to get their own way, assented to the Provisions of Oxford. In this document, written in quaint old French, it was laid down that most of the high civilian officials of the kingdom should only hold office from year to year, and should be appointed, and if satisfactory, continued in their office, by a Council of fifteen barons, who were responsible to another Council of twenty-four, chosen equally by King and barons. There were to be three parliamentary sessions every year: '*il fet a remembrer, ke les XXIV* [*Councillors*] *unt ordene ke treis parlemenz seint par an.*' These parliaments were not to be full assemblies of the people. 'To spare the cost of the commonalty'—*pur esparnier le cust del commun*—twelve elected men (*prodes homes*) were to attend for all the rest.

The baronial government, however, under the Provisions of Oxford did not please the people any better than the King's rule had done. The Annals of Burton Abbey tell how, in 1259,

'The community of the bachelery of England signified to the Lord Edward, son of the King, to the Earl of Gloucester and to others sworn of the Provisions of Oxford, that the lord King had completely done and fulfilled all and single that the Barons had established and imposed upon him; but that the Barons themselves had done nothing for the good of the State as they had promised, but had only secured their own advantage and the damage of the King, and that unless they did better, the compact must be improved somehow.'

Edward's reply to this was that he had sworn an oath at Oxford and would keep it; but he would see to it also that the barons should keep theirs. The 'bachelery' were probably the minor barons or knights of the shire, who were excluded from the Councils of the major barons under the Provisions of Oxford. Their appeal to him may have suggested to him to widen the Magnum Concilium (which was then called *Parlementum*) by adding to it knights and burgesses.

Earl Simon's Parliament. From 1259 to 1264 the King and the baronial party tried to agree at various times and often failed. King Louis IX of France was called in to arbitrate in 1264, but at the 'Mise of Amiens' he decided that the laws of England did not impose any checks on the power of the King greater than were contained in the Great Charter. The barons refused to hold by the arbitration they had invited, and made war upon the King. The two sides met on the Sussex Downs near Lewes, on some of the finest riding country in the world. Only a few thousand barons, knights and men at arms, were on either side, all mounted, except the London citizen band which fought on Earl Simon's side. The King's forces were defeated and driven off the field (1264). Henry III himself was captured. Simon at once took steps to call a Parliament, in the name of the King (December 1264).

Full chain mail, A. D. 1277.

This is the first really national Parliament of England. It consisted of Lords, Commoners, and the 'Estate' of the clergy. Five earls and eighteen barons were summoned; one hundred and eighteen bishops, abbots, priors and deans; and two knights, to be elected from each shire, and two burgesses to be elected from certain boroughs. This Parliament met in January, 1265.

The last of Earl Simon. This momentous Parliament was more fruitful in distant than in immediate results. It failed to arrange a system of government acceptable to king and barons. War broke out afresh, and Earl Simon died in the same year in battle in the lovely Vale of Evesham, fighting against the King's son, Prince Edward, who had learnt all his soldiering while campaigning against the Earl. Simon was a foreigner, who had entered the service of the English

King, and become a thorough Englishman. He had stood for orderly government in the country, and had tried to check the undoubted evils that flow from uncontrolled power in the hands of a foolish king. He had tried to find a basis for settled government in a Parliament which should include all 'Estates' or classes in the realm. It was scarcely his fault that the country had not sufficient experience yet to make the system a working success. His followers were not all disinterested, but the people believed that Earl Simon himself was just and high-principled, and when he died a law had to be made by the King's government to prevent Englishmen from worshipping him as a saint.

The Friars. Shortly before the death of Innocent III (1216) two orders of Friars had been instituted, one by Dominic of Calaroga, the other by Francis of Assisi. In 1221 some Dominican Friars came to England, and in 1224 the Franciscans found their way there too. The objects for which St. Dominic and St. Francis had established their orders were to preach continually, to prevent the spread of heresy, and to help the poor in every way they could. The Dominicans soon became influential in England, being greatly favoured by Henry III; but the Franciscans became the more beloved by the people. The record of their arrival and of their spreading through the country has been kept by an Oxford scholar of that time, Thomas of Eccleston, in his beautiful story, *De Adventu Minorum* (concerning the Arrival of the Minor Friars). They came to Dover from Italy, landing on September 11, 1224. There were only nine men in all in the mission—four clerks and five laymen, headed by Agnellus of Pisa, who had been specially chosen by St. Francis himself to lead the mission. They brought with them no money, and they were simply clad in the long grey cloaks, which gave them their name in England, of the *Grey Friars*.

At this time a University was growing up at Oxford. Paris was still the greatest school of the higher learning in Europe, but in the reign of Henry II, in 1167, during one of the many

quarrels between France and England, the English scholars had been expelled by King Louis VII from Paris; King Henry retaliated by forbidding his subjects for some time to go abroad to study. So Englishmen had to go where they could in their own country. Already there were some schools

THE CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD UNIVERSITY
receiving a Charter from Edward III.

in existence at Oxford, and after 1167 these became more and more frequented. Towards the end of King John's reign, people began to attend schools at Cambridge also; and gradually all the higher learning of England became concentrated in these two places.

It was natural, therefore, that the Grey Friars (for St. Francis always bade his order to learn and to teach) should, on landing in England, find their way to Oxford. There they

set up in a small house in St. Ebbe's, outside the city wall, where they could tend the poor and the sick. They lived simply on the alms which their grateful patients gave them. By the year 1256 their fame had spread and their numbers in England had risen to 1,242, in forty-nine different districts of the country.

In the thirteenth century there had grown up round the walls and in the dried-up, disused ditches of every city, poor quarters, even more dirty and insanitary than the cities themselves. Here disease was never absent, and leprosy especially was a scourge which the few charitable hospitals then existing could not deal with. It was in these terrible abodes of dirt, misery, and vice, in the outskirts of the cities, that the Franciscans first settled. They tended the sick, and they preached continually in the temporary chapels which were hastily built of wood and mud. As their numbers increased, so did their means. Stately churches gave place to the early wooden chapels, and solid convents of stone were built to house the brethren. Their members studied at the Universities, particularly at Oxford; and of these students a large number became physicians. The Franciscans were the doctors of mediaeval England.

At first the Franciscans had to employ a stranger to lecture for them—Robert Grosseteste, one of the best known Oxford teachers, whom Agnellus of Pisa appointed as Lecturer to the Friars in 1225. Grosseteste, who became Bishop of Lincoln in 1235, remained a friend to the Friars all his life. Soon the Friars were able to provide their own teachers. In 1237 an Oxford scholar called Adam de Marisco joined the order. His fame for learning won him the title of *Doctor Illustris*; but he was more than a learned man, he was a man of affairs. Grosseteste, his friend, took him to the great Council of Lyons in 1245, where Pope Innocent IV was trying to act as arbiter of Europe. Another friend of Adam's was Earl Simon de Montfort, who often consulted him. Adam was a great letter-writer, his correspondents including Earl Simon,

Grosseteste, and Queen Eleanor, the wife of Henry III. He died in 1257.

Another famous friar was Roger Bacon, also, like Adam de Marisco, a Somersetshire man. He was born in 1214, trained at Paris and Oxford, and became the greatest scientist of the age. For a time he was under suspicion, perhaps of dealing in magic, and for ten years (1257–67) he was kept as a sort of prisoner in a Franciscan convent at Paris. Pope Clement IV, however, who had been a friend of Roger's in his university days at Paris, obtained his release; and he was able to settle down once more to his studies. Whether he lived mainly at Paris or at Oxford is not known: it is believed that it was at Oxford he died, in the year 1294. His numerous works include treatises on mathematics, logic, mechanics, chemistry, theology: all the philosophic knowledge of the thirteenth century is found there. His life is wrapped in mystery, however, for in his time men feared him as a magician, and the record of his life has been overcast with legend.

In politics, the influence of the Friars was on the side of progress and liberty. They were strong supporters of Simon de Montfort; and the famous *Song of Lewes*, which tells in verse of the reforming ideas, and the acts of Earl Simon, is believed to have been written by a Franciscan Friar.

King Edward's Accession. With the death of Earl Simon, peace was made in the kingdom. In 1271 the Lord Edward, Henry's elder son, went off to the Holy Land on crusade. He fought against the Saracens round Acre, which was almost all that was left of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. While he was still absent from England, his father died. He landed in England in 1274, after an absence of four years.

Edward was thirty-three years old, tall and dignified, with a commanding presence, and an expression in his eyes of great sweetness. His long hair was dark, his forehead broad and high. He was a splendid horseman and given to all manly exercises. As a soldier, he stood at the head of his

time, both for personal courage in the field and for the care and thought which he gave to the preparations for battle. English law bears the stamp of his genius; he encouraged commerce; he had large views for uniting all the British Isles. Like his father, he was, in that rough age, a man of simple and pure life, and deeply attached to his family. His affection

STOKESAY CASTLE (Salop), 1240–90. An example of a fortified dwelling-house. See also Aydon Castle, opposite.

for his wife, Eleanor, sister of the King of Castile, marks one of the fairest pages in the English history of the Middle Age. She accompanied him upon his crusade in Palestine before he became king; in 1290 she died at Harby in Nottinghamshire. The 'Eleanor Crosses' which the King set up at each stage where her body rested from Harby to Westminster (the last stage was Charing Cross) were an outward sign of his great grief. His motto was 'Keep troth'—*pactum serva*; he was indeed the most faithful of men.

Legislation. The reign of this great king lasted till 1307,

and was equally marked by great events in war and in peace. He was a born governor, untiring in his application to business, always thinking out prudent schemes for the better ruling of his kingdom. An able lawyer himself, he studied the laws of the land, and adapted and improved them in a way that has gained him the name of the English Justinian. His law 'Quia Emptores' (1290) encouraged the sale of baronial land, but prevented the further feudalizing of England; if a baron

AYDON CASTLE, NORTHUMBERLAND. Late thirteenth century.

sold a piece of land, the new owner became a baron too, in the sense of owing service only to the King. Thus the chain or series of holdings, the essence of the feudal system, gradually disappeared. The importance of territorial baronies died out. Even a villein could become 'king's man', and therefore free, by buying, if he saved enough money, a few acres of baronial land. Lord Bacon, speaking in James I's reign in Parliament, said that when the sheriff called out the military force of the shire, he no longer took the trouble to ask of any one, 'Whose man are you?'; for practically every one was equal now, being the 'man' of the King.

Another important law was the Statute of Mortmain (1279), which commanded 'that no religious (i.e. monk) or other

person buy or sell land and tenements . . . in such a way that they come into the dead hand (*manum mortuam*), under pain of forfeiture of the same'. Religious bodies, monasteries, colleges, and so forth, never die, so when they acquired land they acquired it permanently. The dead hand never relaxed, landed property ceased to circulate, and the State lost many taxes and men lost the opportunity of acquiring the land they wished to live on. The Statute of Mortmain was not carried out without any exceptions, but from that time corporations have only acquired property when they had a licence or charter from the King allowing them to do so. In this way religious and educational endowments were not prohibited, but they were controlled.

By Quia Emptores and the Statute of Mortmain the possession of land was made more common. But another law, known as 'de Donis'—concerning certain grants of land—gave rise to the system of entail. Land could be held under certain conditions, by which the holder could never sell the land, but must pass it on to his heirs. This 'law of entail' has helped to keep a good part of the land of England in large estates, sometimes heavily encumbered with debts which could not be met by a sale of the land. De Donis itself was done away with in the fifteenth century, but landowners have maintained the system of entails by other legal means.

Edward's Parliaments. In Easter, 1275, the year after his return from the Holy Land, Edward summoned a Parliament to Westminster. To this came not merely barons, but commoners, four men from the boroughs and four knights from the shires. The knights and burgesses were summoned by writs addressed to the sheriff of each county, who was to see to the elections. This Parliament, the writs of which were only discovered in 1910, is the first which contained complete Estates of the Lords and Commons. Simon's Parliament of 1265 had been drawn only from the party which favoured the baronial cause, and moreover the knights were summoned through the sheriffs, while the burgesses, as if they

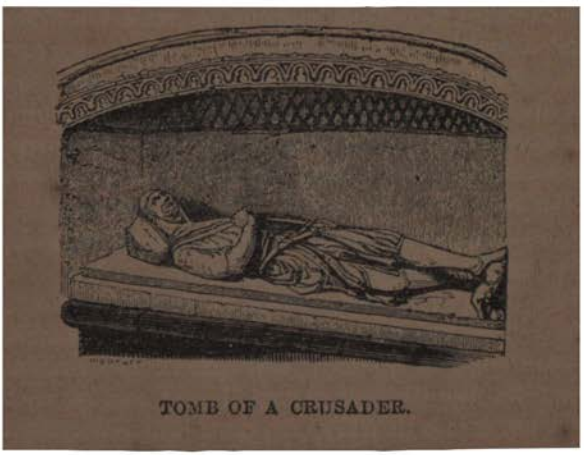
were a separate, a fourth estate, were summoned through the mayors.

Edward, however, did not at once appreciate the greatness of the experiment he had made. After 1275 he went back to the system of a purely baronial Parliament, the old Magnum Concilium. But a Parliament of one class could not easily represent the opinion of the whole country. So, as the task of government was always growing more complicated, and the difficulty of raising taxes ever greater, Edward in 1295 reverted to the broad-bottomed Parliament which he had tried in 1275 and then apparently forgotten. With the momentous statement, contained in his writ to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that 'what touches all shall be approved by all', he issued summonses to the archbishops and bishops and to sixty-seven abbots, and also to forty-nine earls and barons; all these together formed the estate of the Lords; the lower clergy, below the rank of bishop, were instructed to send 'proctors' or delegates, who formed the Estate of the Clergy; finally, in every county the King directed the sheriff 'without delay to cause to be elected from the county two knights and from each borough two burgesses, and to see that they come to Us at the aforesaid day and to the aforesaid place'. Thus the Estate of the Commons was established in Parliament.

The Clerical Estate, the Proctors of the lower clergy, did not take kindly to Parliament; their attendances became fewer and fewer, till they ceased to come at all after a little more than a hundred years. The other two Estates in Parliament became permanent; the issue of a personal writ to a baron in 1295, or the issue of such a writ to any one in the following centuries, conferred a hereditary right on the family to be summoned to the House of Lords. It was in this way that the Peerage of England, the First Chamber of the Parliament, became hereditary. Some of the major barons, and all the minor barons, who did not receive personal writs of summons, became simply Commoners, who, if they wished to sit in Parliament, must take their chance of being elected as

knights of the shire. The representatives of the shires in Parliament were thus substantial men, with landed property and of good family. They were actually of the same social class as the Lords, but they were elected as Commoners, and had to sit with the Burgesses. Thus England, more fortunate than the other countries of Europe, got an Estate of Commons, as wealthy, as educated, as proud and independent, as the great Estate of the Lords. The House of Lords and House of Commons became powerful and mutually respecting equals, in which the political life of the whole country was concentrated and reflected. Thus to the serious and far-sighted Edward the credit of being a great founder must be given. We might adapt to him the words with which the author of the Dialogue of the Exchequer, in concluding his work, spoke of Henry II:

'Since, then, from these elements the structure of the kingdom's government has arisen, he who gave the beginnings deserves the first, if not the chief, reward. *Valeat, rex illustris!* Long live, noble king!'



TOMB OF A CRUSADER.

CHAPTER IX

GUIENNE, WALES, SCOTLAND

We have now seen how, almost from the earliest times, the men and women in Britain, under the common law that was above them, whether it was Roman, Saxon, or Norman, had learned to live at peace with each other, to pursue their own business, live with their own families, and to submit their differences, when they had any, to the courts. The States of Europe, however, were not in the same condition; the only common law above them—that of the Catholic Church—had no power to settle their differences. They often fell out together and strove for what they wanted by force; and 'the cause of all these evils was the lust for power arising from greed and ambition'.[1] But Edward I was not the man to fight in anything but what appeared to him a just cause, and in no instance did he appeal to arms without the most earnest endeavours to settle his differences by peaceful means.

Apart from Ireland, where since Henry II's day there had been an English colony, and over the whole of which the King had a rather uncertain lordship, there were two other peoples near at hand who did not own English rule. These were the Welsh and the Scots. Across the channel were the French, but the English and they only rubbed shoulders along one short frontier, in Guienne.

Guienne. The war with France over Guienne was inherited by Edward from his father Henry, who in turn had inherited it from King John. The duchy was part of the Angevin inheritance since the days of Henry II. It was governed by the English king in a liberal spirit, the towns especially being left to a very large extent to manage their own affairs. A

[1] Thucydides, iii. 82 *πάντων δ' αὐτῶν αἴτιον ἀρχὴ ἡ διὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν*.

2033

brisk trade existed between England and Guienne, and ships plied regularly from Bordeaux to London, bringing wine (the claret for which the Médoc region of Guienne is so famous), and carrying back wool. In 1204 Philip Augustus overran most of the Angevin inheritance, but was unable to conquer Guienne, for which the English king no longer rendered homage.

Communication also went on between Guienne and the Cinque Ports. These were Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney, and Hastings, which were given by William the Conqueror special privileges and special duties with regard to the defence of England by sea. Dover and Hastings were bound to furnish twenty ships each to the King's navy when required, and the other ports contributed in proportion to their size. To the original number of five, two others, Winchelsea and Rye, were subsequently added. Old Winchelsea was overwhelmed by the sea in 1287, and New Winchelsea, the present picturesque town, was founded by Edward I. One of the busiest of the Cinque Ports was Rye, a lovely town set on a steep little hill, and now high and dry on the coastal plain of Sussex.

The French aims. It was inevitable that the French monarchy, which was doing so much to consolidate its kingdom, should aim systematically at absorbing the rich fief of Guienne too. But the English Crown naturally would not give it up; France, on the other hand, would not do without it. War was practically inevitable.

Henry III and Louis IX. If the English Crown had been content to hold only Guienne war might have been avoided, as long, at least, as the saintly King Louis IX of France was alive. Henry III of England, however, resolved to try and regain Poitou, which his father had lost, and only desisted after two sharp defeats at Taillebourg and Saintes (1242). In 1259 he was glad to conclude with Louis IX the famous Peace of Paris, according to which he gave up all claim to Poitou, Anjou, and Normandy, but was confirmed in the possession of Guienne. He was to hold this duchy,

however, as a 'fief' of the French Crown. The French nobles thought that they might have taken Guienne from the weak English monarch, and remonstrated with their King, saying that Guienne belonged to him by natural right, and he ought not to have abandoned his pretensions. But the saintly Louis replied that he desired peace and goodwill above all things; 'and besides,' he shrewdly added (as related by his seneschal, Joinville), 'meseems that what I give him is given to good purpose, since he has not hitherto been my liegeman, but will now have to do me homage.'

The process of penetration by the French. What the saintly King Louis said was true. As long as the English king held the difficult position of vassal to the French Crown for Guienne there were endless opportunities for peaceful penetration. The frontier between France and Guienne was not accurately known; French nobles had land in Guienne; Gascon nobles had land in the French kingdom. Legal disputes about property were continually arising, and the French king, as overlord, had the right of holding a court of appeal. The English king had not time to scrutinize the documents of every Gascon lawsuit, and his seneschals and other officials in Guienne were not always sufficiently alert to prevent the French Crown from advancing its borders by legal means. Thus by one way and another, between 1259 and 1337, the English frontier in Guienne had been pushed back till the duchy became just a narrow strip of land along the coast from the Charente to the Adour. An eminent French historian[1] has given it as his opinion that only the beginning of the 'Hundred Years' War' by Edward III prevented the whole of Guienne, to the last acre, passing under the French Crown.

Edward I and Guienne. Before, however, his grandson had to take up the quarrel, Edward I had tried to settle the difficulty of Guienne. The three years 1286 to 1289 were spent by the King in person in the duchy, fighting and negotiating.

[1] Eugène Déprez, *Les Préliminaires de la Guerre de Cent Ans*, p. 26.

In 1294 there was war again in Guienne, which Edward tried to settle in a peaceful way, giving up some of the outlying districts to Philip IV of France, as a pledge for the due carrying out of the settlement. Peace was made, but Philip refused to hand back the pledges, which therefore remained in French hands. In 1297 Edward arranged for a double invasion of France, through Flanders and through Guienne, and, to meet his military necessities, seized the wool of the English merchants. War was making him arbitrary in his methods. But now nobles and burgesses knew how to act together. The merchants refused to pay: the nobles refused to go to Gascony. The story is told by the monk, Walter of Hemingburgh. Said the Earl Marshal, Roger Bigod:

'I will willingly go with you [to Flanders], O king, riding before you in the first rank, as is my hereditary right. And the king answered: You will even go without me, like the rest. But Bigod said: I am not bound, nor is it my wish, O king, to take the road without you. The king angrily broke out with the words (it is said): By God, earl, you will either go or hang. To him replied the earl: By the same oath, O king, I will neither go nor hang.'

The story is told in Latin; the King and Earl spoke in Norman-French. But there was almost certainly an English version of the story, and in this, as it was first related, 'by God' may simply have been 'Bigod', the Earl's name, in which case the story is even better. The Earl neither went nor was hanged, but Edward, 'in tears,' Matthew of Westminster says, perforce had to reconfirm Magna Carta before the barons and merchants would agree to give their bodies or their goods for the war. In the event, little enough was done in Guienne, for the Scottish war broke out and absorbed all Edward's energies, and the duchy went on shrinking till Edward III again threw down the gauntlet.

Wales. As the French Crown was naturally and inevitably bound to aim at absorbing Guienne, so it would seem the English Crown could scarcely help laying its hold

upon Wales. Scotland might remain independent, but south of the Tweed there was scarcely room for two States. But the truth is, Wales with England did not make two States; it made many; for, since being driven behind their mountains, the Welsh had retained their tribal organization, and as Ireland was an island of kings, so Wales was a land of princes. The pressure of the English barons, the Lords Marcher, military proprietors settled between the English counties and the Welsh tribes, was growing ever steadier, and the clash of arms was seldom absent from the border. No serious attempts, however, had been made to annex the independent parts of Wales since the Norman Conquest. Among their mountains and valleys, in the rich agricultural island of Anglesey, along their pleasant coast, the Welsh lived happily enough, under their chiefs or princes. Fond of music and poetry, they kept open house and made a virtue and a pleasure of hospitality to strangers; and Giraldus Cambrensis, who was court chaplain to Henry II, tells us how in every house it was the duty of the young women to talk agreeably to all strangers and to play to them upon the harp. 'No one ever begs,' he says, 'for the houses of all are common to all.' They loved the free country life, and they loved their country for itself. 'They anxiously', says Giraldus,

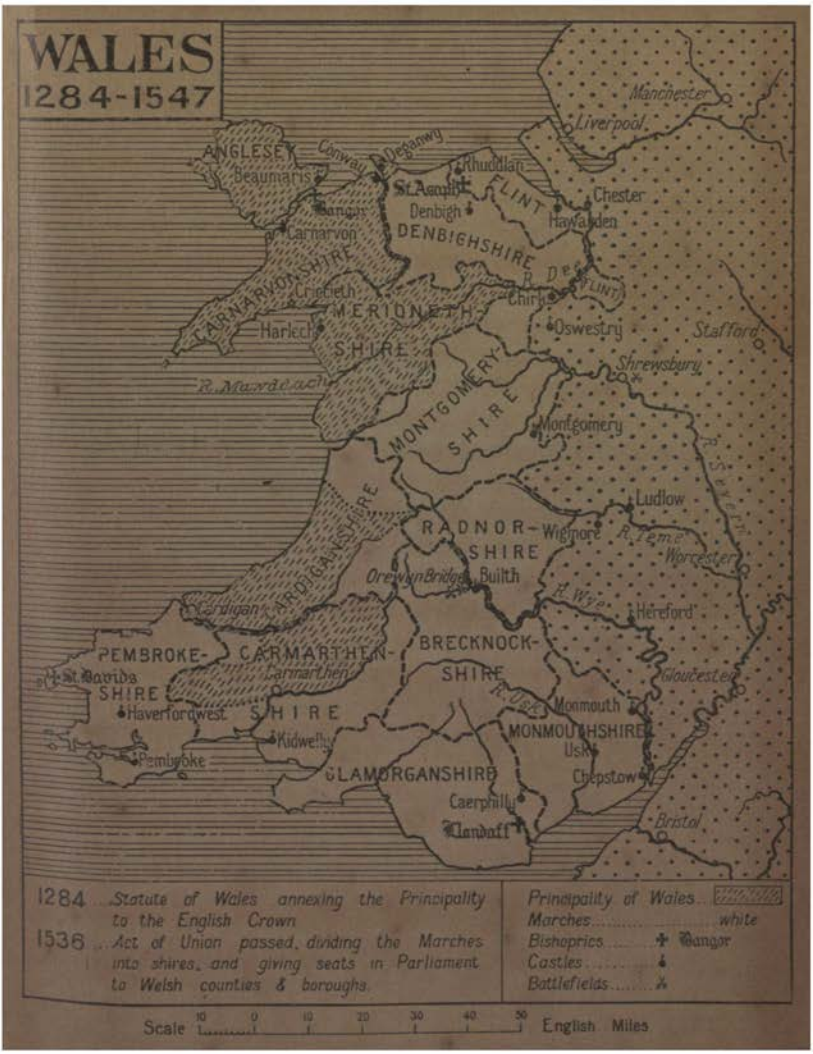
'study the defence of their country and liberty; for these they fight, for these they undergo hardships, and for these willingly sacrifice their lives. . . . In time of peace, the young men, by penetrating the deep recesses of the woods, and climbing the tops of mountains, learn by practice to endure fatigue through day and night.'

Their musical instruments, Giraldus says, delighted and charmed the ear. 'In their musical concerts they do not sing in unison, like the inhabitants of other countries, but in many different parts.' They were active and cleanly, 'both sexes exceed any other nation in attention to their teeth, which they render like ivory, by constantly rubbing them with green hazel and wiping with a woollen cloth'.

25074

Edward I's Welsh wars. Edward was resolved that, as far as possible, there should be one peace throughout the land. The Welsh March was always disorderly. Moreover, the independent tribes of Wales had in recent years joined together in a union, not very close indeed, but still sufficiently strong to threaten to encroach on the English land. The Welsh of the north and south, for the first time in history (according to Matthew Paris), joined together under Llewellyn, Lord of Snowdon, to establish their complete independence against England. In the Barons' War, in the struggles of Simon de Montfort against Henry III, Llewellyn had considerably extended his power. Edward I accordingly, on coming to the throne, demanded the oath of allegiance from the Prince of Wales, the title which Llewellyn had assumed. The Prince made difficulties about swearing allegiance, and at last Edward decided that the matter could be settled only by war. In 1277 a skilfully conducted campaign brought Llewellyn to terms: the fleet of the Cinque Ports had captured his granary, the Island of Anglesey, while he himself was shut up by Edward's land forces in the area of Snowdon. The treaty which concluded the war left him Lord of Snowdon, in allegiance to the English Crown. Cardigan and Carmarthen were annexed to England, and English law superseded the old Welsh customs there. In 1282, however, Llewellyn revolted. He was defeated and killed at Orewyn Bridge, in the romantic valley of the Upper Wye. His brother David was subsequently captured; and Edward, who always took a strictly legal view of any question, had him tried and hanged for treason at Shrewsbury.

The Statute of Wales. At a Parliament held at Rhuddlan, in 1284, it was settled that all that had been left of tribal Wales, Llewellyn's lordship round Snowdon, should be annexed to the English Crown. Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth were 'shired', and English law made to run throughout them. What had been tribal Wales was continued as a Principality, indeed, but the eldest son of the English


WALES
1284-1547
Manchester
Liverpool
ANGLESEY
Conway
Deganwy
Rhuddlan
Beaumaris
St Asaph
FLINT
Chester
Bangor
Denbigh
Hawarden
Carnarvon
DENBIGHSHIRE
R. Dee
CARNARVONSHIRE
Criccieth
MERIONETH-
Chirk
FLINT
Harlech
SHIRE
Oswestry
Stafford
Shrewsbury
R. Mawddach
MONTGOMERY-
SHIRE
Montgomery
CARDIGANSHIRE
Ludlow
RADNOR-
Wigmore
SHIRE
R. Teme
Worcester
Aberystwyth
Builth
Cardigan
R. Wye
Hereford
PEMBROKE-
CARMARTHEN-
BRECKNOCK-
SHIRE
Gloucester
St Davids
SHIRE
Carmarthen
R. Usk
Haverfordwest
SHIRE
Monmouth
MONMOUTHSHIRE
Kidwelly
Pembroke
Usk
GLAMORGANSHIRE
Chepstow
Caerphilly
Cardiff
Bristol
1284 ... Statute of Wales annexing the Principality to the English Crown
1536 ... Act of Union passed, dividing the Marches into shires, and giving seats in Parliament to Welsh counties & boroughs.
Principality of Wales
Marches ... white
Bishoprics ... Bangor
Castles
Battlefields
Scale 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 English Miles

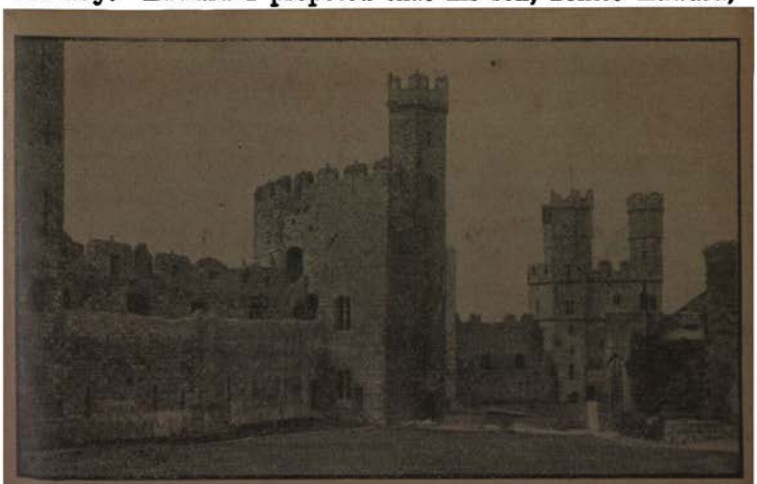
king has always been prince. Until 1536, when the Principality was incorporated in England by Act of Parliament, the Prince governed it as his own dependency. Magnificent castles were built to watch over the newly acquired territory: Aberconway Castle, Carnarvon, Criccieth, Harlech, round which towns grew up and trade began to flourish. Archbishop Peckham of Canterbury extended his jurisdiction over the whole of Wales, which in ecclesiastical organization, till the Disestablish-

CARNARVON CASTLE, built by EDWARD I and EDWARD II, 1283–1322. Note the development of the 'curtain wall' with strong embattled towers.

ment Act of 1914, was simply a part of the English Church. Yet the Welsh have never ceased to remember their own history; they read their ancient literature, sing the songs of the bards, speak the Welsh tongue. To all this, however, has been added the Anglo-Norman civilization—in trade, literature, architecture, law. A people need not lose their identity by joining with another to form a larger union. The Welsh may remain proud of being Welsh, while rejoicing in the common name of Briton.

Scottish affairs. The Scottish people had been formed from Picts, Danes, and Angles, as well as from the Celtic tribe of 'Scots', who are said to have come from the north of Ireland. They lived independently, although for the district of Lothian some of their kings had done homage to the English

Crown, while William the Lion, after his capture at Alnwick in 1174, had been forced to swear allegiance to Henry II. In 1286 Alexander III of Scotland was thrown off his horse near Kinghorn, and broke his neck. The heir to his throne was Margaret, the 'Maid of Norway', daughter of Eric, King of Norway. Edward I proposed that his son, Prince Edward,



CARNARVON CASTLE, interior.

should marry the Maid; the Scottish Parliament agreed, but the Maid died in the Orkneys, from the effects of her passage across the North Sea; and all chance of peacefully accomplishing Edward's 'British policy', the policy of making one strong, orderly, and progressive State over the whole island, was gone for three hundred years. The small farmers of the south of Scotland and north of England, in later years, when they saw their cattle being driven off by raiders from over the border, may have had reason to regret that the union by marriage did not succeed in 1290. On the other hand, the heroic War of Independence, and the long-continued, subsequent combat with England, immensely developed the hardihood, self-reliance, and versatility of the Scot. The great

antagonists learnt to respect each other; so that when union came by the succession of a Scottish king to the throne of England in 1603, it was with no sacrifice of pride, no rankling feeling of injury in the soul of the smaller partner. This free and equal union of honourable nations has been, perhaps, the most successful in all history. England and Ireland, Norway and Sweden, Spain and Portugal, Austria and Hungary, are instances of the commoner event—unions made with high hopes that were not realized.

The Award of Norham. On the death of the Maid, the Crown of Scotland was left to be claimed by different people, none of whom had a clear title. The chief claimants were three men, each of whom was an English baron, although holding certain Scottish fiefs too. One was John Balliol, of Barnard Castle, in Durham, and of Galloway in Scotland; the second was Robert Bruce, of Skelton, in Yorkshire, and Annandale in Scotland; the third was John Hastings, of Abergavenny, who became Earl of Pembroke. The Scottish nobles invited Edward I, known to be a skilful lawyer and a just man, to decide the succession. The assembly was held at Norham; Edward first demanded that the old claim of the Norman kings to be overlords of Scotland should be recognized as valid. The Scots acceded to this. Edward then, after due consideration, pronounced in favour of Balliol (1292). Both Balliol and Bruce were descended in the female line from the old Scottish kings, but Balliol's line was the elder. The decision was reasonable. If Edward had wanted to use his position as arbiter to weaken Scotland, he might have given his decision in favour of dividing the kingdom among the three chief claimants—a decision which would have been in accordance with the principles of feudal law.

Origin of the Scottish War. John Balliol thus became King of Scotland, as Edward's 'man', in the same feudal sense, as Edward, for Guienne, was the 'man' of King Philip of France. The result of this subordinate relation of the Scottish to the English Crown was that Edward, as supreme lord, assumed

the right of hearing appeals from the Scottish feudal law courts, and even on his own authority, of summoning Scots barons to London, to have their suits tried at Westminster. The Scots barons rejected this invidious and expensive way of settling their own affairs; accordingly, when King John Balliol showed himself submissive to the English claim, they practically deposed him. John was thus forced, in order to regain his position as leader of the Scottish nation, to take the side of his own subjects, and to act quite independently of Edward. Edward, who, as ever, took a strictly legal view of the situation, regarded this attitude of John as an invasion of his just rights. He summoned the Scottish king to appear before him in Court at Berwick, but John, who knew that he could never face the Scots again if he answered Edward's call, refused to come (1296). Stirred with the enthusiasm of the Scots for their independence, he declared that Scotland was no longer subject in any sense to the English Crown. Edward answered this by invading the country in April 1296. The strong castle of Dunbar, which blocked the east coast road from England to Scotland, held out under the heroic Agnes, Countess of March. But the Scottish army that came to relieve Dunbar was routed; the Castle surrendered; and by July the whole country up to Aberdeen was conquered by Edward's army. John Balliol was taken prisoner, and Scotland became an English province.

The War of Scottish Independence. It was at this time, when the fortunes of the country seemed at their worst, that the heroic period of Scotland began. The Scots were a poor people; only the barons south of the Forth were in experience or equipment a match for the highly trained and splendidly armed English knights. But the south was all in English hands, the barons dispersed, captured, or enlisted in the English cause. Apart from the barons there was no Scottish army. The people were either traders in their ancient little towns, or small farmers, living under lords or chiefs, not so very much richer or more civilized than themselves, north

of the Forth. Yet this poor, inexperienced and, as it seemed, leaderless people was inspired to rise against its powerful conquerors, and to make good its right to settle its own national destiny, to rule its own country.

William Wallace. Edward had made Scotland, which south of Perth, at any rate, he held effectively, into an English province, with a governor, treasurer, justiciar, and sheriffs—all the paraphernalia of a strongly organized government. Peace, order, justice, were the objects of his rule; with Edward, governing was a duty, seriously undertaken, honestly performed. But though the King was just and honest, his agents, the men he had to choose as governors, were rarely as high-principled as the King. Abuses could scarcely be avoided; yet even the most uncorrupt administration could hardly have given satisfaction to the hardy individualistic Scots.

William Wallace, knight of Elderslie in Clydesdale, had a dispute with an English official which ended in blows and the death of the Englishman. He thus became a marked man, with the whole weight of the English Government against him. He joined a band of 'outlaws', men who for one reason or another denied the English authority, and who maintained an independent, if precarious, existence, in the fastnesses of the South of Scotland. Soon, like fire spreading from beacon to beacon, risings arose in every quarter of the country. The revolt became general: small farmers and peasants joined Wallace's standard; a few knights formed a company of cavalry. It was not a feudal army that he had; the rising was essentially popular, and the strength of his forces was in the rustic infantry. From the wooded heights above Stirling on the Forth on September 11, 1297, Wallace watched the English forces under the Earl of Warenne slowly file across the narrow bridge. When about half of them had got across, he fell with all his army upon them and annihilated them.

The Second Invasion of Scotland. The battle of Stirling Bridge (or Cambuskenneth, from the name of the abbey near by) decided the destiny of Scotland, which was henceforth to live

free and independent. There followed, indeed, a 'second conquest', when Edward, summoning to him all the might of England, came north in the next year, 1298, and defeating Wallace at Falkirk (for Edward was a fine soldier, and would not be caught in a trap like Warenne), re-established the English

power northwards to Perth Yet the English control extended little beyond the forts and castles, and all through the country there were men who refused to acknowledge Edward, men who lived free and unharmed on the produce of their land as their forefathers did. Hostilities never ceased while Wallace was alive. In 1305 the traitor Menteith betrayed the hero to the English. Edward had him tried at London as an English subject, and then executed as a traitor. But Wallace had done his work He had fixed the revolt in the hearts of the people;

where he had sown, Robert Bruce, the grandson of the claimant of 1292, came in, a mighty harvester, and reaped.

Robert Bruce. Robert Bruce, more correctly called Robert de Bruce, eighth holder of that title, was descended from Robert the first lord, a Norman who came from his estate of Bruis near Cherbourg to join the invasion of William the Conqueror in 1066. Robert de Bruce I, after the Conquest of England, was rewarded, like other Norman knights or barons, with English estates. His share was certain lands in Cleveland in Yorkshire. His son, Robert de Bruce II, was made Lord of Annandale in Dumfriesshire in Scotland, by King David I, whose friendship he had won. Robert VI was the chief rival of Balliol for the Scottish Crown at the Award of Norham in 1292. It was the grandson of this man who became the great leader of the Scottish nation in their final struggle for independence.

The rise of Bruce. Till the year 1306, Robert Bruce, as he is generally called, who had become through his mother Earl of Carrick in Ayrshire, had been on the English side of the struggle, and had fought in Edward's army. But feudalism was a very cosmopolitan system, and when he felt drawn to join the Scottish side, he found himself easily at home among those Scottish barons who joined him in the national cause. They never seem to have thought the worse of him for having followed Edward, according to the terms of his feudal allegiance, even against the Scots. The motives of men are strangely mixed, and history cannot clear Robert Bruce of the charge of self-seeking. Nor can his conduct at the meeting with John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, another claimant for the Scottish Crown, a meeting which ended in Comyn being pierced by Bruce's sword, be termed fair, even in that age, when violent death often followed swiftly upon hot words (1306).

The last contest of Edward I. Misfortune and sore trials followed for a time Robert's ambitious course. In the same year as he slew the 'Red' Comyn he raised the standard of

revolt against England, but was defeated at Methven and forced to take refuge in the fastnesses among the magnificent scenery of the Western Highlands. But finding himself unsafe even there, he took ship across to the small island of Rachrine, off the Antrim coast, where tradition says he was fortified to endure in his course by the persistence with which he saw a spider steadily weaving, over and over again, its broken web. He was soon back in Scotland raising men to meet the English forces. The old lion, Edward I, roused himself for a last effort. He could only travel in a litter, at the rate of about two miles a day. On the morning of July 7, 1307, as he was being raised to a sitting position to take the morning meal, he died in the arms of his attendants. The inscription on his tomb in Westminster Abbey—

Edwardus Primus Scotorum Malleus hic est. Pactum serva.—

commemorates his matchless activity, his determined honest nature.

The reign of Edward II. While Edward was alive, the position of the Scottish national party was desperate; with his death the face of the situation was changed. Men burnished their arms again; Bruce's forces increased rapidly. Whole districts came under his authority, and were able to carry on something of the trade and agriculture without which no war can be maintained. The English Government in the south of Scotland was active enough; its captains were valiant and resourceful, but the new king, Edward II, could not support them sufficiently. He was a pleasure-loving young man, fond of favourites, like the Gascon, Piers Gaveston—

> I mean that vile torpedo,[1] Gaveston,
> That now, I hope, floats on the Irish seas,

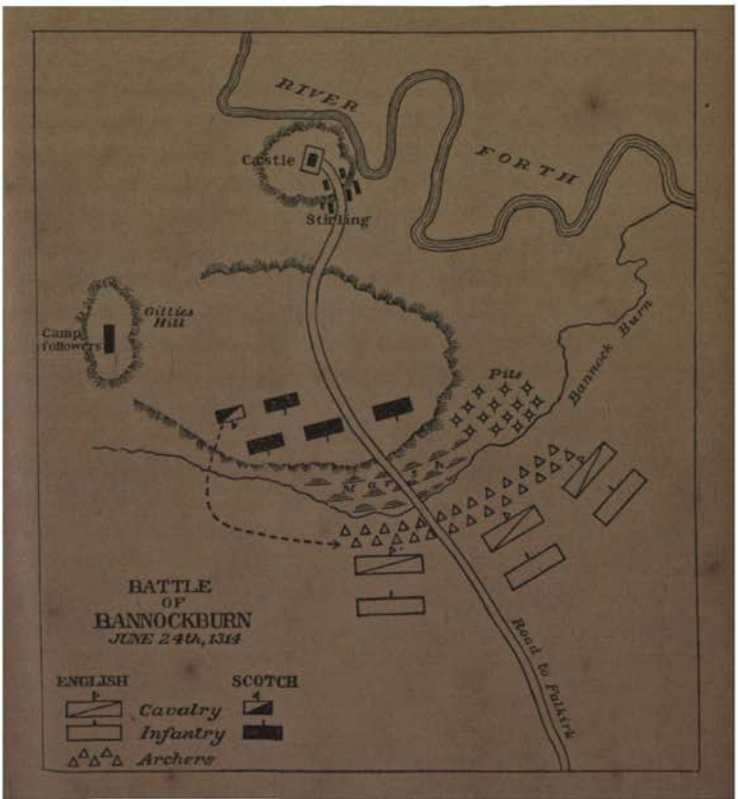
as the younger Mortimer calls him in Marlowe's play of *Edward II*. The barons, who had felt what a strong monarch

[1] A *torpedo* was the name of a fish with electric power; it was believed that people who touched it received a shock and died.

like Edward I was, could not tolerate a 'fainéant' like his son. Under the name of Lords Ordainers, led by Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, the King's cousin, they rose in 1310 and administered the government through a Commission of their own. Gaveston was killed. In 1312 Pope Clement V ordered the dissolution of the Order of the Temple throughout Europe. Edward II obeyed, broke up the Order in England, and shared their estates between himself and the nobles.

Bannockburn. Internal troubles ruined English action in Scotland. It was not till 1313 that the King was able to prepare an invasion. A fine army, numbering perhaps 20,000 fighting men (there would be as many more non-combatants —smiths, farriers, masons, servants, traders), assembled at Berwick and marched through Scotland to relieve Stirling, on the River Forth, the key to Scotland north of that river. They found the Scots army, chiefly footmen, with only a small body of knights on horseback, ready to receive them, below the walls of Stirling. King Robert was a great leader, and his army was in the best of spirits. He had prepared carefully-concealed pits in front of his lines; his men were taught to stand firmly together, shield touching shield, with the formidable long spear held steadily outwards. Thus they stood, unconquerable, like the squares of Highland regiments at Quatre-Bras in 1815. The battle took place on June 24, 1314. Sixteen years before, Edward I had faced the same problem at the battle of Falkirk against Wallace; he had broken the ring of Scottish spearmen by the discharges of his archers. Edward II tried the same tactics; but he sent his archers too far ahead of the rest of his forces, and without adequate protection. Bruce's small corps of cavalry charged into their ranks and cut them down. The concealed pits caused confusion in the lines of English knights and men-at-arms; those who reached the Scottish ranks could make no impression on the sturdy spearmen. The tide of battle turned, and the Scots advanced upon the English lines. Soon the whole of Edward's forces were in flight, save those who lay dead or wounded

upon the trampled blood-stained ground, where now fair green fields delight the eye that looks down from Stirling Castle.



And therefore came it that the fleering[1] Scots,
To England's high disgrace, have made this jig;
'Maids of England, sore may you mourn,—
For your lemans[2] you have lost at Bannockbourn—
With a heave and a ho!
What weeneth[3] the King of England,
So soon to have won Scotland?—
With a rumbelow!'

(Marlowe, *Edward II*, Act II, sc. ii.)

[1] Joering. [2] Sweethearts. [3] Thinks.

The downfall of Edward II. The Battle of Bannockburn destroyed all hopes of Edward II to recover Scotland. The rest of his reign is a story of quarrelling with his barons. For a year or two he managed to maintain his authority, with the help of Hugh le Despenser, Earl of Winchester, and his son (also called Hugh le Despenser). Thomas of Lancaster would not submit without a struggle, but in March 1322 the Ordainers were defeated by Andrew Harclay, Earl of Carlisle, at Boroughbridge on the Ure in Yorkshire. Edward II, who was at Pontefract at the time, had Lancaster executed there as a traitor. At the advice of the Despensers, he then summoned a Parliament to York, which was attended by members of the three Estates (Lords, Clergy, and Commons) from England, and by representatives from Wales—the only time that Welsh members came to Parliament before the reign of Henry VIII. It was here enacted that no law affecting the whole kingdom should be decided, except with the consent of each of the three Estates. But the King soon fell back into his old ways, and his unpopularity, combined with the intrigues of his wife, Isabella of France, brought about the unfortunate man's deposition and death. Isabella was the sister of King Charles IV of France. In 1325 she offered to go to Paris to conduct negotiations concerning the endless question of Guienne. She disliked her husband, and would have liked to marry Roger Mortimer, the Earl of March. Mortimer went to France too. Around them gathered a number of turbulent spirits. In September 1326 they chartered ships in Holland and sailed across to Orwell (Ipswich), in Suffolk. The nation had no love for Edward, who showed no strength to control the administration and no dignity to uphold his position. He fled from London, was captured in South Wales, and imprisoned in Berkeley Castle. Parliament was induced to declare him deposed, and then he was murdered in his prison (September 21, 1327).

The Independence of Scotland. The son of the murdered

monarch became king as Edward III, under the regency of the infamous Mortimer and Isabella. Edward II had been unpopular, and the people made no attempt to save him, but they did not relish the rule of the regency more, seeing that the government of the kingdom was no more honestly administered under them than before. From the first the new Government's policy was a failure. They still claimed the lordship over Scotland, though they could not exercise it. The English Government had never recognized Robert as King of Scotland: in all English State documents and communications he was still only 'Robert de Bruys'. Robert naturally objected, and in 1327 the Scots invaded England.

The campaign which ensued, in 1327, is an excellent example of the fighting qualities of the Scots. Their method of campaigning has been preserved by the Flemish historian, Jean Froissart (*Chroniques*, ch. xvii).

'These men are right hardy and sore travailing in harness and in wars. For when they will enter into England, within a day and a night they will drive their whole host twenty-four mile, for they are all a-horseback, without it be the trandals and laggers of the host, who follow after afoot. The knights and squires are well horsed, and the common people and other on little hackneys and geldings; and they carry with them no carts nor chariots, for the diversities of the mountains that they must pass through in the country of Northumberland. They take with them no purveyance of bread nor wine, for their usage and soberness is such in time of war, that they will pass on the journey a great long time with flesh half sodden, without bread, and drink of the river-water without wine, and they neither care for pots nor pans, for they seethe beasts in their own skins. They are ever sure to find plenty of beasts in the country that they will pass through: therefore they carry with them none other purveyance but on their horse between the saddle and the panel they truss a broad plate of metal, and behind the saddle they will have a little sack full of oatmeal, to the intent that when they have eaten of the sodden flesh, then they lay this plate on the fire and temper a little of the oatmeal; and when the plate is hot, they cast of the thin paste thereon, and so make a little cake

in manner of a cracknell or biscuit, and that they eat and comfort withal their stomachs. Wherefore it is no great marvel though they make greater journeys than other people do. And in this manner were the Scots entered into the said country, and wasted and brent all about as they went and took great number of beasts.'

A mobile adversary like this was difficult to meet, except under circumstances of his own choosing, in marked contrast to the English forces of the period, for these moved with trains of baggage-wagons, miles long. In the autumn of 1327 the young King Edward III was sent with an army of knights and men-at-arms against the Scots, who were ravaging the villages of Durham. For a time the armies faced each other near the River Wear; in the morning the Scots were gone! So the campaign proceeded, the Scots not choosing to fight, living on what they took from the country, the English army finding itself wholly unable to bring them to battle. At last the Government, seeing its army wasting away, its money squandered, its prestige ruined, agreed to make peace. By the Treaty of Northampton, April 1328, it acknowledged Robert the Bruce as King of Scotland, without any feudal tie, in complete independence from England. It was the last gift of the great Bruce to the Scottish nation. He died in 1329, having instructed his friend, the good Lord James Douglas, to carry his heart to Granada, where, practical to the last, King Robert saw that real crusading work was still to be done against the Moors. Douglas met his death in carrying out his dead friend's wishes.

Fall of Mortimer. The odious government of Mortimer and Isabella did not last much longer. Its credit was gone, and the Treaty of Northampton only confirmed the general impression of its feebleness. In 1330 Edward III took the opportunity of Parliament being met at Nottingham to carry through a small revolution. Mortimer was seized and executed for his misdeeds, in spite of the shameless Queen's plea, 'Fair son, have pity on the gentle Mortimer'. Isabella

herself was honourably treated by Edward, and lived comfortably enough on her numerous estates in England, frequently visiting her son the king, during the next twenty-eight years. Thus ends the first episode in the blood-stained story of the English Crown in the Later Middle Ages.

CHAPTER X

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR: PART I

Results of the Hundred Years' War. The Hundred Years' War between England and France was the catastrophe of the Later Middle Ages. In each country it may be said to have put a stop to development, moral, social, economic. The character of those who fought on both sides degenerated as time went on; the kings became more despotic, the nobles more ruthless and arrogant, the townsmen more wrapt up in themselves, the peasants more miserable. The mercenary soldier, the reckless, cruel, lustful fighter by trade, became established for three hundred years in Europe; and from the time of the Free Companies of Edward III and Charles VI to the Pandours, Croats, Scottish, Irish, Spanish, and Italians, free pikemen of the Thirty Years' War, Europe groaned at intervals under the horrid scourge.

Gradually out of the futile struggle, order and system began to be evolved. The people on each side, the English and French, took refuge under the autocracy of the Crown. Under popular monarchs each State became solid and efficient. But this did not take place, in England at any rate, until the foreign war, with the evil spirits it engendered, had reacted upon English life, and had produced the internal struggle known as the Wars of the Roses. Then, when peace at last was breathed over the troubled surface of England, came the wonderful efflorescence of the Tudor period, with the concentration of the national energies along the fruitful paths of maritime exploration, literature, commerce.

Causes of the Hundred Years' War. Calamitous as were the effects of the Hundred Years' War while it went on, it was not lightly undertaken by Edward III; nor, if its origin be judged even by the highest standards of that time, does it appear to have been avoidable. The English Crown had held Guienne since 1154. A glance at the map shows that Guienne is no outlying province, peninsula or island, but an integral part of the country which all men recognize as France. It was impossible that the French kings should not pursue the course that lay so obvious before them, of adding it to their kingdom. It was equally impossible that the English kings should tamely give up their great historic heritage. When Edward III came to the throne there was little enough of it left, and had he held his hands longer, it would soon have all been gone.

Minor Causes. No great movement among the human race —not the Anglo-Saxon migration, the Crusades, the Hundred Years' War, the Reformation, nor any other—was ever produced by one motive alone. There were many minor causes pressing Edward III to intervene. With the Scots, after 1330, he had further quarrels; for a brief period he even restored the Balliol family to the throne. But the young Edward Balliol, vassal King of Scotland from 1333 to 1338, proved to be no stronger than his father; and the Scots, by their own efforts and with the help of Philip VI of France, were able to expel him. This was another cause of war between England and France. A third was maritime competition. The English sailors from the Cinque Ports—Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, Sandwich, and from the ports farther west—Southampton, Lyme, Fowey, Falmouth, and the rest—sailed the channel, and made their way for trade to Dutch harbours to the east, to Bordeaux and to Spanish and Portuguese towns to the west. The sailors of Normandy and Brittany were equally enterprising, and competed for trade. Occasionally the more lawless spirits —English and French, there was not much to choose between them—would seize ships or goods of the other nation. The governments did not keep the peace of the seas in those days;

when one crew plundered another, retaliation was carried out not by the arm of the law, not by the King's navy (which hardly existed), but by the friends of the injured crew. But 'wild justice', as Bacon calls revenge, soon becomes indiscriminate anarchy; the Channel became a scene of piracy. The kings on each side of the Channel called on each other to put a stop to it; but their power was small, and the piracy went on. Edward III, however, like his progenitors, proudly claimed the 'lordship of the Narrow Seas', and as the French denied this, one more cause was added to the motives pressing him to war.

The Succession to the French Crown. After going to war, Edward, in 1340, assumed the title of King of France. The claim is important chiefly because it led Henry V in the next century to renew the war with France, in order to set himself upon the French throne. Edward III, however, seems to have had no expectations of becoming actually King of France, but to have called himself so chiefly to please the men of Flanders, and perhaps also the barons of Guienne, who felt that they were not breaking their feudal allegiance by fighting for an English king, who also called himself liege lord of France. The legal foundation of Edward's claim was the fact that his mother Isabella was the sister of Charles IV, who had died in 1328, without children. The nearest relative, in the male line, of the dead king was his cousin Philip of Valois. The French barons in full assembly at Paris chose Philip (VI), without seriously considering any claim that Edward III might have, although the English Government at the time lodged a formal protest. In 1337, when Edward was preparing for war with France, the Flemish burghers, under a popular leader, James van Artevelde, were involved in disputes with the Count of Flanders, who was supported by Philip VI. It was convenient for him to ally himself with these Flemish burghers, and the relations between him and them were made a little easier by his assumption of the style of the King of France, their legal overlord.

Nature of the War. The Hundred Years' War was not a continuous struggle. It was only in the nineteenth century that a war became an intense struggle, waged without any relaxation of effort from beginning to end. Mediaeval wars were so protracted, because they were waged in a desultory fashion. The summer or autumn was the campaigning season. During the rest of the year there were no regular hostilities, and no soldiers were retained except a few garrisons. The armies employed were comparatively small—generally ten to twelve thousand men. The population as a whole was left to carry on its usual avocations throughout the whole year, unless an army was actually in the neighbourhood, when the smoke of burning villages would ascend to the sky.

Stages of the War. The Hundred Years' War, accordingly, was not fought continuously throughout the year, nor was it fought by any means every year. Between 1338, when the war began, and 1346, the year of the battle of Crécy, there were only two campaigns of any size, in addition to a good deal of local fighting in Brittany, and some important 'raiding' on the frontier of Guienne. Again between 1349, the year of the Black Death, and 1356, the year of the battle of Poitiers, there was little organized fighting. From this time till the formal re-opening of war on the grand scale by Henry V in 1415, with the exception of a few brief and unsuccessful expeditions on the part of the English, there was little more than skirmishing between bands of a few hundred on either side, a style of fighting which suited the French better than the English, whose communications in France were long and expensive to maintain.

The first part of the Hundred Years' War may be taken as extending from 1338, for twenty years beyond the reign of Edward III, to the year 1396, when Richard II made peace and married the Princess Isabella of France. The second part is from the beginning of the great effort of Henry V, in 1415, to the final loss of the English provinces in 1453. Although the war was not continuously fought, there was probably not

a single year, between 1338 and 1453, when no fighting at all took place between Frenchmen and Englishmen. No one can deny that since then great progress has taken place. Calamitous as are modern wars, full of sadness and suffering as they still remain, peace is yet the normal relation between State and State; and the period of war's agony, when compared with the long years of peace, is, as it were, but a restless watch in the night.

Sluys. Five great events mark the history of the war up to the Treaty of Bretigny: these are the Battle of Sluys (1340), Crécy (1346), the capture of Calais (1347), Poitiers (1356), and then comes the Treaty itself (1360). The Battle of Sluys is not the first, though it is the most famous of the mediaeval sea-fights of England. King John's half-brother, the Earl of Salisbury, had defeated a French fleet off Damme, when the enemy attempted to invade England in 1213; Hubert de Burgh had destroyed another French fleet in 1217. But now, in 1340, the victory took place in different circumstances; it was the English who were coming to invade France, and the French who were defending. Fleets were raised locally in those days. Thus the French navy consisted chiefly of small ships, supplied by the Norman and Breton ports. The English fleet, which was only 'in being' in time of war, consisted of a few King's ships (not more than seven or eight), chartered merchantmen, and ships supplied by the ports of the south and east coast. The King paid for the upkeep of all the ships, except those of the Cinque Ports, while they were at sea.

On June 23, 1340, Edward was sailing towards Flanders. The French fleet was posted in the harbour of the Zwyn, an open estuary now silted up with sand. The battle took its name from the town of Sluys, at the head of the estuary. There were probably about a hundred and fifty of the small ships of that time on either side. As the result of hard fighting on June 24 and 25 (1340) the bulk of the French fleet was destroyed or captured. The battle is graphically described by the chronicler Froissart (chap. l):

'This was on Mid-summer even in the year of our Lord M.CCCXL., all the English fleet was departed out of the river of Thames and took the way to Sluys. And the same time between Blankenberghe and Sluys on the sea was Sir Hugh Quieret, Sir Peter Behucet and Barbevaire, and more than six score great vessels, beside other; and they were of Normans, Vidans, Genoways and Picards about the number of forty thousand: there they were laid by the French king to defend the king of England's passage. The king of England and his came sailing till he came before Sluys: and when he

NAVAL ARCHITECTURE. Illustrations from various original sources showing the evolution of the forecastle through 400 years.

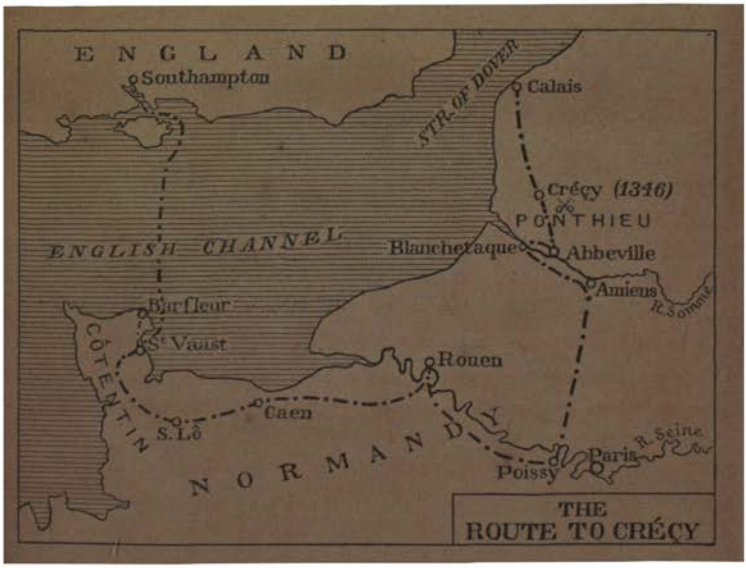
saw so great a number of ships that their masts seemed to be like a great wood, he demanded of the master of his ship what people he thought they were. He answered and said, "Sir, I think they be Normans laid here by the French king, and hath done great displeasure in England, brent your town of Hampton and taken your great ship the *Christofer*." "Ah," quoth the king, "I have long desired to fight with the Frenchmen, and now shall I fight with some of them by the grace of God and Saint George; for truly they have done me so many displeasures, that I shall be revenged, an I may." Then the king set all his ships in order, the greatest before, well furnished with archers, and ever between two ships of archers, he had one ship with men of arms; and then he made another battle to lie aloof, with archers, to comfort even them that were most weary, if need were. . . . There began a sore battle on both parts: archers and cross-bows began to shoot, and men of arms approached and fought hand to hand: and the better to come together they had great hooks and grappers of iron,

to cast out of one ship into another, and so tied them fast together. There were many deeds of arms done, taking and rescuing again, and at last the great *Christofer* was first won by the Englishmen, and all that were within it taken or slain. Then there was great noise and cry, and the Englishmen approached and fortified the *Christofer* with archers, and made him to pass on before to fight with the Genoways. This battle was right fierce and terrible; for the battles on the sea are more dangerous and fiercer than the battles by land: for on the sea there is no reculing nor fleeing; there is no remedy but to fight and to abide fortune, and every man to show his prowess.'

The Campaigns of the Earl of Lancaster. The defeat of the French ships at Sluys was a great boon to English seafaring in the Channel, but it did not make Gascony secure. This was accomplished by Henry, Earl of Lancaster, a dashing leader of feudal cavalry, who made three 'raids' in 1345 and 1346, with some hundreds of English knights and men-at-arms and a thousand or two Gascons. He captured Auberoche and Aiguillon, and sacked Poitiers. These 'chevauchées' of the dashing Earl were extraordinarily successful; they advanced the Gascon frontier, and inspired the English soldiery with a confidence in fighting in France, that carried them through many a long march and hard-fought battle.

Crécy. In summer, 1346, Edward III himself took the field with a fine army, small compared with modern armies, but formidable for those days. It consisted of about 2,500 mounted knights and men-at-arms, 10,000 archers, and perhaps about 10,000 infantry. Sailing from Portsmouth, the fleet landed the soldiers at Saint-Vaast-la-Hougue on July 12, 1346, and proceeded to march through the Côtentin. Barfleur, St. Lô and Caen were entered, and the fleet was filled with the rich booty taken. Then Edward marched inland, apparently without any definite plan, but meaning to find the French army, and then to put to the wager of battle the fortunes of England and France. Philip VI, however, was too cautious to offer battle with the fine army he had

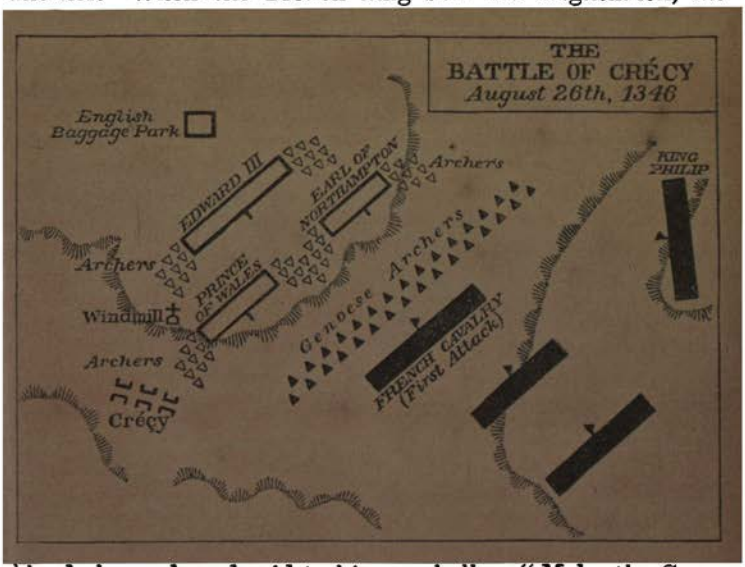
collected. He allowed the English—who had very little idea of the country, no maps, no knowledge of the fords of the Seine—to march practically to the gates of Paris: the burgesses of the capital could plainly mark the advance of the English army, by the smoke of the burning villages. At Poissy Edward crossed the Seine by a bridge, and turned north-east. A number of rivers, however, flowing to the English Channel



barred his way; and by the time he had reached the Somme his army was fatigued and diminished, and the French were ready to fall upon him. The Somme at this point is not a river, it is a broad estuary. Luckily the English scouts obtained information of a ford across it at Blanchetaque, and the army got over in safety. Edward was then able to choose a fair battle-ground, on the outskirts of the Forest of Crécy, in the rolling down-country of Ponthieu. On Saturday, August 26 (1346) the French army, consisting chiefly of knightly cavalry and hired Genoese cross-bowmen, attacked the English with vastly superior numbers; but

discipline won the day against disorderly feudal valour. Froissart (chap. cxxx) ascribes the defeat of the French to impatience and indiscipline.

'The lords and knights of France came not to the assembly together in good order, for some came before and some came after in such haste and evil order that one of them did trouble another. When the French king saw the Englishmen, his



blood changed, and said to his marshalls: "Make the Genoways go on before and begin the battle in the name of God and Saint Denis." There were of the Genoways cross-bows about a fifteen thousand, but they were so weary of going afoot that day a six leagues armed with their cross-bows, that they said to their constables: "We be not well ordered to fight this day, for we be not in the ease to do any great deed of arms: we have more need of rest." These words came to the Earl of Alençon, who said: "A man is well at ease to be charged with such a sort of rascals, to be faint and fail now at most need."... When the Genoways were assembled together and began to approach, they made a great leap and cry to abash the Englishmen, but they stood still and stirred not for all that: then the Genoese again the second time made another leap

and a fell cry, and stept forward a little, and the Englishmen removed not one foot: thirdly again they leapt and cried, and went forth till they came within shot; then they shot fiercely with their cross-bows. Then the English archers stept forth one pace, and let fly their arrows so wholly [together] and so thick, that it seemed snow. When the Genoways felt the arrows piercing through heads, arms and breasts, many of them cast down their cross-bows and did cut their strings and returned discomfited. When the French king saw them fly away, he said: "Slay these rascals, for they shall let and trouble us without reason." Then ye should have seen the men of arms dash in among them and killed a great number of them: and ever still the Englishmen shot whereas they saw the thickest press; the sharp arrows ran into the men of arms and into their horses, and many fell, horse and man, among the Genoways, and when they were down they could not relieve again, the press was so thick that one overthrew another. And also among the Englishmen there were certain rascals that went afoot with great knives, and they went in among the men of arms, and slew and murdered many as they lay on the ground, both earls, barons, knights and squires, whereof the king of England was after displeased, for he had rather they had been taken prisoners.'

The Siege of Calais and the Battle of Neville's Cross. Edward, by hard fighting, by his skilful tactics, and by luck, had been delivered out of the enemy's hands. His next move was to go straight on to Calais, the best harbour on the north of France, a rich fishing port, and a stronghold of those independent French sailors—pirates the English called them—who had made the Channel so dangerous for our shipping. For the time being, the military power of the French was destroyed, and they were in no condition to relieve the town. Only the Scots were able to make a serious attempt, by invading the North of England in October (1346). This military diversion was, however, firmly met in Edward's absence by his wife, Queen Philippa, and by the northern lords, the families of Percy, Neville, and the rest. The Scots were beaten at Neville's Cross in Durham, and their king, David II, taken prisoner. Their diversion had failed, yet it was a well-con-

ceived stroke: the English campaigns in France were always hampered by such a menace, the result of the 'Auld Alliance' between Scotland and France begun on July 5, 1295.

For you shall read how my great grandfather
Never went with his forces into France,
But that the Scot on his unfurnish'd kingdom
Came pouring, like the tide into a breach,
With ample and brim fulness of his force,
Galling the gleaned land with hot assays,
Girding with grievous siege castles and towns;
That England, being empty of defence,
Hath shook and trembled at the ill neighbourhood.
(Shakespeare, *Henry V*, I. i).

The town of Calais held out heroically till August 3, 1347, when the garrison opened the gates. As the city was not taken by storm Edward did not put it to the sack, but most of the inhabitants were compelled to leave their homes, taking with them their personal property, but nothing more. The French Government provided them with homes in the kingdom of France. Englishmen were invited by Edward III to come and settle in Calais, being promised land there without payment. Thus Calais became an English colony, the first in the true sense of the word—a district outside the British Isles, settled by British families. The exporting of wool from England was all done through Calais by a trading Company known as the 'Society of the Staple', established in 1362. The Company paid, on an average, dues of £20,000 a year to the Crown for its privileges. Calais remained as a thriving British colony, an outpost of empire on French soil, till 1558.

Brittany. After the victory of Crécy and the capture of Calais, the English accomplished very little in France for nearly ten years. Edward, however, was successful in taking the side of John of Montfort in a disputed succession to the Duchy of Brittany. The French Government naturally supported the other side, but their cause was defeated in the two small but important battles of La Roche Derrien (1347), and seventeen years later Auray (1364). For the next

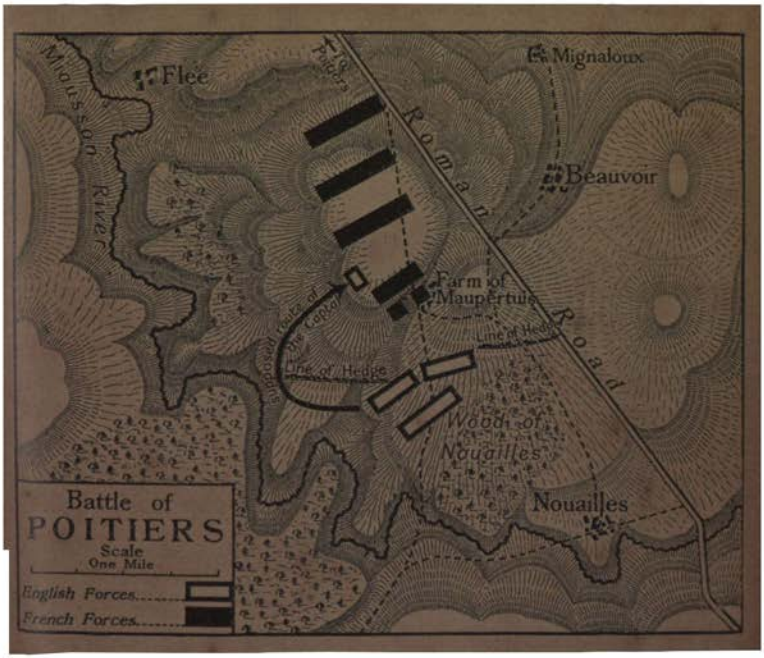
twenty years the Duchy of Brittany was favourable to the English side. After the battle of La Roche Derrien, however, the war in France degenerated into a desultory struggle of 'partisans', captains and companies of soldiers, who fought under the colours of the English or French Crown, but who received little or no support from home, and lived by plunder. Whole regions of France were devastated. The French, who were unequal to the English in the open field,

CALAIS TOWN AND HARBOUR. From an old MS.

learned the methods of irregular warfare—a harassing kind of operations in which, on the French side, the young Breton knight Bertrand du Guesclin particularly distinguished himself. The pestilence, known as the Black Death, in 1349, for a time paralysed both the English and French nations, and put a stop to regular hostilities.

Poitiers. It was the Black Death (1349) that was mainly responsible for the suspension of hostilities in the years following the battle of Crécy. In 1356, however, the English Government felt strong enough to renew the war, and an invasion of the French kingdom was planned by Edward, the 'Black' Prince of Wales, the energetic Governor of Guienne. He had cap-

tured the important city of Périgueux early in the year. On August 9 (1356) he set forth with about six thousand men, and marched by a circular route to the Loire at Tours. The spoils gained in this rich country, full of prosperous villages situated in corn-land and wine-land, were enormous. King John of France, however, had gathered an army to meet



the powerful raider, an army at least three times the size of the English force. Being refused a truce, the Black Prince went forward, and on September 19 offered battle beside the village of Maupertuis, six miles from the beautiful old city of Poitiers, from which the battle takes its name. The main body of the English consisted of archers, who were strongly posted in a gap with hedges on either side. The Prince held himself in reserve on the hill near by, while the Captal de Buch, an enterprising Gascon knight, was sent with some cavalry

round the hill to make a surprise attack. Everything went successfully for the English. The French advanced in solid 'battles', on foot, but were shot down by the English archers. The Prince launched his reserves at the right moment. The surprise attack of the Captal de Buch on the French rear completed the rout. The struggle, which was both exhausting and bloody, lasted many hours, and at the end of the day the French King was a prisoner, and his soldiers either captive, dead, or in flight. It was years before the French recovered from the blow, and although, under a regency (for King John never permanently regained his freedom) they maintained the partisan war for a few more years, in 1360 they had no resource left but to agree to the English terms by the Treaty of Bretigny[1] (May 8, 1360), confirmed by the Treaty of Calais the same year, October 24.

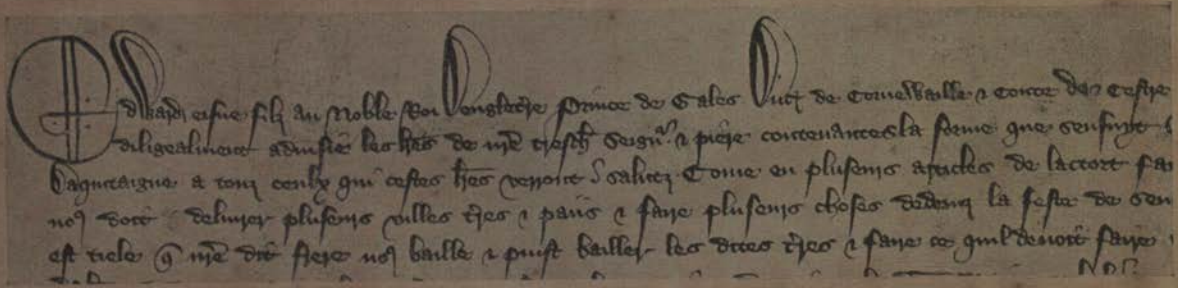
The Treaty of Bretigny. By the terms of this Treaty Edward gained what he had really been fighting for, not the Crown of France, but the full possession of the duchy of Guienne, extended to include the large counties of Poitou, Saintonge, Périgord, also the Angoumois, the Limousin, Quercy, Rouergue, Agenais, Bigorre. These lands were to be held by the English King, as Duke of Guienne, in full sovereignty, without any tie of vassalage to the French Crown. Moreover, Calais and Guisnes, with the county of Ponthieu added thereto, were confirmed in the English possession. Thus with Guienne restored practically to the same limits as under Henry II, and with Calais and the large 'Pale' round it in Edward's hands, the English power stood high and, as it seemed, unassailable in France. The struggle had been exhausting, and both sides needed peace; but, as events showed, weakened, devastated France was still stronger for attack, and in the remaining part of Edward's reign, much of the ground won by such glorious victories was lost by a slow and almost inevitable process of attrition.

[1] Bretigny is a village twenty miles SW. of Paris. The preliminary treaty of peace was signed here.

A modern State which has a standing army and a large number of able and experienced officials can hold outlying territories and govern them efficiently, but a mediaeval State had practically no standing army and very few officials. It

relied chiefly upon noblemen, who held the land by the obligation of military service, to watch over the Government's interests. This system proved ineffective against the steady pressure which the French kept up when the war was renewed after 1369.

The Black Prince in Guienne. War broke out in conse-



HANDWRITING 1360. Deed of the Black Prince relating to the Treaty of Bretigny.[1]

[1] Edward eisne filz au Noble Roi Denglet(er)re Prince de Gales Duc de Cornewaille (et) Conte de Cestre ¦ diligealment advisie les l(ett)res de no(st)re Seign(ur) (et) piere contenantes la forme que sensuyt ¦ Daquitaigne a touz ceulx qui cestes l(ett)res verront salutz.

quence of the expedition which the Black Prince made from Guienne into Spain to help King Pedro of Castile against a pretender to the Castilian throne, Henry, Count of Trastamara. The Black Prince sympathized with the lawful monarch, and hoped, possibly, also to gain valuable support from Castile in return. The indefatigable Bertrand du Guesclin had, since the Peace of Bretigny, been fighting in the war of the Breton succession. Failing there (see pp. 127–8), he betook himself, with the 'free' companies of French soldiers, who would follow him anywhere, to Castile, and took service under Henry of Trastamara. The forces met on the field of Najara, in the valley of the Ebro, the two heroes, Edward of Wales and Bertrand du Guesclin, undoubtedly the greatest captains of the day, fighting for their own country under the banners of an alien cause (April, 1367). The Black Prince won the day, and captured the indomitable Breton. Pedro the Cruel remained for a short time longer on the Castilian throne, but sent his English saviours back without recompense. Broken in health and fortune (for he had spent the moneys of his duchy in the cause of Pedro), the Black Prince returned to find Guienne on the verge of revolt. The French crown hastened to renew the war, and from that time till the accession of Henry V, the English cause declined.

THE BLACK PRINCE.

Decline of the English power. There are three reasons

for the decline of the English power on the frontier of Guienne. In the first place, the King, Edward III, had lost his energy. The dashing knight of Crécy was becoming old prematurely, an abandoned man given up to his loose pleasures. His hold upon the administration was relaxed; greedy, unscrupulous men were allowed to make fortunes out of the Treasury, and worthless favourites spoiled the efforts of the honest men. Secondly, the power of Castile was added to the French side. Henry of Trastamara, after the Black Prince had gone back to Guienne, was able to drive Pedro the Cruel off the throne, and, remembering what du Guesclin had done, repaid the debt by energetically supporting the French. Castile had a fleet, and this, added to the French ships, was able to take the command of the sea from the English navy, which suffered from the financial corruption of Edward's last years. In 1370 an English fleet, under the Earl of Pembroke, was actually beaten by the Castilian and French navies, in open fight, off La Rochelle.

The third reason for the decline of the English power is to be found in the activity and resourcefulness of Bertrand du Guesclin. The French King, Charles V (King John had died in England in 1364), knew the value of the stalwart Breton too well to grudge his ransom; and Bertrand was no sooner released than he renewed the 'partisan' war against the English. The mercenary soldiers of the time—hard, skilful men whose trade was war—came to his standard. Never offering pitched battle to the English, he nevertheless gave them no rest. He would besiege small places, cut off convoys, or stragglers, devastate half a county by a sudden raid, and wear out the vigilance of every garrison commander. When he died, in 1380, he had the satisfaction to know that the English power had shrunk, and that the 'Bretigny terms' were, partially at least, undone. Edward died in 1377, after the English power had been gradually expelled from Poitou. At the same time we also lost our hold on Brittany. The war of attrition dragged on, with various truces and periods of

comparative quiet, till in 1396 Richard II concluded something like peace—a truce for twenty-five years. The Hundred Years' War, as far as it had gone, had not saved the position in Guienne; fifty years of bloodshed had left the English with little more than the boundaries of 1337 (see p. 99). Calais, however, was firmly held in the north, an outpost of English power and a centre of trade.

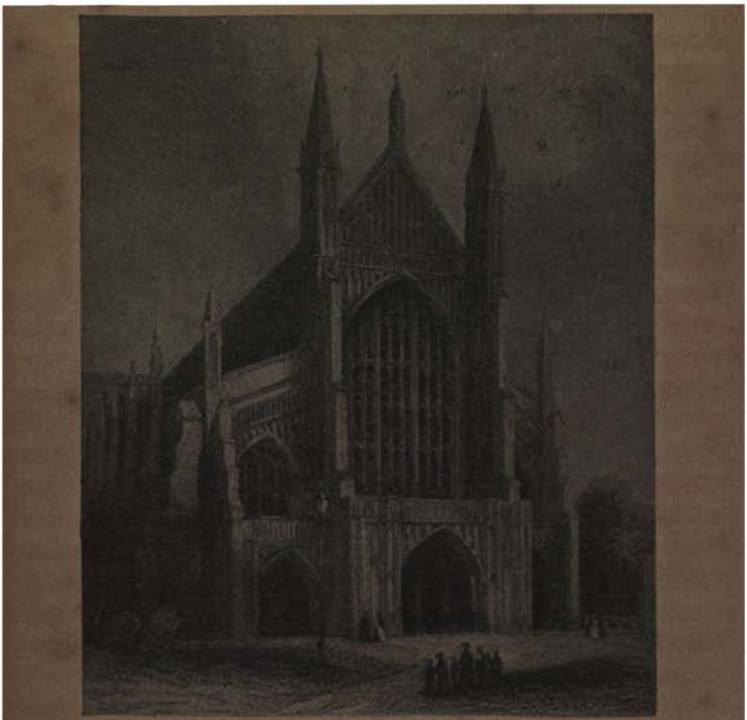
CHAPTER X

CHAUCER, WYCLIFFE, AND THE REIGN OF RICHARD II

Condition of England in the fourteenth century. The energy of the English nation, which achieved such brilliant success at Crécy and Poitiers, showed itself also along other lines of development, in literature and in religion. There is no doubt that before the Black Death of 1349, and again after the Peace of Bretigny, 1360, England was a prosperous country. The nobles did not devote their whole time to war, but were interested in art and letters. The great Churchmen were raising the fabrics of magnificent English cathedrals. The middle classes were proud and strong; the peasants were beginning to acquire greater freedom and more possession of the soil. The wool-trade, which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had been fostered by the Cistercians, had now become a great national business. It was from England that Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and the other Flemish towns, imported the raw material for their cloth manufactures. It is not too much to say that the prosperity of mediaeval England, her foreign trade and her shipping, depended upon wool.

The villeins. The bulk of the peasants at the beginning of the fourteenth century were still villeins, small tenants on manorial estates, bound to work so many days each week for their lords, and prevented by law from leaving the land. In practice, however, they were becoming free. The lords of

the manors allowed their villeins, instead of working so many days each week, to pay a small sum of money for their holdings, —for example, fourpence an acre. This arrangement suited both lord and villein. The lord got cash, with which he could



WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL. West front, an early example of Perpendicular style, about 1360.

hire a constant supply of labour for his own 'demesne' or farm. The villein was relieved from the labour services, and could devote all his time to his own holding, or could hire himself as a labourer elsewhere. Under the circumstances the villein lived with his family in his own cottage, comfortably enough. He grew his own wheat, killed and cured his own

bacon, brewed his own ale. He might be one of the four elected from the manor to attend the shire-moot, to hear small law-suits under the sheriff, or to elect the county member of parliament. His children might rise in the world; by settling in a borough for a year and a day, a villein's son became free, and might rise to be a merchant or a mayor; another son, by becoming a priest or monk, might gain education and a social position, which would enable him to help the rest of his family.

The Black Death. This prosperous condition of the people was destroyed, suddenly, though only temporarily, by the Black Death, the bubonic plague, which, coming from Asia, from China apparently, steadily worked its devastating way across Europe, reaching England about the middle of the year 1348. Half the people are said to have perished; villages were almost emptied, the land went out of cultivation; in the crowded insanitary towns the people died like flies, and their bodies were collected and thrown into pits.

The Statute of Labourers. The immediate economic result of the Black Death was a terrible scarcity of labourers to till the land. Those who were left asked double the wages which they had formerly received. Parliament, in 1351, passed an Act, the famous Statute of Labourers, stating that wages should be on just the same scale as they had been before the coming of the Black Death. The labourers bitterly resented this law, and it had little effect, except to exasperate class against class. With a blundering effort to be just, Parliament had also enacted in the Statute of Labourers that the prices of food should remain likewise as they had been before. The whole statute was a failure; the employers themselves, competing for labour, offered higher wages; while high prices were really beneficial in stimulating people to produce as much food as possible. Yet attempts were made to enforce the statute at various times, and this, combined with other causes, produced in 1381 an outburst of savage rebellion.

The Peasants' Revolt, 1381. Edward III had been succeeded,

in 1377, by Richard II, a boy of ten years, son of the Black Prince. The Government, which had been so corrupt in the last years of Edward III, did not improve when the King was a minor, with no strength to control powerful and greedy courtiers. The war with France dragged on, mournfully, without even gleams of success. Taxes were increased. The

mutterings of the lower class became louder; open hatred began to be shown to the landowners, who were considered to be responsible for the Statute of Labourers. William Langland, the son of an Oxfordshire yeoman (or free peasant), in the Vision of Piers Plowman, shows the condition of the labouring classes:

He grieveth him against God, and murmurs against reason.
And then curseth he the king, and all his counsel after,
Such laws to loke[1], labourers to grieve.

. . . .

[1] Loke = enforce.

'I have no penny,' quoth Peers: 'pullets for to buy,
Nor neither geese nor piglets; but two green cheeses,
A few curds and cream, and an oaten cake.
And two loaves of beans and bran baked for my bairnies.
And besides I say, by my soul, I have no salt bacon,
Nor no egg, by Christ, collops [1] for to make.
But I have parsley and leeks and many cabbages,
And eke a cow and a calf and a cart-horse
To draw to field my dung, the while the drought lasteth.
And with this livelihood we might live till Lammas time;
And by that time I hope to have harvest in my croft;
And then may I make ready the dinner as I like best.'
All the poor people tho' peashells fetched:
Beans and baked apples they brought in their laps,
Small onions and chervils and ripe cherries many,
And proffered Peers this present to please with [2] hunger.

The English labourer, as the poem shows, remembered days when fare had been more plentiful. Now the spectre of famine haunted him; he was never certain whether he could feed his children till the harvest came in. The high taxation, the carelessness of the landowners, who spent so much of their time in London or France, the repressive laws which prevented men from moving freely about the country, to sell their labour or their produce, caused a general discontent which blazed out in 1381, when Wat Tyler, the Kentishman, struck down the tax-gatherer, who was insulting him and his family. The men of Kent flocked together. At St. Albans the villeins rose against the great monastery which owned all the land there; in Norfolk and Suffolk the people rose too, to burn the houses and records of their landlords.

The Kentishmen at London. The Government was taken by surprise. The Kentishmen marched to London, sacking the manor houses all the way. At Blackheath they held a great meeting and voiced their grievances. It was then that John Ball, a priest who for years had been working among

[1] Collops = eggs and bacon.
[2] With. Arrange thus: to please hunger with.

the people, preached a sermon in which he quoted the famous rhyme :

When Adam dalf and Eve span,
Who was then a gentilman?

The doctrine of the equality of all men was thus popularly announced in the country. Wicked deeds were done by the insurgents; the Archbishop Simon of Sudbury was murdered, and John of Gaunt's palace, the Savoy, was burned. At Smithfield young King Richard came boldly with the Mayor of London, Walworth, to meet the insurgents and to hear their grievances. They demanded the abolition of villeinage, Richard consented. At the interview Wat Tyler showed himself truculent and independent. He made some threatening gesture, and the Mayor of London at once drew his sword and cut him down. Then Tyler (he either made tiles, or roofed houses for his trade) fell with a cry of 'Treason!' as if he thought himself a king. Angry shouts arose from the insurgents, and they began to bend their bows. Richard, however, rose to the occasion, and riding fearlessly forward, called out, 'I will be your leader'. The rebels, awed by the majesty, the beauty and resolute bearing of the young monarch, relaxed their bows. The tumult died down, and the men returned to their country homes. Then the King's Council, which had shown no spirit during the rising, recovered its nerve, and started hunting out the rebels. Some hundreds suffered death, and the promise of the King to abolish villeinage was not fulfilled.

The results of the Peasants' Revolt. In spite of its apparent failure, the Peasants' Revolt in the long run contributed greatly to put an end to villeinage. To avoid the continual friction caused by trying to keep his villeins to their [illegible]our services, the lord began again to accept quit-rents. [illegible]is meant that the labour services of a villein were 'comm[illegible]d' for a fixed annual payment, for instance, sevenpence a[illegible]cre. The agreement was recorded in the rolls of the manor, and a copy of it was given to the villein, who thenceforth held his land by 'copy'. So long as he held his copy, and

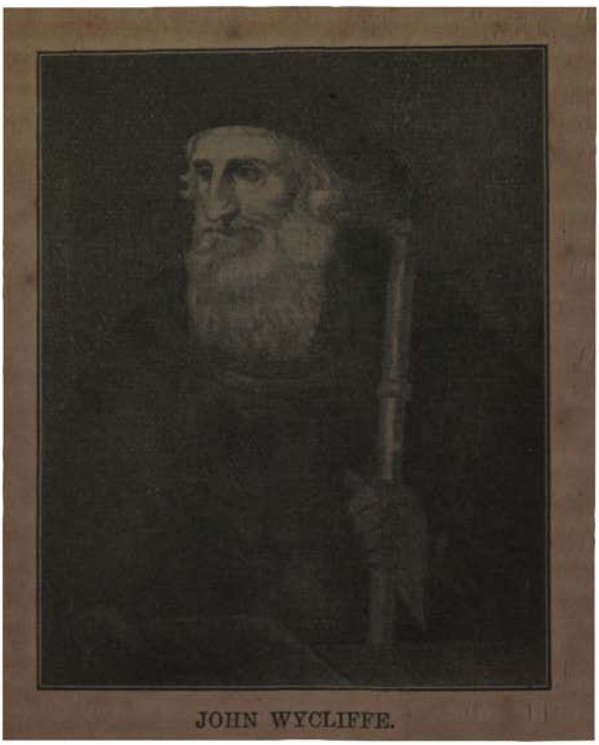
paid his dues, the copyholder was in a secure position, and almost as good as a freeholder. He held his land 'according to the custom of the manor', which custom had to be as old as the reign of Richard II, and could not be changed, either by lord or tenant. He could do anything with his land, except fell trees or dig quarries; he could even sell it. He became in fact a member of the great yeomanry of England. Gradually people came to forget or to disregard the fact that copyholders had originally been villeins, and by the end of the fifteenth century villeinage as a legal status had practically ceased to exist.

About this time the leasehold system also became common. A lease 'for three lives' lasted throughout the lifetime of three persons all of whom were living when the agreement was made. With the death of the last lessor, the lord could allow the lease to be renewed on payment of a 'fine', or he could take back the land, and 'enclose' it in one of his farms. The enclosure of copyholds and leaseholds into sheep-farms later greatly reduced the numbers of the rural population.

Wycliffe. Thus, in the last years of Edward III and in the reign of Richard II, forces were at work gradually making the peasantry more free. About the same time, John Wycliffe, speculating on the problems of theology, was advancing along the path of religious freedom. Wycliffe was a clerk in holy orders, who spent the first half of his active life lecturing at Oxford (he was Master of Balliol College in 1361), and the last part as parish priest at Lutterworth. At this time the Pope lived, not at Rome, but at Avignon, owing to certain political disturbances in Italy; and in the sunny land of Provence the Papal Court became gay and worldly, and the discipline of the whole Church was relaxed. The Pope took to appointing Italians and Frenchmen to rich benefices in England, to canonries or bishoprics which they never visited. To prevent this the English Parliament had passed the Statute of Provisors in 1351, declaring all nominations made by the Pope in England to be null and void. Two years later, 1353, the

Statute of Praemunire forbade any one to submit their grievances to any court outside the realm, meaning, of course, the Papal Court.

Of this desire to restrict the Pope's power in England, where it was being misused, Wycliffe was an ardent spokesman.



JOHN WYCLIFFE.

He was equally critical of worldly English bishops, whose wealth was too great, he said, and should be used to increase the stipends of the lesser clergy, or to relieve the poor. The great nobles also, he said, had a responsibility; their 'dominion' was founded upon grace, and those who lived not in grace but in sin, had no right to riches or authority.

Wycliffe and the English people. In these views the mass of the people concurred. A spirit of sadness breathes through much of the literature of Richard II's reign. The people, like Piers, the typical peasant of Langland's poem, felt their lot to be hard. Wycliffe gathered a body of disciples round him, and sent them out, 'the Poor Preachers', to work among the common people, and make the Gospel better known to them. He and his pupils translated the New Testament into homely English, which his preachers could read aloud from manuscript to their hearers. Many men came to know the Gospel story as they had never known it before. But the clergy as a whole looked askance on the Poor Preachers and their followers, who received the curious name of Lollards or babblers. The Lollards became tainted with heresy. For Wycliffe in his theological speculations had come to cast some doubt on the Holy Eucharist, on the change of the bread and wine at the Communion into the body and blood of Christ. In the next reign, that of Henry IV, the Government and the Church began to seek out and destroy the Lollards, burning them by authority of the Act *de haeretico comburendo* (1401). Yet John Wycliffe himself, the Morning Star of the Reformation, died a Catholic priest, just after having celebrated the Mass, in his church at Lutterworth (1384). He was the greatest thinker of his day, though he expressed his thoughts in crabbed Latin prose, which hides his meaning from almost all who read. The translation of the New Testament and his English sermons are the foundation of English prose, the most noble body of literature that has arisen since classical times. This much he did for letters and education. Another ecclesiastic of that time, one of the wealthy bishops whom Wycliffe thought too like great nobles, founded two of the greatest educational institutions of the kingdom. This man was William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester and Chancellor of England under Edward III. In the historic town of Winchester he built and endowed a great boys' school (1373); in Oxford he established New College (1379), to which the boys from Winchester

could proceed for higher learning, to become good servants of Church and State.

Chaucer. England was fortunate in the last half of the fourteenth century in seeing the foundation of the grand English prose literature with Wycliffe, and of English poetry with Chaucer. Before this there is the Anglo-Saxon literature —Cædmon, Cynewulf, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. But between the Anglo-Saxon period and the latter part of the reign of Edward III there is little more than the Latin drinking songs of Walter Map in the reign of Henry II, or the rude though highly patriotic verses of Laurence Minot, an unknown soldier who followed the early wars of Edward III. The work of Chaucer, however, is not merely among the earliest poetry, written in the English that we can understand, but it is among the most beautiful and charming of all our literature. His father was a prosperous vintner or wine merchant of Thames Street, London, who was wise enough to give his son the best education of the day, and who, though not a nobleman, was able to procure young Geoffrey a post at the King's Court. In 1359 Chaucer fought in France and was taken prisoner; next year, however, he was ransomed at the Peace of Bretigny. For the next twenty-five years of his life he was frequently employed in diplomatic business; in 1370, for instance, he was sent to Genoa on the English mission which was negotiating a commercial treaty. The influence of Italy may be traced all through his works—the influence, in particular, of Petrarch the poet, and of Boccaccio the

WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

story-teller. In 1376 Chaucer was elected to Parliament as a knight of the shire for Kent. This assembly, known as the Good Parliament, is famous for the reforms in administration which it forced upon the decadent government of Edward III. He died in 1400, leaving one son, and a daughter who became a nun in the Abbey of Barking.

Chaucer's works. Chaucer was a man of affairs; busy,

WINCHESTER COLLEGE, founded 1373.

practical, moving among the great men of the land. Yet whether travelling, fighting, or negotiating, he never lost his love of letters, and found time to write the long poems, beautiful, finished stories, which remain to give pleasure to all the ages. The love of letters is so strong and so permanent, so absorbing is the desire to write and express oneself in the fittest language, that no occupations can distract, and no misfortunes quench it. Chaucer had to write his poems amid the calls of business and amid misfortune, and when he died he was one of the first of English poets in every sense. It was in the period after his return from Italy that Chaucer

wrote his greatest poems, stimulated by the literary men he had met there, by the rich glories of its buildings, by the glamour of its sunny landscapes. It was then that he wrote 'Troilus and Criseyde', 'The House of Fame', 'The Legende of Good Women'. The work, however, which is most read to-day is the ever-fresh *Canterbury Tales*, begun before he went to Italy in 1373, and on which he was working from time to time for the rest of his life. It is the story of a number of pilgrims who met in the Tabard Inn at Southwark, to go on pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury:

> And specially, from every shires ende
> Of Engelonde, to Caunterbury they wende,
> The holy blisful martir for to seke,
> That hem hath holpen, whan that they were seke.

The host of the Tabard Inn proposed that the pilgrims on their way should each tell a story to beguile the time. There were thirty pilgrims in all, so that if completed there would have been thirty tales. Though working, as it seems, to the last, Chaucer had only completed twenty-four tales when he died, in A.D. 1400; yet these number 18,000 lines, a very noble body of work. The different tales—the Knight's, the Squire's, the Nun's Priest's tale, and so forth—are all told with great humour, with great wealth of language and purity of diction, the plots being drawn from ancient history, from legends, and from stories of the day current in Italy. In the Prologue or introduction to the tales, each pilgrim is described in turn, and we are presented with the most living picture of English society that has come down from the Middle Ages. It is chiefly the great middle class of England that is portrayed, the country gentlemen, the sailors, the students and men of learning, the clergy, the substantial tradesmen, and the small farmers. First comes the knight:

> A knight there was, and that a worthy man,
> That fro the tyme that he first began
> To ryden out, he loved chivalrye,
> Trouthe, honour, fredom and curteisye.
>
> . . . . . .

He nevere yet vileinye ne sayde
In al his lyf, un-to no maner wight.
He was a verray parfit gentil knight.

Then comes the knight's son, his squire, a fashionable young man, with his fair locks set in stiff curls, fastidious and delicate, yet 'wonderly delivere [nimble] and of great strength'. All his thoughts were of honour and glory and love; yet 'he was as fresh as is the month of May', and

Curteys he was, lowly and servisable,
And carf beforn his fader at the table.

Then follows the prioress, Madame Eglantyne, talking Anglo-French:

After the scole at Stratford atte Bowe.
For Frensh of Paris was to her unknowe.

She was very neat-mannered, and when she drank she left no mark of grease on the cup.

The next pilgrim was a hunting monk, from some rich abbey:

An outrider that lovede venerye;
A manly man, to ben an abbot able.
Full many a deyntee hors hadde he in stable.

He rode hard, and his bridle could be heard jangling in the wind as clear as the chapel bell:

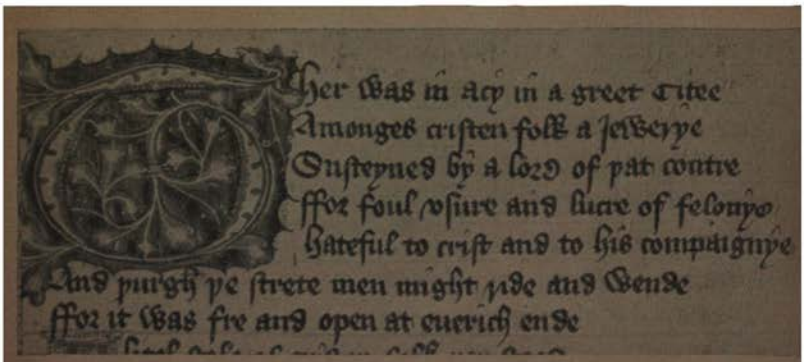
What sholde he studie, and make himselven wood,
Upon a book in cloistre alwey to poure,
Or swynken with his handes, and laboure,
As Austin[1] bit?

There was no evil in this 'fair prelat', but he was rather worldly. The next pilgrim, too, was a clergyman, and a bad one. He belonged to the Order of Friars of St. Francis, which had come to England in the year 1224, and had devoted itself to work among the poor and leprous, in the foul crowded quarters of the towns (see p. 88). By Chaucer's day the Friars

[1] St. Augustine.

had fallen from their high ideals. The Friar of the Prologue made himself popular enough with the well-to-do country people, for he sang a good song, gave presents of pins and knives to the women, and at his own cost had paid for the marriage of some of them. But he had no thought for the poor people and lepers :

> For unto swich a worthy man as he
> Accorded nat, as by his facultee,



HANDWRITING about A. D. 1400. *Beginning of the Prioress's Tale* in a famous Chaucer MS., Harley 7334.[1]

> To have with seke lazars aqueyntaunce.
> It is nat honest, it may nat avaunce
> For to delen with swich poraille,[2]
> But al with riche and sellers of vitaille.

The Friar at least was not a hypocrite, but the Pardoner, a priest whose trade was to sell relics, was a cheat and a rogue. His looks were against him, for he had smooth yellow hair and a glaring eye :

> His walet lay beforn him in his lappe,
> Bret-full of pardoun come from Rome al hoot.
>
> . . . . . .

[1] Ther was in acy in a greet Citee | Amonges cristen folk a Jewerye | Susteyned by a lord of pat contre | For foul usure and lucre of felonye | Hateful to crist and to his compaignye | And þurgh þe strete men might ride and wende | For it was fre and open at everich ende.

[2] Poor.

But of his craft, fro Berwick unto Ware,
Ne was there swich another pardoner.
For in his male[1] he hadde a pilwe-beer,[2]
Which that, he seyde, was our lady veyl:
He seyde, he hadde a gobet of the seyl
That sëynt Peter hadde, whan that he wente
Upon the see, til Jesu Crist him hente.[3]
He had a cross of latoun,[4] ful of stones,
And in a glas he hadde pigges bones.
But with these relikes whan that he fond
A poore person dwelling upon lond
Upon a day he gat him more moneye
Than that the person gat in monthes tweye.

The Church was a great feature of the life of the Middle Ages, and Chaucer gives full prominence to it. The two examples already given are not greatly to its credit. There are two others in the Prologue, however, who inspire nothing but respect. One is the Parson, the priest of a poor country parish, who devoted his whole life to his flock, took no thought of money, and sought for no preferment:

A bettre preest, I trowe that nowher non is.
He wayted after no pompe and reverence,
Ne maked him a spyced conscience,
But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taughte, but first he folwed it himselve.

The other example of the Church was a Clerk of Oxford, a member of the University, in holy orders, as were all learned men at that time. He rode a lean horse, and his coat was threadbare:

For him was levere[5] have at his beddes heed,
Twenty bokes, clad in black or reed,
Of Aristotle and his philosophye,
Than robes riche, or fithele,[6] or gay sautrye.[7]

He was studious and modest, and when he spoke was careful to speak to the point, and correctly:

[1] Portmanteau. [2] Pillow-case. [3] Seized. [4] Brass.
[5] Rather, i.e. he would rather. [6] Fiddle.
[7] Psaltery, small harp.

Of studie took he most cure and most hede.
Noght o word spak he more than was nede,
And that was seyd in forme and reverence,
And short and quik, and ful of hy sentence.
Sowninge[1] in moral vertu was his speche,
And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche.

The Prologue should be read in full. One by one the goodly procession of old English society passes before the reader: the Yeoman, 'in cote and hood of greene', with a sheaf of arrows under his belt, a sword at one side, and a 'gay daggere' at the other; the Merchant, distinguished by his Flemish beaver hat, who thought that above all things England should keep command of the sea; the Frankleyn, or small landed proprietor, a man of a sanguine complexion and unbounded hospitality:

It snewed in his hous of mete and drinke—

a man who had often represented his shire in Parliament. Then follow certain tradesmen, a Haberdasher, a Dyer, and so forth, members each of a trade-gild; then the Cook, good at boiling chickens and preparing marrow-bones, but best of all at making blancmange, which was composed of chicken, sugar, cream, and flour. We must notice, too, the Shipman. He was a skilful and hardy sailor, and knew all the coast from Gothland in the Baltic to Cape Finisterre in the Atlantic. Often had he met the rovers of the North Sea, and those he captured he threw overboard. Often, too, he had brought wine cargoes from Bordeaux, tapped the casks, and taken a good draught, while the merchant or supercargo who sailed with him was asleep:

Of nycë conscience took he no keep.

There was also a Physician, a man with a great knowledge of drugs, but believing greatly in astrology, and varying his treatment of a patient according to the star which was at the time in the ascendant. He had made a fortune during the

[1] Tending to.

Black Death, but was moderate in his expenditure, and also in eating and drinking: he ate little, but whatever he took was nourishing and digestible. He was very learned in all writers on medical subjects, and he went about dressed in deep red and bluish-grey cloth, lined with silk. The Wife of Bath was a famous maker of cloth, more skilled even than the tradesmen of Ypres and Ghent. This worthy woman, as Chaucer calls her, had had five husbands, and had been on pilgrimage over half the world, to Cologne, Spain, Rome, and Jerusalem. Finally, we may leave this picture of old English life with a glance at the 'Plowman'. He was brother to the 'poor Parson', and, like the parson, a hard worker, simple and upright.

> A trewe swinkere and a good was he,
> Living in pees and parfit charitee.

He paid all his dues regularly, and would give his labour sometimes for nothing, to help some 'poore wight'. He wore a smock, and rode upon a mare, in debt to no man, holding up his head, a true example of the strength of England.

The reign of Richard II. The tragic reign of Richard II was chosen by Shakespeare for the theme of the second play in his great series of historical dramas. Historians and romancers of every age have been attracted by the story of this brilliant young man, called to the throne while still a boy, exploited by covetous, tyrannical nobles, yet rising to a real grandeur when he threw off their control and ruled by himself; then, at the end, breaking forth into tyranny, to be deposed and die a friendless monarch's violent death. 'In my time,' says Froissart in the final chapter of his Chronicles, 'in my time I have seen two things: though they differ, yet they be true.' The first thing was the celebration of Richard's birth, at Bordeaux, for Froissart was in the city when this happened. The second thing which he witnessed was an old knight at Berkhamstead, who prophesied that Richard would be displaced by the House of Lancaster.

Froissart lived just long enough to see the prophecy come true, when King Richard, in the year 1400, deposed and dead, was carried 'fair and softly' in a chair, from the Tower of London to Cheapside, and laid there, with his head upon a black cushion and his face exposed, while 20,000 Londoners filed past; and 'some had on him pity and some none, but said he had long deserved death' (chap. ccxlv).

Richard's reign may be divided into three periods. The first is from his accession, in 1377, to 1388, while he was still a minor. The second is from 1389 to 1397, a good period, when Richard was ruling firmly and wisely, respecting the law and the constitution. The third period is a brief one, from 1397 to 1399, two years of autocratic rule, ending with the revolution which put his cousin Henry IV on the throne.

The minority of Richard. During the first period the government was carried on by a council of noblemen, but Richard, who showed great spirit at the Peasants' Revolt in 1381, shortly afterwards began to rely upon friends of his own—Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Sir Simon Burley, Michael de la Pole—and to take an active part in the administration. This policy of his, however, was defeated by a combination of great nobles, under Richard's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, who rose in arms, defeated Richard's friends in a fight at Radcot Bridge on the Thames above Oxford, and then had them condemned in the 'Merciless Parliament', 1388. The lords who carried out this resolution were known as the Lords Appellant, because they 'appealed' or impeached Richard's friends of treason in Parliament. The Lords Appellant, however, showed themselves to be neither energetic nor disinterested. They got Parliament to vote £20,000 to them for their trouble. The 'Merciless Parliament' of 1388 compares very unfavourably with the 'Good Parliament' of 1376, which in the last years of Edward III had established the use of impeachment as a regular means of procedure, in order to prevent financial corruption and to bring public peculators to justice.

Richard's period of sound government. Next year, May 1389, Richard showed the mettle he was made of by suddenly entering the council-room of the Lords Appellant, and asking what his age was. Twenty-three years, answered the Duke of Gloucester; to which Richard curtly replied that if this was so he was of age to take a part in the government himself. The resolution of the young monarch won its way, and for eight years Richard, with his gentle and cultivated Queen, Anne, Princess of Bohemia, ruled as a constitutional monarch, taking the advice of his council and legislating through Parliament. He visited Ireland in 1394, and by his presence and energetic measures did much to make the English power safe and agreeable to the Irish, who since the 'Statute of Kilkenny', in 1366, which had prohibited all intercourse between English and Irish, had been getting badly out of hand. In 1396 he courageously made a much-needed peace with France. His court was one of the most splendid in Europe. Literature was encouraged; the poet Gower was under the King's personal patronage. 'There was never before', says Froissart, 'any King of England that spent so much in his house as he did, by a hundred thousand florins every year; for I, Sir John Froissart, canon and treasurer of Chimay, knew it well, for I was in his court more than a quarter of a year together, and he made me good cheer.'

KING'S SEAL
for recognizances of debts at Oxford, temp. Rich. II. 1377–99.

Richard's despotism and fall. In 1397, however, Richard seems to have lost his sense of proportion. The high ideas he had always entertained of kingship were now put into practice in their most extreme form. Men born to be kings cannot help having a lofty idea of their power, but they must

exercise judgement in acting upon it. A favourite maxim of Richard was that 'law was contained in the mouth and breast of the king'. In 1398 he induced Parliament, meeting at Shrewsbury, to grant him for life the export tax on wool—the chief annual tax of the kingdom; further, it gave over its authority to make laws into the hands of a small committee

BODIAM CASTLE, north front, 1385, showing the strong gate-house and walls dropping sheer into a lake.

consisting of members of Parliament who were staunch friends of the King. Richard would thus be able to rule without Parliament, having all the money he required, and making his own laws. Immediately afterwards he banished, without trial, two of the chief men of the kingdom, his cousin Henry of Lancaster and the Duke of Norfolk. People were grumbling at the expense of his court, the nobles at his arbitrary acts, the Church at failure to suppress the Lollards, whom his late wife, Anne of Bohemia, is said to have favoured. In May 1399 Richard went for the second time to Ireland, and while he was away, Henry of Lancaster came from France, to

claim the estates of his father, John of Gaunt. John of Gaunt was the third son of Edward III, and was lord of the counties of Lancaster, Hereford, Derby, and of estates in practically every other county in England. He had died early in 1399, and Richard at once confiscated the estates. When Henry landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire to claim his property, the nobles of the north brought their men to his side. It became clear that there was little support left in the country for Richard; he could rely upon no one but his bodyguard of Cheshire archers, who fondly called him Dickon, and swore they would follow him to the death. But when Richard came back from Ireland and landed at Milford Haven in Pembrokeshire, he soon saw that his crown was lost. His mercurial spirit sank to the depths. Shakespeare has portrayed his despair (*Richard II*, Act III, sc. ii):

'For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground
And tell sad stories of the death of kings:
How some have been deposed; some slain in war;
Some haunted by the ghosts they have deposed;
Some poison'd by their wives; some sleeping kill'd;
All murder'd: for within the hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a king
Keeps Death his court.'

Richard was kept in confinement till February 14, 1400, when he died in Pontefract Castle, having starved himself to death, as some said, or been starved by his gaoler.

CHAPTER XII

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR: PART II

The fifteenth century. In the fifteenth century, which now opens, English history shows a marked decline. Till the end of Richard II's reign there had been steady progress, in government, in learning and literature, in the Church, in commerce. In the fifteenth century, however, things are wholly different; the government is in the hands of a few noble families, who

fight with each other for the mastery; there is no great literature written, the high clergy become supple statesmen, commerce has to get on as best it can under an unstable and bankrupt government. In the fourteenth century certain unwholesome tendencies had shown themselves, a love of plunder and contempt for justice; but the following age was worse. 'Weak as is the fourteenth century,' says the great constitutional historian of England, 'the fifteenth century is weaker still; more futile, more bloody, more immoral.'[1] And the cause undoubtedly was a demoralization of the people, nobles and commons, caused by the long French war, which was fought for no high ideals and no just cause.

The government of Henry IV. Henry IV was recognized by Parliament as King in place of the autocratic Richard, who had been deposed. Henry, therefore, by contrast, had to reign constitutionally, taking the advice of his ministers and Parliament in everything. Hence the rule by Henry of Lancaster and his son and grandson is called the 'Lancastrian experiment in constitutional government'. The experiment was not a success, nor was it carried very far. Henry IV agreed that the names of his ministers should, on their first appointment, be submitted to Parliament. This practice was maintained until 1437, when Henry VI, on attaining his majority, began to appoint his ministers without reference to Parliament, and from this date the Lancastrian experiment of constitutional government must be considered at an end.

Internal troubles. The reign of Henry IV (1397–1413) was troubled by numerous risings and faction fights. The most serious was that of Owen Glendower, an Anglo-Welsh landed proprietor, who in 1400 was involved in a quarrel with his neighbour, Lord Grey of Ruthin. The King, on the whole, seems to have supported the side of Lord Grey, and gradually Owen became an open rebel, and raised the whole Principality of Wales against the King. It was in combating this rebellion that young Prince Henry, the Prince of Wales (who was born

[1] Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ii, p. 656.

in 1387), known later as Henry V, gained his early experience in campaigning. The Welshmen, aided by the Northumbrian family of Percy, who had also rebelled, were met by Henry IV and the Prince of Wales in battle near Shrewsbury, in 1403, and defeated. Yet the rebellion dragged on till the end of the reign. Owen called himself Prince of Wales, made an alliance with France and Scotland, was sung by all the Welsh bards as a national hero, and is said to have planned the establishment of two Welsh universities. By 1409, however, young Henry, Prince of Wales, had recovered most of his Principality. In 1408 the Percys had again joined battle with the Royalists in Yorkshire, at Bramham Moor, where the Earl of Northumberland was killed. Owen Glendower was never captured, but lived among the wilder Welsh hills till his death, in 1416, when Henry V pardoned his son and received him into the royal service. The elder Henry was never happy in the kingdom which he had acquired by force, and when he died on March 20, 1413, in the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, he was probably not sorry to leave the burden of government, which amid ill health and many difficulties he had borne valiantly enough.

TRANSITION FROM CHAINMAIL TO PLATE ARMOUR, A.D. 1400.

Henry V. Henry V was twenty-six years old when he succeeded to the throne. In many respects he was a model king, serious, devoted to his duties, blameless in private life. His face, as it appears in the picture in Queen's College, at Oxford, is pale, delicate, sensitive, with a prominent nose, a high brow, and dignified expression.

He was probably the most popular of all English kings, for

he had all the qualities most admired—courage and perfect self-possession amid danger, prudence and foresight in council, and the touch of genius that marked him off from all other men and gave success to his enterprises.

Yet this serious king has the reputation of having been, before his accession, wild and dissipated, a roystering, young blade who wandered about the streets of London at night, and robbed his own tax-gatherers as a practical joke. The genius of Shakespeare has made the story of Prince Henry and Falstaff live for ever, for he has put all the jollity of the Elizabethan age into scenes such as that in the Boar's Head Tavern, Eastcheap (*1 Henry IV*, Act II, sc. iv). There is nothing in the chronicles of Henry IV's reign to support these stories of the Prince, though it is not impossible that a young prince who spent all the spring and summer in hard campaigning in Wales, should relax into undue liveliness in London in winter. Yet at least we know that on coming to the throne he showed no tendency to resort to any boon companions, but continued the wise dispositions for the government of the country which his father had made:

> Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
> But Harry Harry.[1]

The War with France. His reign is notable for the attempt (which nearly succeeded) to conquer the whole land of France and to add it to his crown. And this stupendous effort was made, and to a large extent actually accomplished, by a man of twenty-nine years of age, the head of a kingdom of which the total revenue was only about £100,000 a year, and of which the army on foot in any campaign was never more than 15,000 men.

The renewal of the Hundred Years' War in 1415 was due to Henry's sincere belief that he was the true heir to the crown of France (as descended from Queen Isabella, the

[1] Shakespeare, *2 Henry IV*, Act v, sc. ii.

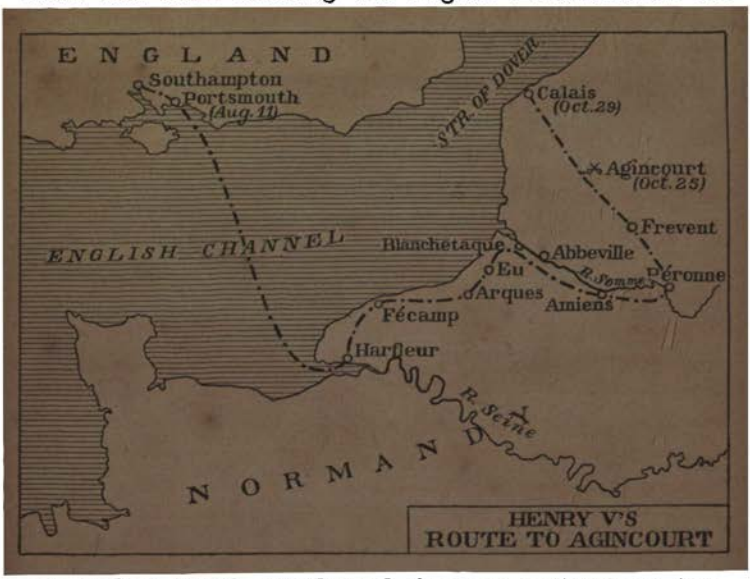
wife of Edward II); and he intended, after winning this 'just inheritance', as he called it, to take the combined forces of England and France on crusade against the Infidel; for Henry was deeply religious and unswerving in his principles. He was animated not so much by ambition as by the determination to pursue what he had come, by some curious mental process, to consider his duty; just as he, though by nature merciful, conceived it his duty to hunt out the Lollards, to imprison them, and if they remained obstinate, even to burn them.

The Campaign of Agincourt. In August 1415 Henry, having collected an army of 15,000 men, of whom about two-thirds were archers, and having hired ships to transport them, sailed from Portsmouth to the mouth of the Seine. The political situation in France was highly favourable to his enterprise; for the French King, Charles VI, was subject to fits of madness, and two royal princes, the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, were continually quarrelling, and sometimes openly fighting, for the regency.

The Siege of Harfleur. Henry's object in landing at the mouth of the Seine was to begin a campaign for winning (or re-winning) the duchy of Normandy. The estuary was commanded by the walled town of Harfleur, about eight miles from where the modern town of Havre is situated. Although weakly garrisoned, Harfleur held out courageously, and when it at last capitulated on September 22, 1415, after a siege of five weeks, about half of Henry's army had wasted away among the marshes before the walls. The unexpected resistance of a petty town looked like ruining the great scheme of Henry V. How could he expect to go forward and conquer France with about 7,000 fighting men? Yet his resolution never wavered. There seems to have been no thought of returning to England. When his captains asked him what course he meant to pursue, he briefly replied, 'Straight to Calais'. On October 9 he began the march, and then ensued the most astonishing feat of the Middle Ages, when a few

thousand Englishmen, led by a commander who had never been in the country and who had no map, journeyed through the enemy's kingdom for a distance of about 200 miles, and then overthrew a magnificently equipped French army of about 20,000 to 25,000 men.

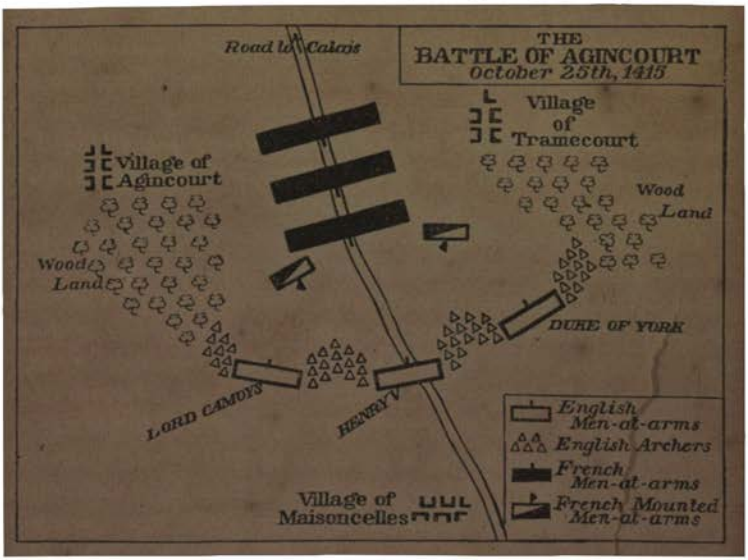
Agincourt. The march was interrupted by the French army, which had been watching the English movements all the



way, and on October 25 barred the road to Calais at Agincourt. The English army was tired with marching for a night in the autumn rains through the mud of northern France; it was hungry too, for supplies had given out in the last few days, the inhabitants having, as far as possible, removed everything from the country-side. Yet Henry seems to have had no thought of accepting the terms—safe return to England on resignation of his claim to the crown of France—which the French Government offered him. He made his dispositions for battle with the greatest calmness, and the simple Englishmen seem to have trusted the young man implicitly,

though Shakespeare has described the soul of the King as feeling the heavy burden:

> Upon the king! let us our lives, our souls,
> Our debts, our careful wives,
> Our children, and our sins lay on the king!
> We must bear all. (*Henry V*, Act IV, sc. i.)



The battle was fought on St. Crispin's Day, October 25, among ploughed fields between the orchards and gardens of the villages of Agincourt and Tramecourt.

The English had passed the night in and around the village of Maisoncelles, drenched with rain, listening to the sounds of confidence and merriment that came from the French lines, which could be distinguished by the watch-fires twinkling among the fields. In the morning King Henry arranged his men in three bodies or battles, called, from the order in which they marched, the vaward, the main battle, and the rearward. But though the three 'battles' marched in this order, they fought (and this became the regular practice of the English)

in one line, with archers in large numbers at the extremity of each 'battle'.

The French, filling up the whole space (1,000–2,000 yards broad) between Agincourt and Tramecourt, were also arranged in three battles, but one battle was behind another, and each was mainly composed of heavily armoured knights and men-at-arms, armed with long lances, but dismounted. The first movement was made by the English, but almost at once the French advanced to meet them. Seeing this, King Henry halted his forces, and ordered the archers to fix slantwise in the ground the stakes (6 feet long) which they had cut by his orders, so that when the French charged they would dash themselves on the points of the stakes.

The defeat of the French. The French first tried a charge of cavalry, which was beaten off by the English bowmen. Then the first French battle advanced, and was likewise received with showers of well-directed arrows, which, in spite of the men-at-arms' armour, made havoc in their closely crowded ranks. Owing to their weight, the French could only advance very slowly over the muddy ground, and they were within range of the English long-bows for a distance of well over a hundred yards. When they did reach the English line, they were met, from behind the pointed stakes, by the archers, who fell upon them with hatchets, and by the English men-at-arms. The French were still too crowded to use their numbers, or even to wield their arms freely. The slaughter was fearful; in the *mêlée* the dead were piled on the living, and the Englishmen, still fiercely fighting, climbed upon the ghastly heaps to get at the enemy who were still standing. The first two 'battles' of the French came up in succession and were broken. The third fled. The English retained possession of the field, with about 6,000 dead Frenchmen upon it, and numerous captives. During the battle, a number of prisoners (some hundreds it is said) had been slaughtered by order of Henry V at a moment when a small attack on the rear of the English looked like succeeding.

Effects of Agincourt. The result of the battle was to cripple the French military power, for most of the dead, and all the captives (who were kept for ransom), belonged to the great military class of gentry. The English losses were only about one hundred. Agincourt became, deservedly, the most famous of English battles. It was won against tremendous odds, largely through the personal qualities of the brilliant leader of the English and the spirit with which he inspired his men A contemporary ballad celebrates the event:

Deo Gratias Anglia redde pro Victoria!

Oure kynge went forth to Normandy,
With grace & myȝt of chivalry;
The God for hym wrouȝt marvelously,
Wherefore Englonde may calle & cry
Deo gratias:
Deo gratias Anglia redde pro Victoria.

He sette a sege, the sothe for to say,
To Harflue toune with ryal aray;
That toune he wan, & made a fray,
That Fraunce shall rywe tyl domes day.
Deo gratias, etc.

Then owre kynge, with alle his oste,
Thorowe Fraunce for all the Frenshe boste;
He spared not for drede of leste, ne most,
Tyl he come to Agincourt coste.
Deo gratias, etc.

Than, for sothe, that knyȝt comely
In Agincourt feld he fauȝt manly,
Thorow grace of God most myȝty
He had bothe the felde, & the victory:
Deo gratias, etc.

Ther dukys, and erlys, lorde & barone,
Were take, & slayne, & that wel sone,
And soone were ledde in to Lundone
With joye & merthe, & grete renone.
Deo gratias, etc.

Now gracious God he save owre kynge,
His peple, & all his wel wyllynge
Gef him gode lyfe, & gode endynge,
That we with merth mowe savely synge
Deo gratias:
Deo gratias Anglia redde pro Victoria.

After the battle the army marched to Calais and then shipped to Dover. From Dover to London the march was a triumphal procession all the way. It was the most enthusiastic reception ever yet given to an English King.

The years following Agincourt. The battle of Agincourt crippled France, but it did not add a single foot of French territory to the English possessions. Henry had to spend the rest of his reign in exploiting the opportunities which the defeat of the French had opened up for him. From 1417 to 1420 he was continuously fighting in France, and again for twelve months in 1421–22. When he died he had conquered most of the French kingdom to the north of the Loire, without having had to fight another pitched battle since Agincourt.

Not merely was the French military power laid low by Agincourt, but after the disaster the quarrels of the Burgundian and Orleanist factions grew worse than ever. The Duke of Orleans, it is true, was a prisoner in England (having been captured at Agincourt), but his father-in-law, Bernard VII, Count of Armagnac (South-West France), remained a most energetic leader of the Orleanist, or, as it came to be called, the 'Armagnac' party; he became a pillar of the national cause against the English. John, Duke of Burgundy, on the other hand, after the great success of Henry V in 1415, inclined more and more to the English side, out of hatred of the Armagnacs.

The Conquest of Normandy. In September 1417 Henry V landed his army on the Norman coast, at the little port of Le Touquet, and began systematically to reduce the old duchy of his forefathers. The French made no attempt to meet him in the open field. Henry's plan was to occupy each town of Normandy in a certain order, so that in a few months'

time there was a regular series of them under English garrisons from the sea to the southern frontier of the duchy. Gradually the King worked round with his army and approached the capital, Rouen, from the south. After a long and terrible siege, July 1418 to January 1419, the city was captured. With the fall of Rouen, which at that period is said to have had 100,000 inhabitants, a larger population than that of London, the whole duchy came into the hands of the English. Henry stepped at once into the position of Duke of Normandy. The ancient laws and customs were maintained; the inhabitants were left undisturbed in their lives and property, and any plundering or exactions by the English soldiery were severely punished.

The Treaty of Troyes. The loss of Normandy induced the jarring factions of France, the Burgundians and Armagnacs, to try and patch up an agreement. The Duke of Burgundy met the Dauphin, Charles VI's son, on the bridge of Montereau, at the junction of the Seine and the Yonne. What followed is a little obscure. Some angry words were exchanged, and the Duke, who is said to have made a movement as if to draw his sword, was at once cut down by the Dauphin's friend and counsellor, the Breton, Tanneguy du Chastel (September 1419). The murder at Montereau ruined any chance of reconciliation between Burgundians and Armagnacs, and caused open hostilities between them for the next sixteen years.

The crowning success of the English, when Henry V became all but King of France, followed almost immediately. Advancing into Champagne, he met the enraged son of the murdered Duke John of Burgundy. The Burgundian party, who now had control of the mad King Charles VI, induced him on May 21, 1420, to sign the famous Treaty of Troyes in the cathedral town of that name. The Dauphin was disinherited; Henry V was declared 'heir of France', and was married to the Princess Katharine, Charles VI's daughter. While the French King was alive, Henry was to

administer the country in his name. When Charles died, Henry was himself to become king.

The death of Henry V. After this wonderful success Henry entered Paris, where he held the Estates-General (the legislative assembly) of France, and made useful ordinances for the good government of the distracted kingdom. He spent Christmas in Paris, and then returned with Queen Katharine to England, leaving his brother, the Duke of Clarence, as Lieutenant of Normandy in his stead. While Henry was in England, Clarence, with a few thousand men, was caught by some of the Dauphin's men and Scots knights who had come over to help them. In a cleverly fought action they defeated the English, and left Clarence dead on the field, near the Bridge of Beaugé, in Anjou (March 22, 1421). It was the first time that the French had met the English in open battle since Agincourt. The victory put new life into the Dauphinist party, who still held all the country south of the Loire and even a few districts to the north of the river. Henry V came back with a fine army, and was consolidating his power north of the Loire, with all his usual skill and resoluteness, when death overtook him at Bois de Vincennes on August 31, 1422, at the age of thirty-five. Although well-proportioned and athletic, he had never been constitutionally strong. On campaign he shared the privations of his soldiers, often sleeping on the bare ground, and exposing himself to the fever and cold, as well as to the weapons of the enemy. Bad food, fatigue, exposure, prolonged over many months, especially in the siege of Meaux (July 1421 to March 1422), had brought on dysentery and finally an internal ulcer. Before his death he quietly made all arrangements for the peaceful succession of the son who had been born to him in England and whom he was never to see. Then declaring solemnly to his chaplain that he had taken up the sword for a righteous cause, he composed himself for death. When the last agony came on he uttered, 'Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend this soul,' and died.

The division of France. Henry V never became King of France. Six weeks after his death, Charles VI died too, and young Henry VI, who was less than a year old, succeeded to his father's rights under the Treaty of Troyes. The Dauphin (Charles VII) had his court and capital at Bourges,

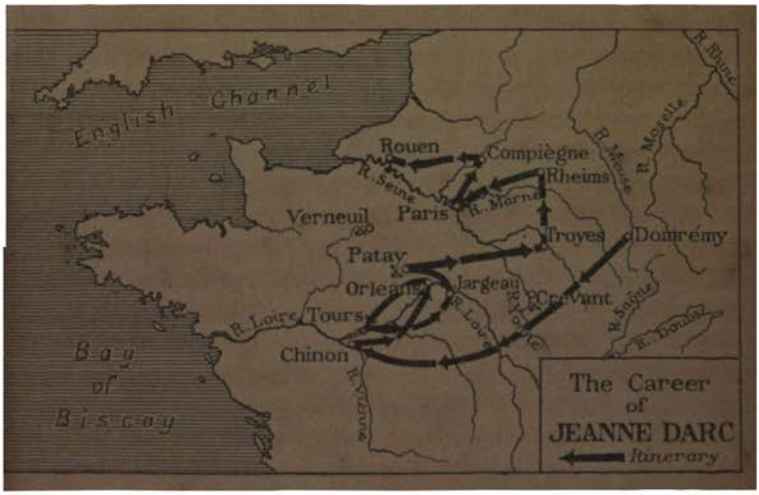
in the country south of the Loire. For a time the English cause prospered, under the wise leadership of the young king's uncle, John, Duke of Bedford, the best of Henry V's brothers. The Duke combined the qualities of a soldier, general, statesman. It was his hard task, as Regent of France for Henry VI, to maintain the war (with insufficient supplies of men and money), to administer the country, to make peace between the discordant factions at home, especially between

his untameable brother, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and his uncle, the Cardinal, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester.

France during the early years of Henry VI. For a time things went well with the English cause. Bedford had first of all to consolidate the English dominion north of the Loire. In 1423 he defeated the Dauphinists (as those who adhered to Charles VII were now called), with their Scots allies, at Crevant on the Yonne. One year later, August 1424, he gained another battle at Verneuil against another force of Dauphinists and Scots, who had actually invaded Normandy. The battle caused great joy in England, and was hailed as another Agincourt. It showed, however, that the French were not afraid to meet the English in the open field. The war dragged on, because the English claimed the sovereignty of all France, and the Dauphin, who was acknowledged king over about half the country, would not admit the claim. Mediaeval states could carry on a war like this almost interminably, but there was no finality to be attained, as the armies which met each other as the war went on, numbered only about 6,000 or 7,000 men on each side. The rest of the soldiers were spread about as garrisons, or, under the name of 'free companies', roamed over the country and exacted plunder from the unhappy inhabitants. The English at home began to lose all interest in the war, except that they grumbled at the extra taxation and complained of the loss of life.

The Siege of Orleans. The dying Henry V had commended the war and the cause of his son to his brother, the Duke of Bedford, who would never abandon the trust. Gradually his energy and determination won its way. The English power was made fairly solid down to the Loire. The next step was to push across the river. For this it was necessary to capture the important city of Orleans, the 'bridge-head' on the north bank of the Loire. In October 1428 an army, numbering about 5,000 men, was led against the city by Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury. His forces were too small to invest Orleans completely, but Salisbury set to work and built

a series of rough fortresses of wood and stone—'bastides' they were called—round it, and so tried to close all approaches to the city. Yet convoys from the country south of the Loire were able to enter Orleans from time to time throughout the siege. The garrison, which was probably about the same size as the English army, held out stoutly enough, but the Dauphin, who, though capable, was a melancholy man, with no taste for warfare, showed an entire want of energy and



seemed almost indifferent. The struggle revealed a complete lack of ideals in both camps, and seemed to breed nothing but corruption and cruelty.

Jeanne Darc. It was on this sordid scene that Jeanne Darc suddenly appeared, with all the freshness of youth, all the enthusiasm of a noble unselfish character. At once the struggle was lifted to a different plane, and it became certain that, the rival forces being otherwise evenly balanced, the French, showing greater enthusiasm and more lofty purpose, would finally triumph.

Jeanne Darc, as she is properly called, was born about the year 1412 at Domremy in Lorraine. Her father was a peasant

who owned his own land. Jeanne helped with the farm, and spent long hours with the cattle on the hill-side. From there she may have seen the smoke of burning villages, when the English or Burgundian troops passed by. The imaginative and pious girl heard 'voices' speaking to her, bidding her free France from the English yoke. In 1429, being then about seventeen years old, she went to Vaucouleurs, the nearest town which had a small Dauphinist garrison. The governor, though a common-place soldier of the hard type of that age, was won over by the simplicity and earnestness of her character, so far as to send her to Chinon, where Charles VII held his court. She was admitted to the presence of the doubting and melancholy king, and again stated her extraordinary mission. She (a peasant girl who could neither read nor write) had come as the messenger of God to announce the speedy triumph of the King's cause. The Middle Ages were dying amid bloodshed and faithlessness, but there was still something of the old idealism left, something of the romantic spirit which had led men to die on the sands of Syria for a name and an idea. The peasant girl was sent with the army that was being collected to try and relieve Orleans.

The relief of Orleans. Jeanne was no general, but there were plenty of experienced captains in her army. What the soldiery of the time lacked was enthusiasm, and that was just what she gave. To her, 'France' was something ideal, beautiful, in comparison with which a man must hold his life as nothing. Patriotism, as distinct from loyalty to a paymaster, or allegiance to a feudal lord, was to become the watchword of the French. With an army animated by her romantic presence, and inspired by faith in her divine mission, Jeanne approached Orleans in April 1429. On the 29th she passed between the widely separated bastides of the English, and entered Orleans unopposed. The end of the siege was in sight. It was not merely that the forces of defence had been augmented, but a light, as it were from above, had broken upon them. Some hard fighting had still to be done, but the result

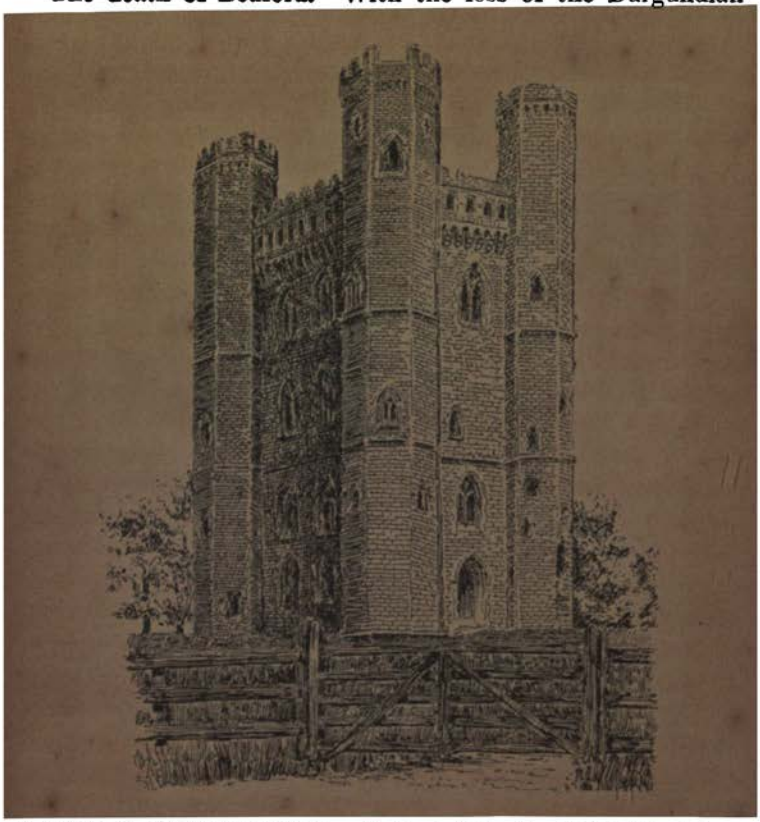
was almost a foregone conclusion. On May 3, 1429, the English were compelled to burn their works, and raise the siege. Their great effort had failed. The rest of the Hundred Years' War is the story of a steady decline in their power. They felt that they had failed and, obstinately as they fought, the heart had gone out of them.

The death of Jeanne. Jeanne may have been no general, but she had, at any rate, the virtue of swift decisiveness. She persuaded her captains to follow up the relief of Orleans at once. On June 12 she captured Jargeau; on the 19th she fell upon the English leader, Talbot, near Patay, captured him, and destroyed nearly half his army. On July 17 she led Charles VII to Reims for his coronation, according to her promise. Then once again, still unresting, she took to the field, almost unsupported by the Government. She was captured by a Burgundian force in May 1430. Charles VII made no offer to ransom her, and accordingly the Burgundians handed her over to the English. She was tried by a court of French ecclesiastics at Rouen, and burnt as a heretic in the market-place of the city on May 29, 1431. So died the most inspiring figure of the Hundred Years' War, at the early age of eighteen; but her work was done. In a sense she is the creator of modern France, which from her time became passionately conscious of itself as one people, no longer a loose collection of feudal lordships.

The loss of the Burgundian alliance. There were twenty-two years of desultory struggle in France before the English provinces were all lost. In 1430 the English Government even had young Henry VI crowned King of France, in Paris. But political demonstrations such as this are of little use by themselves against the logic of facts. Duke Philip of Burgundy was coming to see the folly of the apparently endless war, and to be displeased with his English alliance. It was years since his father had been killed, and France had paid dearly for the crime. So in the summer of 1435 Philip made his peace with Charles VII,

at the Congress of Arras; and the English went on fighting by themselves.

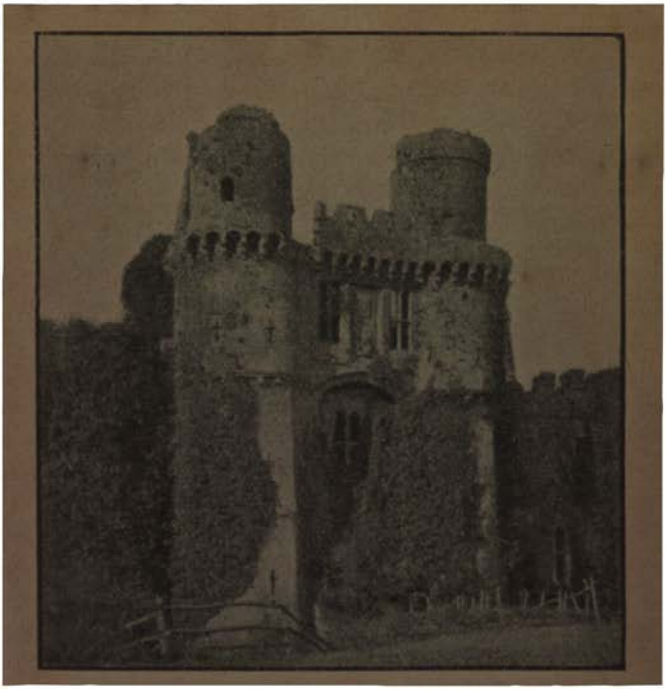
The death of Bedford. With the loss of the Burgundian



MILITARY ARCHITECTURE. Tattershall Castle, 1433-1443. Transitional. A dwelling-house in the form of a keep or four-storied tower.

alliance, there occurred another disaster, one which, however, in the nature of things, could not be avoided. Bedford, at the age of 46, was at the end of the allotted span of most men's lives in the Middle Ages; and his life had been harder than that of most. He died on September 15 (1435), at the house

of *Joyeux Repos*, in Rouen. He was the last great man that England produced in the Middle Ages, and he spent his life in a hopeless and useless cause. His brother, Henry V, had laid upon him the burden of the French war, and he carried



HURSTMONCEAUX CASTLE, about 1446. Transitional. A brick dwelling-house with the outward form of a Castle.

the burden to the end. The Chronicle of Normandy says he was 'noble in lineage and in virtue: wise, generous, feared, and loved'.

The loss of the French provinces. For eighteen years more the unsatisfactory war dragged on. In 1436 the French army entered Paris, and practically only Normandy and Guienne, with shrinking frontiers, were left to the English. In 1444 the courageous English minister, William de la Pole, Duke of

Suffolk, who had himself seen much hard service in France, arranged a truce with Charles VII, and the marriage of Charles's cousin, Margaret of Anjou, to Henry VI. The truce was unpopular in England, and cost Suffolk his head, but it was what the country required. The English Government, which in Henry V's time had been so law-abiding and orderly, was now misgoverning its French provinces. There was no money to pay the garrisons, which had accordingly taken to plunder. Local risings occurred in different places, on the part of the desperate and starving peasantry. In 1449 an unpaid English company, under a Spanish captain, François de Surienne, who was called L'Aragonois, crossed the Breton frontier and sacked the flourishing little town of Fougères. The Duke of Brittany appealed for help to Charles VII, who only wanted a fair reason for war. He had now perfected his military system, by paying the troops regularly and forming companies of artillery. The Norman people welcomed the coming of a French army. The English governor, Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, had no proper resources to withstand the invasion. An army of relief, sent from England under Sir Thomas Kyriel, was defeated at Formigny (April 15, 1450). In June, Caen, where William the Conqueror was buried, fell to the French, and by the end of August Cherbourg, the last English stronghold in Normandy, was captured. After this success, Charles VII transferred his army to Guienne, the duchy of the south-west. The English had allowed more freedom in Guienne than in Normandy, and were not disliked by the people. Yet within six months Charles had conquered Guienne too (June 1451). A year later the old lion, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, a veteran of Orleans, Patay, and innumerable other fights, led the last English force (it only numbered about 3,000) into Guienne. At Castillon, on the river Dordogne, the French artillery tore through the ranks of the English; Talbot himself was killed and his force dispersed (July 17, 1453). So ended the train of events which Henry V had so brilliantly begun at Agincourt. Calais re-

mained in English hands for another hundred and five years; and the kings of England styled themselves King of France till 1800. This was all that there was to show for whole generations of warfare, and for a policy which brought upon England the miserable bloodstained period of the Wars of the Roses.

TATTERSHALL CASTLE, a fireplace.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

The Wars of the Roses. This name has been given to the struggle between two parties of the English nobility, a struggle which went on from 1455 to 1471. The administration of the country broke down, and the great nobles, with their retainers behind them, met each other in pitched battles, as in Stephen's reign. The wars were a natural result of the Hundred Years' War in France. A lawless spirit had been engendered in the military forces, who, left unpaid by the bankrupt

Lancastrian Government, had learned to flout the law and to prey upon the French peasantry.

Livery and maintenance. The soldiers who returned from the French wars would have found no opening for warfare at home if the great nobles had not offered them service. Unfortunately, as early as the reign of Richard II, wealthy landed nobles had begun to enlist able-bodied men in their service, by putting them into a livery, as if they were their household servants. Often it was not a livery that was given, but merely a badge, some part of a nobleman's coat-of-arms sewn on to the tunic of the man, who thereby avowed himself the retainer of the lord. All over the country there might be men who wore the badge of a great lord (for instance, that of the Earl of Warwick in the reign of Henry VI), and who, when called upon, would sharpen their swords and flock to his standard. This 'badging' became known as the practice of *livery*. In the reign of Henry IV it had already given the opportunity for contests between lords in various counties. The poet Hoccleve, who was a clerk in the Privy Seal Office, appeals to the king as follows:

> Now in good feithe I pray God it amende,
> Lawe is nye flemed[1] out of this contree,
> For fewe ben that drede it to offende,
> Correccioun & alle this is longe on the.[2]
> Why suffrest thou so many assemblé
> Of armed folke welnye in every shire?
> Partie is made to venge her cruelle ire.

Maintenance was a less open, but even more insidious, evil than livery. It meant the practice according to which the great men of a district 'maintained' or supported the law-suits of the lesser men. Thus, in the fifteenth century, it was almost impossible to obtain justice in the local county courts, for the jury knew that some neighbouring magnate had made up his mind, and that a decision against the magnate's wishes would result in grave personal risk to themselves. There are

[1] Flemed = banished. [2] Longe on the = belongs to thee.

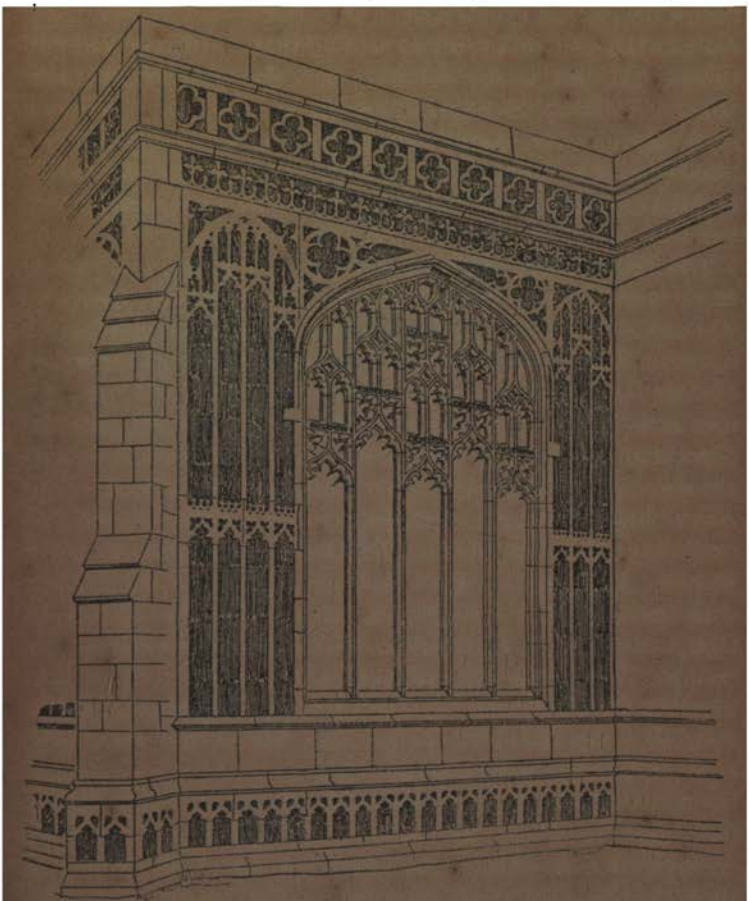
numerous instances of this illegal maintenance of law-suits to be found in the *Paston Letters*, written chiefly by members of the Paston family of Norfolk to each other between the years 1450 and 1470. In the county of Norfolk there was a powerful knight, Sir Thomas Tuddenham, who had often broken the peace. In 1451 he was summoned to appear at the Norfolk Assizes. 'And the said Tuddenham, Heydon, & others come down thither, as I understand, with 400 horse & more; & considering how their well-willers were assembled at their instance, it had been right jeopardous and fearful for any of the plaintiffs to have been present.'[1] He was 'maintaining' himself and his 'man', John Heydon. The case was not taken in the court. Another instance in the *Paston Letters* shows how the Royal Government itself could lend its influence to defeat justice. John Paston had a lawsuit with Lord Moleyns concerning the manor of Gresham, in Norfolk. The hearing of the case was often postponed in the county court. At last, in 1451, a day was fixed for it; but before John Paston entered the court, the sheriff took him aside and showed him a Royal Letter. This missive, which had been issued by the Chancery in Westminster, instructed the sheriff to get together a jury which would 'acquit Lord Moleyns'. John Paston, thoroughly disgusted, said such writs could be obtained from Chancery any day 'for six and eightpence'.

FULL PLATE ARMOUR. 'Gothic' suit, about 1445.

Parliament. The disorders of the country appeared at elections, and affected the composition of Parliament. The

[1] *Paston Letters*, No. 192.

members for the counties were always elected in the county courts. A man might be duly elected, but the sheriff, who



ST. MICHAEL COSLANY, NORWICH, about 1450. Showing Perpendicular tracery and work in flint.

presided at the court, might substitute the name of some one else, whom he preferred, in making his return to the Chancery. If this were done, the man whose name appeared on the

return would become the representative of the shire in Parliament. To prevent this fraud, a law was passed in 1406, compelling all who took part in the elections to append their seals to the writ of return, as a proof that the sheriff had not substituted the wrong name. But the number of seals appended during the next fifty years was very small, seldom more than thirty, sometimes as few as ten. Clearly the number of men who came to the county court was very small, and that number could be influenced or coerced by some great lords.

The Forty-shilling Franchise. In 1430 a law was passed to prevent any man from voting at the county elections who was not a freeholder possessing land of the annual value of forty shillings. Hitherto all freeholders, whatever the value of their land, had been voters, and in addition the 'four best men and the reeve' of each township could attend the county court and take part in the voting. The 'four best men and the reeve' were chosen out of the villeins of the manors. The Act of 1430, therefore, revised the qualification of voters, by excluding all villeins, and also those freeholders whose property was less than the (at that time) considerable sum of forty shillings a year. Accordingly, after 1430 the House of Commons came to represent only a small proportion of the people. The House of Lords was on an even narrower basis. Through the extinction of certain families, and through intermarriages, the baronies had come into possession of about fifty or sixty families, so that (apart from the bishops and abbots) the usual number in the House of Lords under Henry VI was forty-nine or fifty. As many of these barons were bitter enemies of each other, and had hundreds of ex-soldiers in their liveries, they first wrangled in Parliament, and soon took to fighting out their grievances in the open field.

The bankruptcy of the Lancastrian Government. A government that cannot pay its debts is not likely to last long. It is at the mercy of its creditors. Moreover, it must condone abuses, because its officials are not properly paid. It becomes

a bankrupt and thereby loses all respect. Such was the condition of the Lancastrian Government, in consequence of the protracted French wars. The ordinary revenue of the Government of Henry VI was about £70,000, obtained chiefly from customs duties, and from direct taxes voted from time to time by Parliament, levies nominally of one-tenth or one-fifteenth of every man's income. The country could easily have paid more than a hundred thousand pounds per annum, but the Government was too discredited to ask for more, or to collect extra money if the Parliament had voted it. Out of this £70,000 about £13,000 went to maintain the King's household, all his numerous palaces, castles, and manor-houses, and the army of officials connected with them. The garrisons of Calais and Berwick cost another £25,000. The French war, parsimoniously though it was conducted, exhausted all the spare funds of the Government, and left a deficit at the end of each year. In 1433 (a particularly bad year) the Treasurer, Lord Cromwell, in his budget for the next year, had shown a revenue of £38,000 and expenditure of £50,000; nor did things improve during the rest of the French war.

Henry VI. The King who had to rule over this distracted realm was not fitted for the task. He was a gentle but rather colourless man, completely devoted to the services of the Church, but without any striking qualities. He was an example of meekness to his subjects, would never sit down in church but always stood reverently, kept all the fasts, and was never known to swear: when roused he would say, 'Forsooth! forsooth!'—a gentle and salutary example in an age when men used all manner of strange oaths freely, 'By Christ's blood,' 'By God's death,' and so forth. He dressed soberly in dark-grey cloth, with a long gown and hood like a townsman, and comfortable broad boots or shoes like a countryman. This, too, was in marked contrast to the fashions of the period, which were very affected; well-dressed men wore short tunics and tightly fitting hose that showed the shape of the whole leg, and pointed shoes with such long

tips that they had to be tied up with a thong to prevent people from being tripped.

Henry VI's Colleges. Henry tried to do his duty, and attended the meetings of the Privy Council regularly. He was a cultivated man too, and read much both in the Scriptures and in the historical chronicles of the Middle Ages. In 1441 he founded two of the greatest places of education in England, Eton College, near Windsor, and King's College, Cambridge, after the model of William of Wykeham's foundations of Winchester and New College, Oxford. The colleges of Henry VI rapidly prospered. Eton, with its majestic court and noble chapel, its timbered grounds, and gently flowing river, has associations which appeal even to those who have not been nurtured within its walls.

A PARISH PRIEST OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

William Goode, Rector of Dogmersfield; once a Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Died 1498. (From a Brass in Odiham Church.)

The Duke of York. Henry VI had married Margaret of Anjou in 1445, but no heir was born to him for the first eight years of his married life, and people began to wonder what would happen when he died. The want of good administration was ruining the country. In 1450 the men of Kent rose under an Irishman called Jack Cade, and marched upon London. The royal forces were entrapped in a wood near Sevenoaks and defeated. Henry retired to Kenilworth. Cade and his men came to London, and although ultimately repelled by the Captain of the Tower, Lord Scales, and his

hard-fighting lieutenant, Matthew Gough, they inflicted considerable damage on the city, and showed the dangers to which life and property were exposed through the weakness of the Government. The rebels had risen as a protest against this weakness. They had demanded a firmer administration of justice, lower taxes, and the employment of the strongest man in the country, the Duke of York.

The Duke of York. The Duke of York was the cousin of Henry VI, and his heir to the throne if the King died childless. He had been the King's deputy in France after Bedford's death, and in spite of insufficient forces, had maintained the English position creditably. In 1445 he had been removed from his post, and sent, instead, as 'Deputy' or Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland. He was then thirty-five years old. The King, meanwhile, had been induced by Queen Margaret to lean for advice on Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, another cousin, but not in the line of succession for the throne. Somerset was a grand nobleman, brave, but without administrative ability. Under him Normandy was lost in 1450, and yet, on returning to England, he became the chief man in the King's Privy Council. From the demand which arose in the country that York, not Somerset, should be given the chief voice in the Government, the Wars of the Roses began.

The demand for the Duke of York. There was, undoubtedly, a feeling throughout the country that the Duke of York was one of the few strong men left. After the loss of Normandy in 1450, some unknown poet lamented the lack of great men to bring peace and order to the country:

The Root[1] is dead, the Swan[2] is gone,
The fiery Cresset[3] hath lost his light.
Therefore England may make great moan
Were not the help of God Almight.
The Castle[4] is won, where care begun,
The Porte-Cullis[5] is laid a-down;

[1] John, Duke of Bedford.
[2] Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.
[3] John Holland, Duke of Exeter.
[4] Rouen.
[5] Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.

Yclosed we have our Velvet Hat[1]
That covered us from many storms brown.
. . . . . .
The Boar[2] is far into the West
That should us help with shield and spear.
The Falcon[3] fleeth and hath no rest
Till he wit where to big his nest.

The Falcon, a name like most of the others in the poem, taken from a coat-of-arms, was the Duke of York, at that time Deputy of Ireland. In the same year (1450) York came back from Ireland, but was not admitted to the counsels of the King. Instead, Somerset, whose tenure of the chief command in France had been so disastrous, was made Constable of the kingdom and the chief man in the Government. York spent most of his time on his estates in the Welsh March, round Ludlow, where he was a great landowner.

The King's illness and the birth of Prince Edward. On August 10, 1453, the King, who was staying at the palace of Clarendon in Wiltshire, lost his memory, and fell into a state of childishness. The madness inherited from his maternal grandfather, Charles VI of France, was working its effect upon a weak body and mind. On October 13, Queen Margaret gave birth to a son. All chance of the Duke of York peacefully succeeding to the throne on Henry's death was thus taken away; but for the time being he showed no desire to seize the crown by force. As the King could not give any directions whatever, the House of Lords appointed York Protector of the Realm, and all went well for about fifteen months. At the end of that time the King recovered his wits (Christmas 1454). His son was fourteen months old, yet the King had to ask the boy's name; and when the Queen said 'Edward', Henry lifted up his hands and thanked God. 'And he said', so we find in the *Paston Letters*, 'he never knew till that time nor wist not what was said to him, nor wist not where he had been, while he hath been sick till now.'

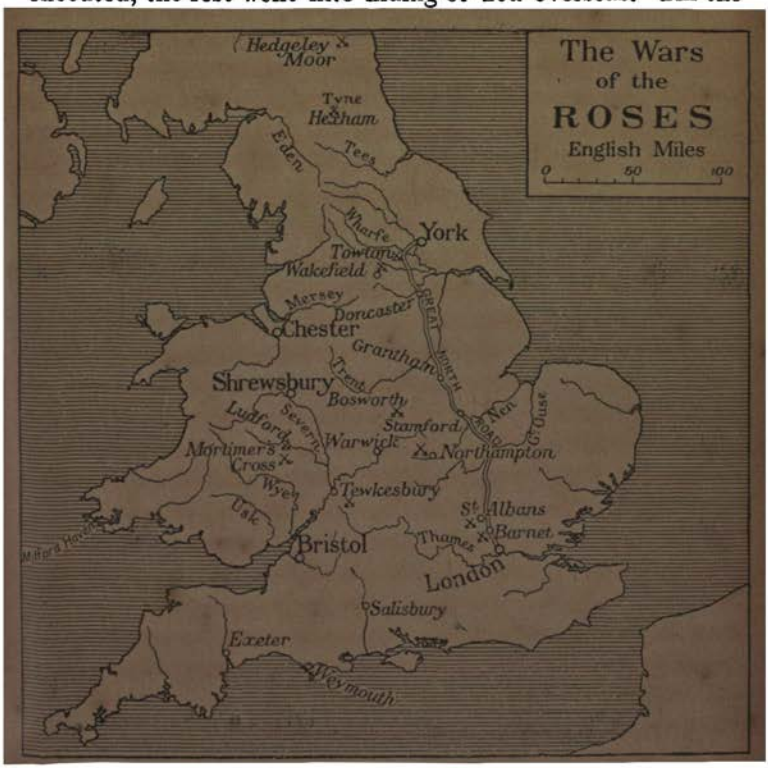
[1] Cardinal Henry Beaufort.
[2] Thomas Courtney, Earl of Devonshire.
[3] The Duke of York.

The outbreak of war. As soon as King Henry came to his senses, he dismissed the Duke of York from the Government, and received back the Duke of Somerset. The Queen, who had complete influence over the King, suspected York of designing to exclude her son from the succession to the throne, and would have nothing to do with him. York seems to have felt that not merely his position in the country, but even his life and property were in danger; and so, without waiting for the King to take action, he gathered his supporters together in Yorkshire and advanced upon London (May 1455). Thus began the Wars of the Roses.

The character of the wars. The Wars of the Roses were civil conflicts, in which the mass of the people took no part. On one side was the King and forty or fifty noble and knightly families; on the other York, also with forty or fifty noble and knightly families. The townspeople, except on one occasion, took no part in the struggle; nor did the country people. The armies consisted of a few hundred nobles and knights, that is to say, well-to-do country gentlemen, with the men who wore their 'livery' and agreed to follow them for wages. In most of the battles the army on each side numbered about 4,000 or 5,000 men. The losses in a battle varied from about 300 to 2,500 men, the last being an exceptionally large number. The King's party were known as 'Lancastrians', the Duke's as 'Yorkists'. The name Wars of the Roses was not used till the chroniclers who lived under the Tudors began writing. Actually during the wars the white rose of York is heard of, but there is no mention of the red rose of Lancaster.

Ideals in the Wars of the Roses. Historians have always severely condemned these wars, which were fought for no great principle, but merely to secure the position and honours of one set of great families against another. Yet the period, properly understood, is not wholly repulsive. Those who fought suffered, as was right, for it was their quarrel, not the nation's. The people, as a whole, stood aside, and owing to the small numbers engaged in the wars, the loss of men and of wealth

was very little felt. Not a single town was plundered. The two parties met on the field and fought. The side which was defeated was scattered; some were killed in battle, some were executed, the rest went into hiding or fled overseas. Till the



defeated could gather their forces again for another effort, the country had peace. The wars were thus really a series of detached battles, with months of quiescence in between. The party which won the last battle administered the country. The courts sat, and taxes were collected. The administration suffered from disorganization, justice was often perverted, and in every county there was a certain amount of brigandage. Yet in the towns trade went on, and in the country districts

the ground was tilled and the crops were gathered in. Gradually the noble families lost their chief members, and the people, without taking much active part in the struggle, came more and more to support the man who seemed likely to end the struggle and give peace. This was Edward, eldest son of the Duke of York. Accordingly, the townsmen, notably the Londoners, took to lending him money, and this help, coupled with his own vigour and the following of men whom he commanded, gave him the final victory.

Bloodshed. The worst feature of the Wars of the Roses was the heartlessness which showed itself among the nobles on each side. At first they fought without undue bitterness; but as the wars continued the victors formed the practice of executing their most important captives in cold blood. The great men undoubtedly became callous, and set precedents for the frequent and cold-blooded executions carried out by the Yorkist and Tudor kings. It must be remembered, however, to the credit of one of the chief Yorkist leaders, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, that at the battle of Northampton (1460) he issued an order to spare the common people, and slay only the lords, knights, and squires (the men who were responsible for the quarrel). There are instances of great fidelity too, and one Lancastrian knight, Sir Ralph Percy, dying at the battle of Hedgeley Moor (1464), solaced himself with the reflection that he died in the service he had originally chosen—'I have saved the bird in my bosom', he said.

The defeat of the Lancastrian party. The military aim of each party was to get or keep possession of London; therefore most of the battles were fought along one or other of the great roads leading to the capital. The first battle, at St. Albans (1455), took place on the Great North Road, which runs from York to London. The Lancastrian forces were dispersed, Somerset killed, the King taken prisoner. Three years of comparative quiet followed, before the Queen, a most determined woman, had gathered support enough to assert the independence of the Crown again. This time she was successful after

some fighting in the west of England. Most of the Yorkist nobles had to fly: the Duke of York to Ireland, where he was perfectly safe upon his estates, and the Earl of Warwick to Calais. Warwick, among other offices, had received from the Crown the post of Captain of Calais, and so now the garrison received him as into a little kingdom of his own, where he was quite safe (1459). Next year he collected sufficient men and ships at Calais to make a landing on the English coast, in Kent; he was received with considerable cordiality by the citizens of London (1460); but he had to meet the Lancastrian forces on the Great North Road again, at Northampton, where he issued the order to spare the lives of the common soldiers as much as possible, and to fight the gentry to the death. The Yorkists were victorious here, and the King was again captured; but six months later the Queen, who never abandoned a contest, had collected an army in the north of England, and had met the Duke of York at the battle of Wakefield, where he was slain. One of York's sons, the eighteen-year-old Earl of Rutland, tried to escape by mingling with a Lancastrian company, but Lord Clifford, whose father had been killed at the battle of St. Albans, recognized him, and stabbed him to the heart with a dagger, saying, 'By God's blood, thy father slew mine; and so will I do thee and all thy kin' (*Paston Letters*). The victory of Wakefield (1460), however, had little effect, except to show how savage the struggle between the gentry was becoming. The Duke of York's eldest son, Edward, Earl of March, was at the time on the family estates on the Welsh border. Collecting all his men together, he defeated a Lancastrian force at Mortimer's Cross (February 1461), and marching across England, entered London, while Queen Margaret, who had got as far as St. Albans and won a battle there against the Earl of Warwick, was hesitating what to do. 'If they [the King and Queen]', says the chronicler William of Worcester, 'had come with their army to London, they would have had all things as they wished.' The Queen would not risk it; Edward therefore entered London, and, as his father had been

killed, and all possibility of peace between the opposing parties was gone, he took the final step, and declared himself king. The citizens of London gladly acquiesced, for they believed that, right or wrong, he was a strong man, who would give peace and order, where the legitimate king, Henry VI, had failed to do so. So 'all the city was fain and thanked God . . . and said, "Let us walk in a new vineyard, and let us make a gay garden in the month of March with this fair white rose and herb, the Earl of March".'[1] Thus was the Crown added to the White Rose of York (March 1461).

The character of Edward IV. The new King of England was only nineteen years of age. He has left a name for carelessness and cruelty which is not altogether justified. Brought up in the demoralizing atmosphere of civil war, in a time when all moral restraints were growing loose, he behaved better than many men, whom he might have taken for an example. Two things are told of him in the Wars of the Roses: one, that he always went with his men into the attack, fighting on foot like an ordinary soldier; the other is, that he was in the habit of giving the order to spare the commons, and slay in battle the gentry, with whom the quarrel really lay. At the end of the wars, however, at the battle of Barnet (1471) he withdrew this order, because the common soldiers in the opposing ranks had been on his side, but were now fighting against him. As a king he has it to his credit that he took vigorous and successful steps to keep the country in peace and order—the real cure for the nation's ills; and in addition he personally stimulated commerce and learning—labour which makes life possible, learning which gives it grace.

The end of the Lancastrian power. Edward IV dated his reign from March 4, 1461, but he had still to fight for his throne. At the end of the same month he won a decisive battle at Towton, near Tadcaster, between the rivers Aire and Wharfe. Edward then left the pacification of the north to Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, 'the last of

[1] Gregory's *Chronicle*, p. 215.

the barons',[1] who up till 1470 consistently supported the Yorkist house as the most likely to bring peace and order to England. Queen Margaret was able to keep forces in the field and in a few castles, partly through money and supplies sent from Scotland and France (whose Governments wished to keep England weak), and partly through the support of some of the northern gentry, who had not submitted to Edward IV, and whose estates were still untouched by him. By the end of the year 1464, however, the north had been won for King Edward. The last battles were those of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham (1464). Margaret fled to France with her son. Henry VI became a prisoner in the Tower of London.

The Earl of Warwick. Edward IV was still a young man, inexperienced in government; for years the Earl of Warwick, an able and vigorous soldier, had been one of the greatest upholders of the Yorkist party. Warwick accordingly expected to be the chief man in the kingdom under the Crown. Edward, however, had no sooner come to the throne than he showed himself to be a masterful man. He did not offer to make Warwick a duke; and without consulting the Earl he suddenly (May 1464) married Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Wydville, Lord Rivers, and widow of Sir John Grey. Both her father and her first husband had adhered to the Lancastrian party. Warwick wished Edward to marry a princess of the royal family of France, a step which would help to establish the house of York among the reigning families of Europe. Edward, however, went his own way, chose his own ministers, and showed that he meant to rule the country himself. Yet Warwick was not a man to be neglected with impunity. There were men who wore his badge —the 'Ragged Staff'—all over the country. He owned immense estates round Salisbury and Warwick, and in Yorkshire. In addition to the revenues of his estates, he had an income of £40,000 a year from various offices, including the

[1] See *The Last of the Barons*, novel by Bulwer Lytton, published in 1843.

captaincy of Calais. His expenses were less than the King's, while his total income was probably greater than the whole revenue of the Crown! He was popular with the people. Wherever he went he kept open house. Every day great roasts were laid upon his tables, and any one could come and take away as much meat as could be carried on a long dagger.[1] Such a man could be a serious rival to any king. Yet few people, even in those faithless days, can have suspected that Warwick would desert to the Lancastrian side, or that Queen Margaret would accept help from the man who had ruined her husband and her son. This, however, was what actually happened. In the spring of 1470 he joined in a rebellion against Edward in Lincolnshire. The rising failed, and Warwick fled overseas, and offered his services to Margaret, who was living at the moment at the court of King Louis XI of France. The unnatural alliance was arranged, and Warwick, with a force of Lancastrian exiles and hired French soldiers, recrossed the Channel and landed in Devonshire. Edward was taken by surprise. Warwick swiftly seized London when the King was in Yorkshire, and Edward had no resource but to fly the country, and take refuge with his brother-in-law, Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy.

Barnet and Tewkesbury. For just over six months (October 1470 to April 1471) the Lancastrian Government was restored in England. Queen Margaret, for some unexplained reason, stayed on in France; Warwick administered the kingdom; Henry VI, almost unconscious of his surroundings, was brought out of the Tower and placed, says William of Worcester, on the throne 'like a crowned calf'. Edward, however, was only waiting for his opportunity. On March 11 (1471) he set sail from Flushing, with the men who had followed him into exile, and with others provided by Charles the Bold. On the 14th he landed at Ravenspur near Spurnhead in Yorkshire. As he marched southward his force increased. Warwick came out from London to meet him, but Edward cleverly placed

[1] Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. iii, p. 678.

his forces between those of Warwick and the capital. The decisive battle took place at Barnet in Hertfordshire, on Easter Sunday, April 14, 1471, in a dense fog. There were probably only a few thousand soldiers on either side. Edward dispersed the opposing army; the total losses, according to the *Paston Letters*, were about one thousand. Warwick died fighting, and Edward expressed regret for his death.

One more battle had to be fought before England received peace under Edward. On the day of the Battle of Barnet, Queen Margaret landed at Weymouth, with a number of Lancastrian knights. She made for the west of England, where Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, was raising some forces for her. Edward, who always showed great decision and energy when danger was present, marched west immediately. It was a race between his forces and Margaret's, and Edward won. He overtook the Lancastrians before they could cross the Severn into Wales. Outside the historic town of Tewkesbury, within sight of its majestic abbey, the Queen's forces were met and scattered (May 1471). Margaret's son was killed as he was flying from the battlefield; the Queen herself was taken prisoner, but treated honourably, and subsequently permitted to return to France. Less than three weeks after the Battle of Tewkesbury, King Henry VI, who had been put back in the Tower of London, died, 'of pure displeasure and melancholy'. So says the chronicle of the year (*Arrival of King Edward*). Others whispered that he had been murdered.

The quiet years of King Edward. For the rest of Edward's reign England was peaceful and prosperous. The old connexion with Flanders had been re-established by the marriage of his sister Margaret with Charles the Bold of Burgundy and Flanders in 1468. English foreign trade and shipping consequently increased. The well-to-do merchants were constructing beautiful brick and timbered houses, like Crosby Hall in London, with its noble rooms and charming central court.

In 1476, William Caxton, a London merchant, who had

traded and lived in Flanders, having learned the new art of printing with movable type, set up a press in Westminster, and began issuing his magnificent folios, worthy of the great literature of England. Edward IV encouraged the great printer, and gave him a pension.

In foreign affairs Edward pursued a successful policy. In 1475 he led an expedition into north-eastern France from Calais, to support Charles the Bold against Louis XI. Louis allowed Edward's army to reach the Somme, and then offered peace. The Treaty of Picquigny was signed, and the English withdrew on very favourable conditions. Edward was to receive a 'pension' of 50,000 crowns per annum and 75,000 crowns down, and English merchants were to be allowed to trade freely in French ports, subject only to payment of the regular customs dues. When the reign ended, the country had undoubtedly increased in happiness and general well-being. Edward had a way of asking for presents ('benevolences') from prominent citizens, instead of levying a general tax. It was difficult to refuse the King's request, but the principle was thoroughly bad, as it led to tyranny and intimidation. The 'benevolences', however, only amounted to £12,000 in his reign. Edward remained popular to the last, a citizen king, cheerful, good-humoured, affable to every one; dignified without coldness, rich without ostentation, cultivated, a patron of art and learning. He was like one of the civic despots of Florence or Milan, born into Renaissance England. The Burgundian chronicler, Philip de Comines, has left a picture of him:

'King Edward was a man of no great forecast, but very valiant, and the beautifullest capital Prince that lived in his time. . . . He was as goodly a gentleman as lived in our age, I meane in this time of his adversitie (1470): for afterward he grew marvellous grosse.'

Edward V. Edward IV was succeeded (April 1483) by the elder of his two sons, also called Edward, a boy thirteen years old. The only surviving brother of the late King was Richard,

Duke of Gloucester, a good soldier and an able statesman, who was made Protector of the Kingdom, while his nephew the King, was a minor. Edward V reigned only two months; he died in the Tower of London, along with his brother Richard, on July 15, 1485. Suspicion at the time fixed upon Richard as the author or instigator of their death, and Sir Thomas

CIVIL COSTUME.

KNIGHT. Temp. Richard II. | GENTLEMAN. Early 15th cent. | RICHARD III, when Duke of Gloucester.

More, the author of *Utopia*, who wrote the history of Edward V and Richard III in 1513, took the same view. Shakespeare adopted the story for his historical tragedy of *Richard III.*

K. Richard. Is thy name Tyrrel?
Tyr. James Tyrrel, and your most obedient subject.
K. Rich. Art thou, indeed?
Tyr. Prove me, my gracious sovereign.
K. Rich. Darest thou resolve to kill a friend of mine?
Tyr. Ay, my lord;
But I had rather kill two enemies.

K. Rich. Why, there thou hast it: two deep enemies,
Foes to my rest and my sweet sleep's disturbers
Are they that I would have thee deal upon:
Tyrrel, I mean those bastards in the Tower.
Richard III, Act IV, Sc. ii.

Richard III. The new king, the last of the Plantagenet House, had all the abilities of his race, and lacked some of their vices. The tragedy of his life lies, not in his violent end upon the field of Bosworth, but in his good qualities being marred by selfishness and ambition. During Edward IV's lifetime he had served his brother faithfully, and during the Wars of the Roses had led the 'vaward battle' of the Yorkist forces. Despite the crooked means by which he came to the throne, he proved to be a good king; he was energetic in journeying through the country, on royal 'progress', to hear the complaints of his subjects, a wholesome practice of the mediaeval English kings which lasted till the end of Elizabeth's reign. In his only Parliament, he authorized a statute making benevolences (exactions of money by the King) illegal. He was careful of the defence of the kingdom, insisting on a certain number of bow-staves (for archery) being imported with every barrel of wine. Finally, he kept the navy always in mind, and saw that the ships were in repair; his fleet gained one of the best mediaeval sea-fights of England against the Scots (off the Northumbrian coast) in 1484.

The last of the Yorkists. Yet the people felt that he was a usurper. At the time there was a scion of the House of Lancaster living in exile in Brittany. This was Henry, Earl of Richmond, son of the Lady Margaret Beaufort and the Welshman, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond. Henry Tudor was twenty-nine years old in 1485, when, with the help of the Duke of Brittany and Anne, Regent of France, he got ships and men together, sailed from Harfleur on August 1, and landed with 2,000 men at Milford Haven, near the estates which had been in his family's possession. He then marched

northwards to gather men on the Welsh March. Richard III came to meet him with what forces he could gather. The final battle of the Wars of the Roses took place near Market Bosworth, in Leicestershire, on August 22, 1485. King Richard's men were not all equally firm in his cause. The great Lancashire family of Stanley threw in its lot with Henry of Richmond on the field of battle. Richard sought to meet his rival and decide the day in person. His horse was killed under him.

Catesby. Withdraw, my lord; I'll help you to a horse.
K. Rich. Slave, I have set my life upon a cast,
And I will stand the hazard of the die.
I think there be six Richmonds in the field;
Five have I slain to-day instead of him.
A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!
Richard III, Act v, Sc. iv.

So Richard, 'fighting manfully in the midst of his enemies, was slain' (Sir Thomas More's *Life*). His portrait in the National Gallery of London shows a strong intellectual face, with lines of passion upon it, but not the face of a bad man. Yet he had at least allowed the murder of two innocent happy boys, his wards. It is the face of a man whose natural goodness had fallen before a fatal temptation, which brought him to the gates of hell while he lived.

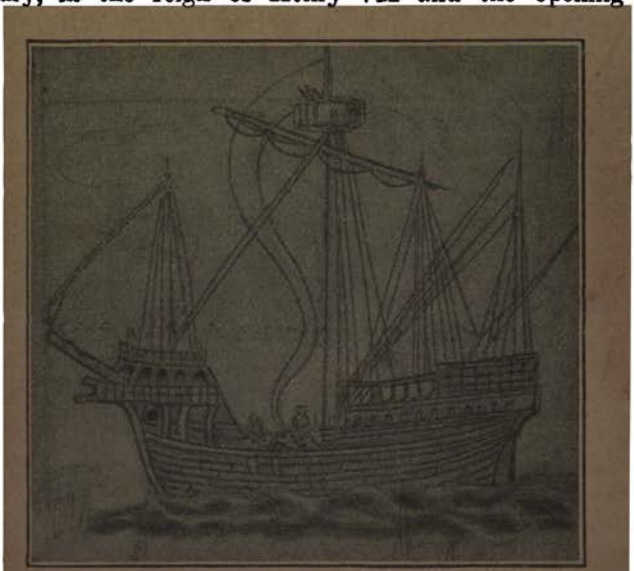
CHAPTER XIV

THE RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

Modern history. The year 1485, the first of the Tudor Period, is usually considered as the beginning of the Modern History of England. It is not possible, of course, to define any particular point in which the Middle Ages may be said to end and the Modern World to begin. (The Renaissance, the intellectual movement which humanized the wide though somewhat rigid knowledge of the Middle Ages, had been going on

for a hundred years before. Yorkist England shows the Renaissance at work in the country, printing-presses established, art and letters being studied with that free outlook which is characteristic of the 'new birth' of the human spirit.

The end of feudalism. But towards the end of the fifteenth century, in the reign of Henry VII and the opening of



WARSHIP, about 1485. The earliest known drawing of a four-masted ship.

the Tudor Period, certain inventions, due to an earlier age, began to be more freely and fully used. Gunpowder had been employed at the siege of Calais in 1347, yet for the next hundred and fifty years the mailed knight or man-at-arms remained the chief figure in warfare. Gradually, however, the increasing use of gunpowder diminished the value of armour, and left any one man, provided he was strong and intelligent, as effective as any other. Feudalism therefore broke down; the knightly class could not claim to be the sole governors and protectors of the country, for they

were useless without masses of common infantry, without musketeers and pikemen. Armies became 'professional'. Governments, instead of calling out the feudal levy, took to hiring men who knew how to shoot. Thus another blow was struck at the feudal system, which depended upon men living always upon the same estate, and acknowledging a lifelong tie to their landlord.

THE WESTERN WORLD as far as it was known at this date.
(Robert Thorne's map, 1527.)

The study of Greek. Education in the Middle Ages had depended upon the Latin language and literature. Vergil was the great poetic master; his legends and his imagery are used by the mediaeval epic-writers. Aristotle, a Greek, was the master of philosophy and theology, but was only known through Latin translations. But from about the year 1400 Greek had begun to be seriously studied in Italy, and by the end of the fifteenth century it was becoming known in England. The greatest scholar of the period, Erasmus of Rotterdam, was well known in England, and a friend of Sir Thomas More and of John Colet, the Dean of St. Paul's. The Chancellor of

Henry VII, Richard Foxe, Bishop of Winchester, was keenly interested in the 'New Learning', as in all sides of education; and after consultation with Erasmus, he founded Corpus Christi College, in the University of Oxford (1516), for the study of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. Teachers were brought from Greece itself to give instruction in the Greek tongue; and the philosophical works of Aristotle and of Plato, with

MASTER AND SCHOLAR.

the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the great Attic dramas, became known and studied as models of thought and composition. About the same time (1510) Colet founded the famous 'Grammar-school' of St. Paul's, which has done so much for the instructing and strengthening of boys' minds through the severe medium of Greek and Latin learning.

The character of the reign of Henry VII. The reign of Henry VII, however, did not witness any great advance in the Renaissance movement. He had to deal with troublesome relics and reminiscences of the unfortunate Roses struggle. He had to establish his dynasty in the fellowship of European monarchs—to obtain recognition from France, Spain, and Germany, as a legitimate king. In 1492 Christopher Columbus, the Genoese mariner, had discovered the Island of Hispaniola,

and so showed the way to the American continent. The Spanish and Portuguese began to stretch out towards the New World and to the Indies. In this great movement England as yet took no share; she was too insular, too undeveloped. Henry VII, indeed, was a far-seeing man, and the magnificent possibilities of overseas enterprise did not escape him. He helped to equip an expedition, which sailed

DIVINITY SCHOOL, OXFORD (fifteenth century). An example of an elaborate Perpendicular roof.

from Bristol under John and Sebastian Cabot in 1497, and which actually reached the mainland of America; but no English settlement followed this for nearly a hundred years.

Although there were no surviving sons of Henry VI, nor of Edward IV, Henry VII had to deal with pretenders to his throne. He had united the families of Lancaster and York by marrying the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. The marriage was popular with the people, as it softened the fact of his having gained the throne by a battle. 'And as his victory gave him the knee, so his purpose of marriage with the Lady Elizabeth gave him the heart; so that knee

and heart did truly bow before him' (Bacon, *Life and Reign of Henry VII*). It was a political marriage; Elizabeth was beautiful, gentle, and a good mother, yet Henry never showed much kindness to her, 'his aversion to the house of York was so predominant in him' (Bacon).

The Pretenders. The first pretender was Lambert Simnel. Lambert was merely the handsome son of an Oxford baker, but the audacious contrivers of the plot were trying to pass him off as Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, the son of Edward IV's brother Clarence. Warwick at the time was actually living in the Tower of London, kept prisoner by Henry VII. Lambert was taken to the English Pale in Ireland, where the house of York was remembered. In Dublin he was accepted as king. From Burgundy soldiers were sent by the Duchess Margaret, sister of Edward IV, to help the Yorkist cause. The rebels then crossed to England, but few people joined them there. At Stoke, near Newark, the King scattered their forces, and most of the leaders were slain (1487).

'For Lambert, the King would not take his life, both out of magnanimity, taking him but as an image of wax that others had temper'd and moulded; and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffer'd death he would be forgotten too soon; but being kept alive, he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like inchantments of people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court to a base office in his kitchen; so that he turn'd a broach that had worn a crown; whereas fortune commonly doth not bring in a comedy or farce after a tragedy. And afterwards he was preferred to be one of the King's falconers.' —Bacon's *Life of Henry VII.*

The next pretender was Perkin Warbeck. Bacon says he was the son of a converted Jew of Tournai. He was, at any rate, a young man of good appearance and easy manners. The Duchess Margaret of Burgundy and Flanders heard of him through her agents, and chose him to be trained at her court. For she was a bitter opponent of Henry VII, and

wished by all means to drive him off the throne of England. When the time was considered ripe, Perkin, dressed like a king and aping the manners of royalty to perfection, was sent to Ireland (1492). Very little came of this first attempt, however, and the next two years were spent in France and Flanders. In 1495 he was back again, with Burgundian men and money, claiming to be Richard of York, the younger of the two princes who were murdered in the Tower of London. Failing again, he went to Scotland, where James IV joined his cause, and led a Scots army into England in his favour (1496). The expedition came to nothing, and Warbeck again became a wanderer, but next year his wealthy patrons enabled him to lead another expedition to Cornwall. Again Henry was ready for him; the Pretender met with no support in the country. He failed in an attempt to seize Exeter, was forced to fly, and took sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire. Henry VII respected the sanctuary, and Warbeck came out on promise of his life being spared. He was put into the Tower of London, but in 1499 he was caught attempting to escape along with the Earl of Warwick, and accordingly both were executed.

Sixteenth-century revolts. The rest of Henry's reign was fairly quiet, and he had little cause to fear pretenders. Yet the Tudor sovereigns who followed him had all to face revolts and conspiracies against their throne. The rule of the Tudors has sometimes been called a despotism based on popular approval. They were often autocratic; they were generally respected and esteemed. Yet the country was never for many years at a time quite peaceful under their rule, until the last years of Elizabeth. From first to last great vigilance was required, and but for the cool judgement and vigorous character of the Tudor princes, England might at any moment have found herself plunged into internecine struggles like those of the Roses.

The recognition of the dynasty. The nations of Europe were under old-established monarchies, while Henry was

a *parvenu* king, a mere earl who had climbed to the throne. Yet this great man was equal to any emergency; he laid his plans far ahead; he could work and wait for years, never relaxing his purpose, ever ready to seize the opportunity. Thus when he died his crown was recognized by the monarchs of France and the Empire, the Valois and the Habsburgs, and his family was allied by marriage with the great and regal house of Spain.

With France Henry began by a short war, waged for diplomatic reasons and ending with little blood spilt. Brittany, a great duchy practically independent of the French crown, was under the last of its ruling house, a female, the Duchess Anne. In 1491 Charles VIII married her, and Brittany was incorporated in France. Henry, protesting that this was a menace to England, collected an army, sailed from Sandwich, and landed at Calais, in October of 1492. From Calais he marched to Boulogne and laid siege to it. 'The town was both well fortify'd and well mann'd; yet it was distressed, and ready for an assault. Which if it had been given (as was thought) would have cost much blood; but yet the town would have been carried in the end' (Bacon, *Henry VII*). Henry, however, preferred to take the peace that was offered him by Charles VIII, who was anxious to be quit of the English war, so as to be able to make an expedition into Italy. Henry was given about £180,000 in cash, and a pension of about £12,000 a year. English merchants were to be allowed to trade freely with French ports. Such was the famous peace of Étaples (1492). Henry was wise in turning his back on the barren fields of the Hundred Years' War, for a new and fruitful career was opening for England on the sea.

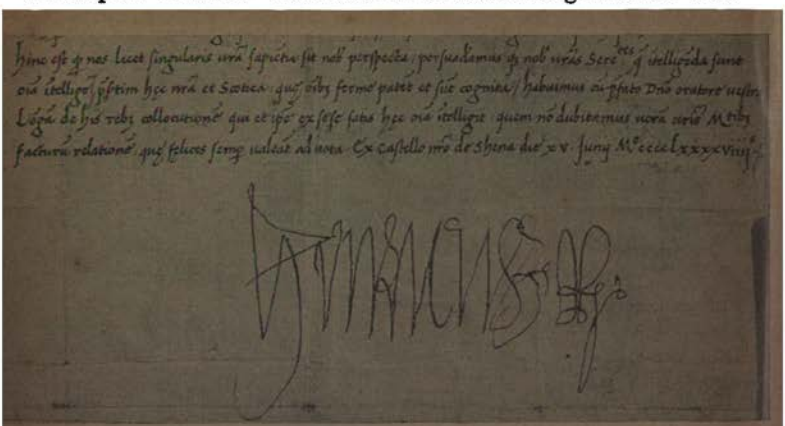
The dynastic marriages. In those days good feeling between nations depended largely upon good feeling between the monarchs. Henry VII himself had made a 'dynastic' marriage, with Elizabeth, the heiress of the house of York. Two other marriages which he arranged had the weightiest consequences. One was the marriage of his eldest son Arthur with

the Princess Katharine of Aragon, daughter of the King and Queen of Spain (1501). This important alliance shows how high had risen Henry's fame in Europe, for there was no prouder family than that of the Spanish monarchs. The alliance very nearly broke down, however, for Arthur died in 1502; but the Princess was immediately betrothed to

A MERCHANTMAN of the year 1519.

Henry's surviving son, known afterwards as Henry VIII. The other marriage which the far-seeing King arranged was that of his elder daughter Margaret with James IV, the King of Scotland (1503). The ambassador who arranged this important union was the great Bishop Foxe, of Winchester. The marriage of the Rose of England and the Thistle of Scotland, *The Thrisel and the Rois*, as William Dunbar, the Scottish poet, sang, was destined, exactly a hundred years later, to bring about the peaceful union of the two countries. Thus the victories of the seventh Henry were the victories of peace. His greatest enemy abroad, the ducal family of Burgundy, had abandoned their hostility seven years earlier, in 1496. Henry

had cut off the wool-supplies which the merchants of Flanders had been accustomed to draw from England. This and further negotiations brought the feud to an end. The treaty known as the 'Great Intercourse' was arranged, the Magnus Intercursus of 1496. Henry VII removed his restrictions on the export of wool. He received in return a guarantee that



HANDWRITING, 1499. Letter of Henry VII to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, written by his Italian secretary, Carmeliano, and signed by himself.

no more 'pretenders' would be encouraged to conspire against his throne and that English merchants might trade freely in Flanders. Henry arranged a similar commercial treaty with Venice, for the exchange of English wool for the 'Malmsey' wine of the Greek islands. It seemed as if for England the era of wars was at an end, and that of fruitful intercourse, both in trade and learning, with the cultivated states of Europe was being firmly established.

The Court of Star Chamber. Henry died in 1509 at the age of fifty-three. He had governed England for twenty-four years in comparative peace after the troubles of the Roses. Many nobles had been killed in that disturbed period; others had lost much of their property. The rest were held in check by the King, by means of the Court of Star Chamber, the

Privy Council sitting as a court at Westminster, *in camera stellata*, to deal with the evils of livery and maintenance (see pp. 176–7). This court (which itself became an abuse in later days and was abolished in 1641) did very good service in the reign of Henry VII by enforcing the law when the ordinary justices and juries were afraid to do so. 'This court', said Lord Bacon, 'is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this kingdom,' and by it the country was kept in order; for it aimed successfully at suppressing 'force, and the two chief supporters of force, combination of multitudes, and maintenance or headship of great persons' (*Life of Henry VII*).

HENRY VII.

The character of Henry VII. The great difficulty of the mediaeval kings of England had been to pay for the expenses of government with the small amount of money which was raised by taxation. Without increasing the taxes, Henry made the English Government solvent, and left a large sum in the treasury when he died. In raising money he took every advantage which the law gave, with a severity which was much resented by the gentry. Bacon sketches the King's methods in a famous passage (*Life of Henry VII, ad fin.*):

'There remaineth to this day a report that the King was on a time entertained by the Earl of Oxford (that was his principal servant, both for war and peace) nobly and sumptuously at his castle at Heningham. And at the King's going away, the earl's servants stood (in a seemly manner) in their livery coats, with cognisances, ranged on both sides, and made the King a lane. The King called the earl unto him

and said, "My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants". The earl smiled and said, "It may please your grace, that were not for mine ease. They are most of them my retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your grace". The King started a little, and said, "By my faith (my lord) I thank you for my good chear, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." And it is part of the report, that the earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks. And to shew further the King's extreme diligence, I do remember to have seen long since a book of accompt of Empson's, that had the King's hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing, and was in some places postilled[1] in the margent with the King's hand likewise, where was this remembrance:

HENRY VIII.

"Item, received of such a one, five marks, for the pardon to be procured: and if the pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid; except the party be some other ways satisfied." And over against this memorandum (of the King's own hand) "Otherwise satisfied". Which I do the rather mention because it shews in the King a nearness, but yet with a kind of justness. So these little sands and grains of gold and silver (as it seemeth) helped not a little to make up the great heap and bank.'

It is clear that Bacon was a great admirer of Henry; he admits that although 'justice was well administered in his time', yet when the King himself was a party, the law was strained in his favour; and 'the council-table intermeddled too much with *meum* and *tuum*'.

Henry was indefatigable in his attention to business, and he had no favourites.

'He was affable and both well and fair spoken; and would use strange sweetness and blandishment of words, when he

[1] Noted—from late Latin *postilla*, a marginal note in a Bible.

desired to effect or persuade anything that he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned; reading most books that were of any worth, in the French tongue. Yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that Cardinal Hadrian and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin. . . . He was a comely personage, a little above just stature, well and straight limmed, but slender. His countenance was reverend, and a little like that of a churchman: and as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but as the face of one well disposed. But it was to the disadvantage of the painter; for it was best when he spake.'—Bacon, *Life of Henry VII.*

The reign of Henry VIII. The new king, who was eighteen years old at the death of his father, was a young man of great strength and beauty, and highly educated in the learning of the time; in many ways he reminds us of the brilliant wealthy young Italians whom the great families of Florence or Milan produced about this time. He was described by the Venetian Ambassador in London, in a dispatch to the Government of Venice, about ten years later:

'His Majesty', he says, 'is twenty-nine years old, and extremely handsome. Nature could not have done more for him. He is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom; a great deal handsomer than the King of France; very fair, and his whole frame admirably proportioned. On hearing that Francis I wore a beard, he allowed his own to grow; and as it is reddish he has now got a beard that looks like gold. He is very accomplished; a good musician; composes well; is a most capital horseman; a fine jouster; speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish; is very religious; hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. He hears the Office every day in the Queen's chamber; that is to say Vesper and Compline. He is very fond of hunting, and never takes his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he causes to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he means to take; and when one is tired he mounts another, and before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture.'—Giustinian in Brewer, *Reign of Henry VIII*, i. 8.

In later years, Henry appears in Holbein's picture as a man with a tendency to fatness, and with rather coarsened features; but in his earlier days there was as yet no sign of these traits. Certainly he was a strong-minded man, well able to rule a people which, after the secure times of Henry VII, was again becoming both wealthy and turbulent. (And under him England alone of all the countries of Europe passed through the tremendous crisis of the Reformation without the agonies of prolonged civil war.'

HENRY VIII conferring a Charter upon the Surgeons' Company.
(After a picture by Holbein.)

The condition of England. The problems which social England presented at the opening of Henry VIII's reign were acute and fraught with grave possibilities. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, has given a life-like picture of the evils as he saw them. The book was published in Latin in 1516, and translated into English in 1551. It begins by telling how More was sent by Henry VIII on an embassy with Cuthbert Tunstall to Antwerp, to negotiate with Charles V. There More met an Antwerp citizen called Peter Giles, who intro-

duced him to a man who had travelled much, and sailed on strange seas.

'Upon a certayne daye when I had heard the divine service in our Ladies Churche, which is the fayrest, the most gorgeous and curious Churche of buylding in all the Citie, and also most frequented of people, and the service beynge doone, was readye to go home to my lodgynge, I chaunced to espye this foresayde Peter talkynge with a certayne Straunger, a man well stricken in age, with a blacke, sonne-burned face, a longe bearde, and a cloke cast holmly about his shoulders, whome by his favour and apparell furthwith I judged to bee a mariner.'

This mariner, Raphaell Hythlodaye, had sailed to America and made many expeditions with Amerigo Vespucci, who gave his name to that continent. More invited Raphael and Peter to his house, and 'in my gardaine upon a bench covered with greene torves, we satte downe talkyng together'. It was then that Raphael told of the wonderful island of 'Utopia' (a Greek word for *nowhere*) which he had visited. But first he told how he had once resided in England, and had dined at the table of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury. At this dinner a conversation had taken place, in which the evils which then afflicted English society were touched on:

'It chaunced on a certayne daye, when I sate at his table, there was also a certayne laye man cunnynge in the lawes of youre Realme. Who I can not tell wherof takynge occasion, began diligently and earnestly to prayse that strayte and rygorous justice, which at that tyme was then executed upon fellones, who, as he sayde, were for the moste parte xx. hanged together upon one gallowes. And, seyng so fewe escaped punyshement, he sayde he coulde not chuse, but greatly wonder and marvel, howe and by what evil lucke it shold so come to passe, that theves nevertheles were in every place so ryffe and so rancke.'

The cause of the prevalence of thieves and vagabonds was to a great extent the undeveloped condition of England, the want of sufficient handicrafts and manufactures. And the number of idlers was swelled by men who came home from the

wars maimed and lame and unable to work, but still more by the number of servants kept by the gentry.

'These gentlemen, I say, do not only live in idlenesse themselves, but also carrye about with them at their tailes a great flocke or traine of idle and loyterynge servyngmen, which never learned any craft wherby to gette their livynges. These men as soon as their mayster is dead, or be sicke themselves, be incontinent thrust out of dores. For gentlemen hadde

rather keepe idle persones, then sicke men, and many times the dead mans heyre is not hable to maintaine so great a house and kepe so many serving men as his father dyd. Then in the meane season they that be thus destitute of service either starve for honger, or manfullye playe the theves. For what would you have them to do? When they have wandered abrode so longe, untyl they have worne thredebare their apparell, and also appaired their helth, then gentlemen because of their pale and sickely faces and patched cotes, will not take them into service. And husbandmen dare not set them a worke: knowynge wel ynoughe that he is nothing mete to doe trewe and faythful service to a poore man wyth

a spade and a mattoke for small wages and hard fare, whyche beynge deyntely and tenderly pampered up in ydilnes and pleasure, was wont with a sworde and a buckler by hys syde to jette through the strete with a bragginge loke, to thynke hym selfe to good to be anye mans mate.'

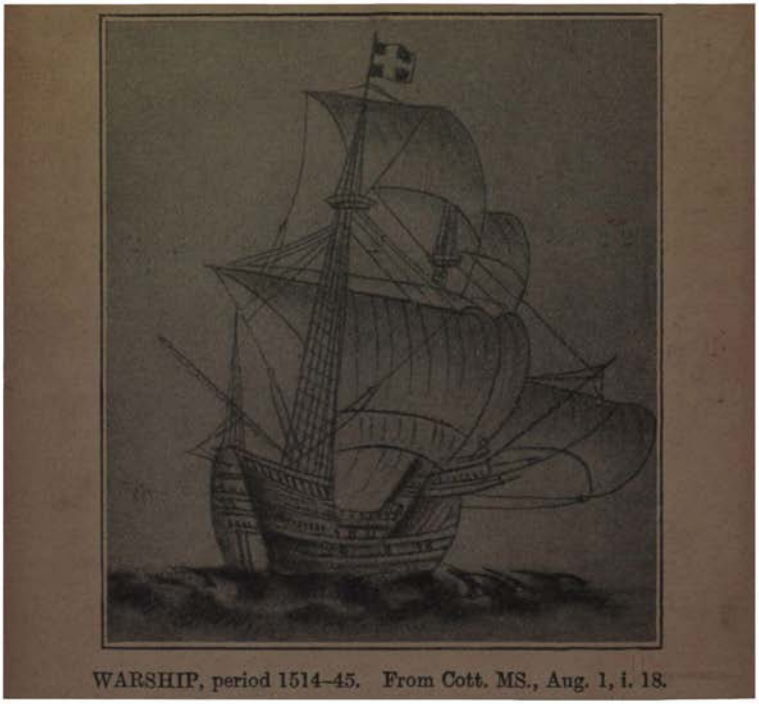
Another evil was the decay of tillage. After the Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt landlords had frequently, for lack of workers, turned their plough-lands into pasture. At the beginning of the sixteenth century this process was being carried so far that it was said there would soon be no yeomen left on the land. The disastrous prophecy has never been fulfilled in England, where agriculture still remains one of the greatest industries; yet in the sixteenth century the process of enclosing plough-land for pasturage was undoubtedly going far, and was driving people off the land. Hythlodaye says in the *Utopia*:

'Your shepe that were wont to be so meke and tame, and so smal eaters, now, as I heare saye, be become so great devowerers and so wylde, that they eate up and swallowe downe the very men themselfes. They consume, distroye, and devoure whole fieldes, howses, and cities. For look in what partes of the realme doth growe the fynest, and therefore dearest woll, these noblemen and gentlemen: yea and certeyn Abbottes, holy men no doubt, not contenting them selfes with the yearely revenues and profytes, that were wont to grow to their forefathers and predecessours of their landes, nor beynge content that they live in rest and pleasure nothinge profiting, yea much noyinge the weale publique: leave no grounde for tillage, thei inclose al into pastures: thei throw downe houses: they plucke downe townes, and leave nothing standynge, but only the churche to be made a shepe-howse. And as though you loste no small quantity of grounde by forestes, chases, laundes, and parkes, those good holi men turne all dwellinge places and all glebeland into desolation and wildernes. Therfore that one covetous and unsatiable cormaraunte and very plage of his natyve contrey maye compasse aboute and inclose many thousand akers of grounde together with one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust owte of their owne.'

Finally, the trickiness of the King's Council in finding

expedients for raising money is sketched with humour and trenchancy:

'Suppose that some kyng and his counsel were together whettinge their wittes and devisinge, what subtell crafte they



WARSHIP, period 1514–45. From Cott. MS., Aug. 1, i. 18.

myght invente to enryche the kinge with great treasures of money. First one counselleth to rayse and enhaunce the valuation of money when the kinge must paye anye: and agayne to calle downe the value of coyne to lesse than it is worthe, when he muste receive or gather any. For thus great sommes shel be payd wyth a lytyl money and where lytle is due muche shal be receaved. Another counselleth to fayne warre, that when under this coloure and pretence the kyng hath gathered greate aboundaunce of money, he maye, when it shall please him, make peace with greate solempnitie and

holye ceremonies, to blinde the eyes of the poore communaltie, as taking pitie and compassion forsothe upon mans bloude, lyke a loving and a mercifull prince. , Another putteth the kynge in remembraunce of certeine olde and moughteeaten lawes, that of longe tyme have not bene put in execution, whych because no man can remembre that they were made,

THE HENRY GRACE A DIEU. From a MS. at Magdalene College, Cambridge.

everie man hath transgressed. The fynes of these lawes he counselleth the kynge to acquire: for there is no waye so proffitable, nor more honorable as the whyche hathe a shewe and coloure of justice.'—More's *Utopia*, Book I.

The condition of the Utopians and other mythical peoples whom Hythlodaye visited is contrasted with the unfavourable state of England. Thieves among the Utopians were not hanged, but were put into a convict's dress, their heads shaven, and to distinguish them better 'the typpe of the one ear is cut of'. They were then hired out to the farmers, to do an

honest day's work, returning at evening to their prisons. Other reforms are outlined, with much shrewd indirect criticism of England; but the life of the perfectly Socialist Utopian native is too far removed from the facts of history to detain us longer here. Yet the whole of More's work should be read, for the ideas of social and economic life which it conveys, and also for the romance of adventure which it contains. Everywhere there is the suggestion of far voyages, of trafficking in strange lands, and of sailing over strange seas—suggestions like:

> . . . magic casements, opening on the foam
> Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.
>
> (Keats, *Ode to a Nightingale.*)

Wolsey. Henry VIII had the faculty of choosing able men for his ministers. Among those, the most famous was Thomas Wolsey, an accomplished man, with charming manners, who rose rapidly from one position in the Church to another, till in 1514 he became Archbishop of York. Wolsey is the last of the great clerical statesmen who had been so prominent in mediaeval England. Since his time, with the exception of Bishop Gardiner in the reign of Mary I, all the high ministers in the Crown's service have been laymen. Wolsey was not only the last great clerical statesman, he was the greatest, or at least the most powerful; for fifteen years, 1514 to 1529, he almost ruled England, labouring incessantly in the office and at the council-table, and in the closest confidence of the King.

The French War. It was in connexion with the war which Henry VIII waged with France between 1511 and 1514 that Wolsey came into great prominence, acting in the difficult position of victualler of the army, to the entire satisfaction of the King. The war, in which Henry had been induced to join by his father-in-law Ferdinand of Spain, was useless to England. Henry dreamed of regaining Guienne, but the expedition sent there in 1512 had no success. Next year, Henry himself went to France and won a smart action at Guînegâte (called the Battle of the Spurs, by Englishmen),

near Calais. Thérouenne was captured. The Scottish king attempted to make a diversion in favour of France. James IV, true to the 'Auld Alliance' of Scotland and France though he was married to Henry VIII's sister, led an army over the border. It was met by an English army under the Earl of Surrey, at Flodden in Northumberland, on September 9, 1513. The battle began about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. By nightfall the Scots had lost their king and the bulk of the army, though the survivors withdrew in good order. This terrible defeat left its mark on almost every family, at least in the south of Scotland.

I've heard them lilting at our ewe-milking,
Lasses a' lilting before dawn o' day;
But now they are moaning on ilka green loaning[1]—
The Flowers of the Forest are a' wede[2] away.

In har'st, at the shearing, nae youths now are jeering,
Bandsters[3] are lyart[4], and runkled, and gray:
At fair or at preaching, nae wooing, nae fleeching[5]—
The Flowers of the Forest are a' wede away.

We'll hear nae mair lilting at our ewe-milking;
Women and bairns are heartless and wae;
Sighing and moaning on ilka green loaning—
The Flowers of the Forest are a' wede away.

(Jane Elliot, *A Lament for Flodden.*)

Wolsey's foreign policy. Wolsey's title to statesmanship rests on his having seen the futility of the continental wars, which were being waged to increase the dominions of one royal house as against another. The way this great game was played by the heartless princes of Europe is admirably sketched in More's *Utopia*:

'Well, suppose I were with the French kynge, and there sittynge in his counsell, whiles, in that mooste secrete consultation, the kynge himself beynge there presente in hys owne personne, they beate their braynes, and serche the verye bottomes of their wittes to discusse by what crafte and meanes the kynge maye styl kepe Myllayne, and drawe to him againe

[1] = lane, field-track. [2] = reft. [3] = binders.
[4] = faded. [5] = coaxing.

fugitive Naples, and then howe to conquere the Venetians, and howe to bringe under his jurisdiction all Italie, then howe to win the dominion of Flaunders, Brabant, and of all Burgundie: with divers other landes, whose kindomes he hath longe ago in mind and purpose invaded. Here whiles one counselleth to conclude a legue of peace with the Venetians, so longe to endure, as shall be thought mete and expedient for their purpose, and to make them also of their counsell, yea, and besides that to geve them part of the pray, whiche afterwarde, when they have brought theyr purpose about after their owne myndes, they maye require and clayme againe. Another thinketh best to hiere the Germaynes. Another woulde have the favoure of the Swychers wonne with money. Anothers advyse is to appease the puissaunte power of the Emperoures majestie wyth golde, as with a moste pleasaunte and acceptable sacrifice. Whiles another gyveth counsell to make peace wyth the kynge of Arragone, and to restoore unto him hys owne kyngedome of Navarra, as a full assuraunce of peace. Another commeth in with his five egges, and adviseth to hooke in the kynge of Castell with some hope of affinitie or allyaunce, and to bringe to their parte certeine Pieers of his courte for greate pensions. Whiles they all staye at the chiefeste doubte of all, what to do in the mean time with Englande, and yet agree all in this to make peace with the Englishmen, and with mooste suer and stronge bandes to bynde that weake and feable frendeshippe, so that they muste be called frendes,

'MAXIMILIAN' SUIT OF ARMOUR BELONGING TO HEN. VIII.

and hadde in suspicion as enemyes. And that therfore the Skottes muste be hadde in a readines, as it were in a standynge, readie at all occasions, in aunters the Englishmen shoulde sturre never so lytle, incontinent to set upon them.'

Against such imbroglios, Wolsey had the courage to set his face. In 1514 he negotiated peace with France. This was the third peace, which marked the abandonment, in spite of tentative renewals, of the policy with which England had engaged in the Hundred Years' War. Thus Edward IV had made the Peace of Picquigny (1475), Henry VII that of Étaples (1492), and now, under the influence of Wolsey, the Peace of 1514 was made. Henry's sister Mary married Louis XII of France, and although Louis only lived three months after this, the marriage marks a final stage in the process by which England gave up her continental policy. From this time, England only interfered in continental affairs in order to preserve a certain balance, an equilibrium between the power of the various great states, so that none should grow so big as to control Europe, and to endanger the independence of England herself. Thus during the rest of his period as king's minister, Wolsey is found busy first in trying to maintain friendly relations with Francis I of France and the Emperor Charles V (till 1522), then till 1525 in alliance with the Emperor. In 1525, however, Charles V defeated and captured Francis I at the battle of Pavia in North Italy; Wolsey accordingly arranged that England should support France, in order to correct the balance. This policy, ably enough conceived, was not very successfully executed. In 1527, in consequence of a political quarrel with the Pope, Charles V sent his army to Rome. The Holy City was stormed, sacked, and the Pope Clement VII made practically a prisoner. Thus Charles V became supreme in Italy, and controlled the policy of the Papacy. This fact had a very important influence upon Henry's attitude towards Clement VII, and helped to bring about the rejection of the Pope's authority in England.

Luther. In 1517, an Augustinian Friar, Martin Luther, who was a professor in the University of Wittenberg in Saxony, attacked the practice of 'indulgences'. By an indulgence, the Pope or his deputies signified to the indulged person the remission of a certain number of days in purgatory —days which in any case would not have come till after death. The granting of indulgences, which has since been strictly regulated, was in the early years of the sixteenth century an evident abuse; indulgences, in fact, were being openly sold, to raise money for St. Peter's, the magnificent church which Leo X was building in Rome. From criticizing indulgences, Luther went on to criticize some of the most sacred doctrines of the Catholic religion; he was accordingly expelled from the Church, and with him many others felt compelled by conscience to leave the faith of their fathers. Thus began in Germany the movement known as the Reformation.

The religious feelings of England. The Reformation movement in Germany met with some response in England. For in this country there had been, for at least a century and a half, a number of adverse critics of the Papacy. Langland, in *Piers Plowman*, had denounced the covetousness of the Church; Parliament under Edward III had several times called attention to the decay of clerical discipline in England, and to the corruption of the Papal Court, during the period when the Pope was resident in the 'sinful city of Avignon'. John Wycliffe had questioned, though in a guarded manner, the doctrine of transubstantiation (p. 143), and his followers, the Lollards, had been regarded as heretics by Church and State in England. Lollardy lasted, though without a great number of adherents, into the reign of Henry VIII, and united with those who, for other reasons, were becoming sympathetic towards Luther's views. The total number of these reformers was small, in 1529, compared with the whole population. Henry VIII himself showed no sympathy with them, and wrote in defence of the sacraments of the Church (1521).

For this work he received the thanks of Pope Leo X, together with the title of *Defensor Fidei*, which is still borne by the King of England, and is inscribed on his coins.

The divorce of the Queen. About 1527, the King began to show doubts about the legality of his marriage with Queen Katharine. She was the widow of his elder brother Arthur, and he had married her on his accession to the throne in 1509. To make certain that the marriage would be in order, a dispensation or express declaration of validity had been obtained from the Papacy. But in 1527 he desired Pope Clement VII to declare that the marriage was unlawful and therefore void, owing to the fact that Katharine was his sister-in-law. This decision Clement refused to give, either because he did not believe it to be just, or because Charles V, who was the nephew of Katharine, and who since the sack of Rome (May, 1527) held Clement in his power, would not permit it. Henry, who was obstinately set on the divorce, proceeded to deny the Pope's authority altogether, and to make himself the Supreme Head of the Church in England. When this change in the English constitution had been accomplished, he found no difficulty in obtaining a divorce for himself in the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury (1533). Thus the authority of the Pope was rejected by Henry VIII for private reasons, and the Reformation movement, with which Henry himself had no sympathy, was indirectly encouraged and allowed to expand.

Henry's strong desire for the divorce seems to have arisen from his passion for Anne Boleyn, a lady-in-waiting at the court. Anne was a gay, vivacious, pretty woman, and undoubtedly strong-willed and ambitious. She saw the chance of becoming queen, and held the King at a distance until he had made this possible. And so occurred one of the romances of history, a romance with a sordid touch; the granddaughter of a London merchant found favour in the King's eyes, and was raised to the throne. To bring this about Queen Katharine had to be removed, and an undeserved slight

put upon her. For in the Catholic Church divorce does not merely put an end to marriage; it declares the marriage to have been void from the beginning. Thus the divorce of Queen Katharine had the effect of making her daughter Mary illegitimate. In January 1533 the King married Anne Boleyn.

The fall of Wolsey. Up till 1529 Wolsey had been Henry's right-hand man, and had managed to satisfy nearly all the King's aims. He failed, however, to carry through successfully the negotiations with Rome for the divorce of Queen Katharine. This failure lost him Henry's favour, and brought about his fall. He was even accused of high treason. Sir Thomas More succeeded him as Chancellor. Wolsey died in Leicester Abbey on his way from York (his episcopal see, which he had visited all too seldom) to London, on Nov. 27, 1530.

Wolsey. I have ventured,
Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
This many summers in a sea of glory,
But far beyond my depth: my high-blown pride
At length broke under me, and now has left me,
Weary and old with service, to the mercy
Of a rude stream that must for ever hide me.
Vain pomp and glory of this world, I hate ye:
I feel my heart new open'd. O, how wretched
Is that poor man that hangs on princes' favours!
There is, betwixt that smile we would aspire to,
That sweet aspect of princes, and their ruin,
More pangs and fears than wars or women have:
And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer,
Never to hope again.

Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, Act III, sc. ii.

Other ministers were to feel the intense warmth of the sunshine of the King's favour, and then the fickleness of it all.

The completion of the breach with Rome. On November 3, 1529, Parliament met, after an interval of seven years. The people, proud of their ancient independence, resisted the claim of the Pope to settle English affairs in Rome, and thus, although the proposed divorce of Queen Katharine was not

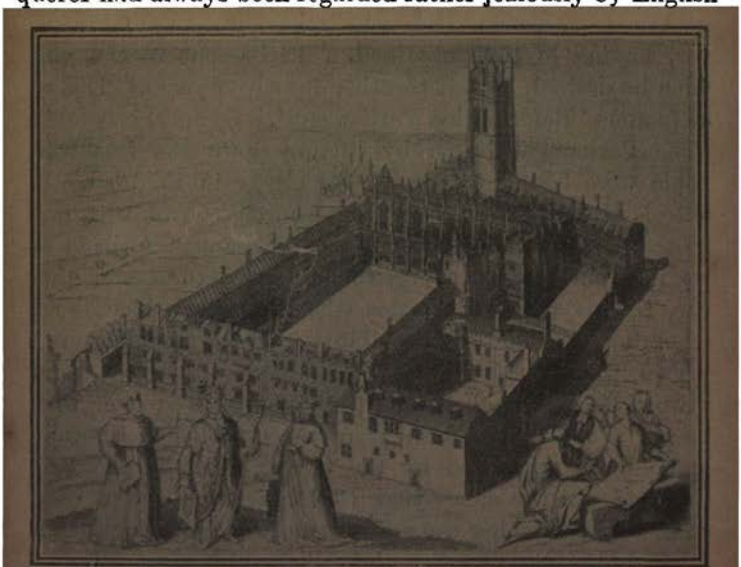
generally popular, Englishmen were willing to assert the independence of their country against Papal interference. There was no intention in Parliament of touching the doctrines of the Church, but there was complete readiness to restrict the jurisdiction of the Pope. Hitherto, each Parliament had existed, as a rule, for only one session, and fresh elections had taken place before the next session. Henry VIII, however, having in 1529 obtained a Parliament of the views which he desired, kept it together for seven years. This was the famous 'Reformation Parliament'.

The Parliament began by cutting down the fees which people were bound to pay to the clergy in England. The control of the Crown over the Church courts was made stricter (1531). In 1533 an Act of Parliament forbade any appeals from English courts to be carried to Rome. Next year, the payment of annates (the first year's income of a bishopric) to Rome was prohibited, and the appointment of bishops, which had been the chief subject of the great dispute between Henry I and Anselm (p. 64), was given over to the Crown. To this day, bishops of the established Church in England are appointed by the Crown, through the Prime Minister.[1] In the same year (1534) a statute was passed completely abolishing the authority of the Pope in England, and in 1535 Henry, by Act of Parliament, became 'Supreme Head of the Church of England' (Act of Supremacy).

The Reformation under Henry VIII. All connexion with the Papacy was broken off, and the Church in England became an independent, national body, under the King; its highest ecclesiastical official was the Archbishop of Canterbury. But although the authority of the Papacy was rejected, the Church of England was not 'Protestant' in doctrine, nor did it in any degree become so till after Henry's death. The fact that

[1] 'In form, an archbishop or bishop is still elected by the dean and chapter... but the *congé d'élire* from the Crown, which conveys the authority to elect, is accompanied by a letter missive, designating the person to be chosen, and they must choose him under the pains and penalties of a praemunire.'—Lowell, *The Government of England*, ii, ch. 51.

there was no drastic change in doctrine is of the highest importance in our history. Most people in England remained, at the time of the separation from Rome, attached to the old doctrines; but they did not greatly resent the rejection of Papal authority, which since the days of William the Conqueror had always been regarded rather jealously by English-



MAGDALEN COLLEGE. Built in the second half of the fifteenth century.

men. Thus there was comparatively little opposition aroused against Henry's measures. There were no riots, no destruction of churches. The noble cathedrals and the fine parish churches built in the Middle Ages were preserved, and the impressive and dignified ritual of the Roman Church was to a large extent retained. England was fortunate in receiving its Reformation by easy stages, so that most of what was good in the old system was preserved, and the destruction and misery which accompanied the religious wars on the Continent were avoided.

The monasteries. The secular priests of the Church in

England, the ordinary priests of parishes who did not live in communities, accommodated themselves, on the whole, easily to the new system of Church government. The majority of the bishops, led by Archbishop Cranmer, who was a married man, also showed themselves compliant to the King. The monasteries, however, were more attached to the Papacy. Corporate bodies always preserve a tradition

HIGH STREET, OXFORD. From an old engraving.

more completely than do individuals; the monks lived in communities which, by their history, training, and rules, were more closely associated with the Papacy than were the secular priests. The monasteries, moreover, held a great deal of landed property, and the tendency all through modern history (which was then just begun) has been to look with disfavour upon holders of property who do not engage in active life. The monks had the reputation of being lenient landlords, but Sir Thomas More in *Utopia* complains that they, like the lay landlords, let their land in sheep farms rather than for agriculture, so that the number of people

living on the land greatly diminished. The monasteries were charitable, but indiscriminate charity helps to perpetuate or even to increase the number of beggars which it intends to diminish. The great opportunity of the monasteries was in the work of education. With their ancient libraries, and with the time at their disposal, the monks could have carried on schools in their communities and have raised the standard of education all over England. It is in this respect that the monasteries missed their chance. There were not a great number of schools in England before the Reformation, and very few of them were conducted by monks. The colleges of Winchester and Eton were in the hands of secular priests, as were also most of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. When therefore the monasteries were attacked by the Government of Henry VIII, they had little to say for themselves; if few grave charges could be proved against them as a whole, yet little could be advanced in their favour. The bulk of the evidence that has since come to light tends to prove that, though not grossly immoral, the monks were as a whole neither learned nor zealous, nor strikingly devout, and that as religious communities they had largely outlived their usefulness.

The dissolution of the monasteries. In certain of the monasteries something more than sloth had crept in; vice and immorality were found to exist. The most notorious monastery in this respect was St. Albans, in connexion with which there is full though varying evidence. But immorality cannot be established as a general charge against the monasteries of England. It was on account of their attachment to the Papacy, and on account of their property, that Henry VIII and his minister Cromwell resolved to abolish them. In 1536, among the last Acts of the 'Reformation Parliament', a bill was introduced and passed to dissolve all monasteries, of which the property was valued at less than £200 a year. The men of the northern counties resented this, and rose in a rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, but with some

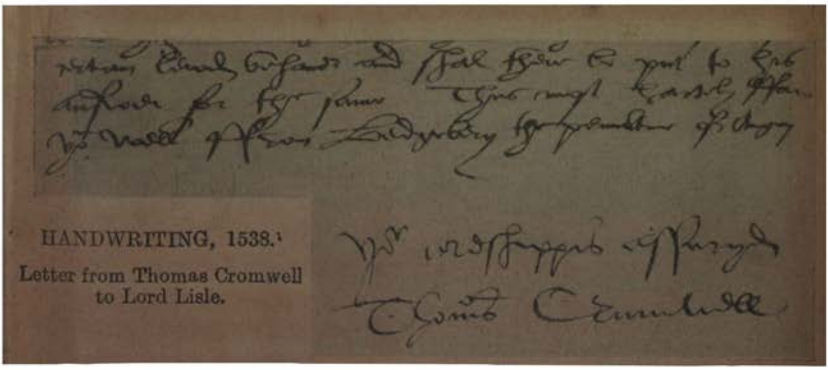
difficulty were repressed. Then the inexorable king proceeded on his way. One by one, all the remaining monasteries were dissolved and their property confiscated to the use of the Crown.

Effects of the dissolution of the monasteries. The number of monks at the time of the dissolution numbered something between four thousand and eight thousand. They received a certain amount of consideration from the Government. Those under twenty-four years of age were absolved from the vows which they had taken on becoming monks; most of the rest were pensioned, with sums which, at the present value of money, would be from £25 to upwards of £1,000 per annum. Only the Abbots of the greatest monasteries which surrendered themselves to the King received the large pensions. The nuns were worse treated than the monks, being simply given a gown from the King, and left to find work or to live upon charity. The wealth obtained from the confiscation of the monastic lands was used in three different ways: some went into the royal treasury, and was used as part of the general revenue of the country, for instance in building forts on the coast; some was used in endowing six new bishoprics—Westminster (which only lasted till 1550), Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, Gloucester; the rest of the monastic property was either given to gentlemen as a reward for services, or sold. The nobles and gentry who thus received the monastic lands acquired them quite honestly, although sometimes on rather easy terms. The conditions of sale or transfer from the Crown generally contained a provision that the same amount of land was to be kept under the plough, as had, on an average, been kept by the monasteries during the last twenty-five years. The families which acquired the monastic estates were the new, official nobility, the governing class with 'a stake in the country', whom Henry VII and Henry VIII called into existence to support their crown. They have, on the whole, been admirable landlords, and have done much for the great agricultural industry of England.

The endowments of the monasteries, however, had not been originally intended for the support of the English governing class. With the advance of the Reformation movement in England, it was impossible that these communities should go on existing, on their large estates, with ever-dwindling numbers of monks. The modern Englishman has shown a complete disinclination to take to the monastic life, and if the monasteries had been left at the Reformation, they would, in a generation or two, have been practically empty. Yet, though a drastic change was bound to take place with regard to the monasteries, they ought not to have been diverted to wholly different uses. They might have been used for educational and religious purposes under the reformed system. Enthusiasm for education was a characteristic of the Renaissance, and Henry VIII, himself a product of the Renaissance, should have shown the same enthusiasm too. Nor were the methods by which the dissolution was carried out above reproach, as may be inferred from the famous memorandum of Cromwell, who was carrying out the inquisitions over the monasteries: 'item, the Abbot of Reading, to be tried and hanged for treason to-morrow.' There must have been many tragedies of real life enacted, when old men, compelled to quit the peaceful walls of their abbey, looked their last upon the storied windows, the mouldings, and the tracery of the chapel in which they so long had worshipped, and which was soon to be in ruins.

THOMAS CROMWELL.

The doctrinal Reformation. In Europe, generally, the term Reformation has meant the rejection of the Papal authority, the reform of the discipline of the clergy, and certain changes in doctrine. In England, under Henry VIII, the first two changes were accomplished; the power of the Pope was no longer legal in England, while the discipline or mode of life of the clergy was completely changed, for instance, by many of



HANDWRITING, 1538.[1]
Letter from Thomas Cromwell to Lord Lisle.

them becoming married. Changes in doctrine, however, were not at first admitted into the English Church, which held equally aloof from the Lutheran movement of Germany and the Calvinist movement of Geneva. In 1540, Archbishop Cranmer induced the King to order that a translation of the Bible should be placed in every church, and that any man might read it there at his pleasure. Thus the Scriptures were opened to all who could read, and the right of private judgement, which is the essence of the Reformation, was vindicated. For this is the great difference between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches. The Roman Catholics hold that the ordinary person goes dangerously astray when he is

[1] c(e)rtain lewd behauor and shal there be put to his | answer for the same Thus most hartely Fare | you well From Bedgebery the penultima of August.

Yo(u)r lordshippis assuryd
Thomas Crumwell.

left to interpret Scripture for himself; it must be carefully expounded to him by a trained priest. Protestantism, on the other hand, makes less of the priest as an intermediary between God and man, and encourages the ordinary person to think for himself. The right of private judgement belongs to Protestants; but they often forget that this carries with it the duty of thinking.

A PERSPECTIVE PORTRAIT OF EDWARD VI.

To correct the distortion, hold the page almost level with the eyes and view from the right.

The last years of Henry VIII. The last fifteen years of Henry VIII were in the nature of a reign of terror; for all who opposed the will of the iron and relentless King sooner or later lost their heads. Among his earliest victims were Bishop Fisher of Rochester and Sir Thomas More, who refused the oath which they were bound to take under the Act of Succession (1534). By this Act, the issue of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn had been declared heirs to the throne, instead of Mary, the child of Henry and the divorced Katharine. Fisher and More died on the scaffold, and their heads were placed on London Bridge (1535). It was because they denied the King's ecclesiastical supremacy that these men suffered the extreme penalties of the law: it was not because they held Catholic doctrine. Such doctrine, indeed, was enforced by Henry VIII, and its denial punished as heresy. In 1539, a bill was passed through Parliament, which became known as the Statute of Six Articles. These articles enforced the chief Catholic doctrines and customs; for instance, that

transubstantiation was true, that communion for the laity by means of bread, without the cup, was sufficient, that the clergy should not marry.

Under this Statute, towards the end of Henry's reign, Protestants were burned as heretics, while, on the other hand, for contravening the Statute of Supremacy, Catholics were beheaded as traitors. *In medio tutissimus ibis*, 'thou shalt be safest in the middle way,'—but it was hard to find a middle way with a tyrant like Henry.

The dark days drew to a close. Katharine of Aragon died in 1536, having resided since the divorce on one of the royal manors, with a small pension from the King. Anne Boleyn, Henry's second wife, was executed on a charge of infidelity to the King in the same year. His next wife, Jane Seymour, died shortly after giving birth to Prince Edward. Thomas Cromwell next proposed an alliance with a Lutheran prince of Germany; and Anne, daughter of Duke William of Cleves, was brought over to be married to the King. But Henry, who before she came to England had only seen Holbein's now well-known portrait of the lady, immediately took a dislike to her; she was accordingly divorced, and left to pass the rest of her life at Richmond Palace with a pension of £3,000 per annum —a large sum for those days (1540). Cromwell, who had suggested the marriage, paid for the mistake with his life, being executed in July on a charge of treason. The ductile Parliament passed the bill to execute Cromwell as easily as that to divorce Anne of Cleves. On the same day on which Cromwell was executed, the King married Katharine Howard, a niece of the Duke of Norfolk. Henry was now 50 years old; Katharine was probably about 20. She was executed in 1541, on a charge of immoral conduct. In 1543 Henry married Katharine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer, and a devout adherent of the Reformed doctrines. Henry did not live long enough to make her another example of his cruelty. A great eater, he had become so corpulent that he could not stand upright without support. He died on

January 28, 1547, on the same day as the Duke of Norfolk was to have been executed on a trumped-up charge of treason. Henry was a ferocious tyrant, with many accomplishments, passionately fond of music, interested in learning and literature, and to him England owes the magnificent foundation of Trinity College in Cambridge; he was a sagacious statesman, and possibly no other man could have piloted England through the crisis of the breach with Rome. In the reign of Charles I, Lord Herbert of Cherbury wrote his *Life*, and accurately described how Henry was regarded by his people:

'With all his crimes, yet he was one of the most glorious princes of his time: Insomuch, that not only the chief potentates of Christendome did court him, but his Subjects in generall did highly reverence him, as the many trials he put them to testifie: which yet expired so quickly, that it may be truly said, All his Pomp died with him; his Memory being now exposed to obloquy, as his accusers will neither admit Reason of State to cover anywhere, or Necessity to excuse his actions.'

CHAPTER XV

THE COMPLETION OF THE REFORMATION

The religion of England. At the death of Henry VIII, the bulk of the country still remained attached to the old faith, though showing no great zeal for it. A minority—a growing minority—had become intensely enthusiastic for the Reformed opinions, which had been brought from Germany. Under Edward VI the Reformed opinions made rapid headway, favoured by the King and the court.

Edward VI. The new King was only ten years old when his father died. His mother, Jane Seymour, had died shortly after his birth, and he had been brought up under the influence of the Seymour family, in the Reformed opinions. He was a well-educated boy, serious beyond his years, and from the first year of his reign took his seat at the Council table and gave his opinion on matters of state. He was too young, however, to have an independent judgement, and was in reality guided by the men who surrounded him, all of whom were, for various reasons, determined to advance the Reform Movement.

The Scottish war. Both Henry VII and Henry VIII had steadily pursued the plan of uniting Scotland and England in one realm. The marriage of the Princess Margaret with James IV was the first important step in that direction since the reign of Edward I. This alliance, however, between the Tudor family of England and the Stewart family of Scotland, had soon broken down. The battle of Flodden (p. 215) seemed again to make the two families irreconcilable. James V, although the son of Margaret Tudor, followed the policy of his father, James IV; he held by the old alliance of Scotland and France, and throughout his reign (1513–42) remained a strong Catholic. In 1542 the tension between the Kings of Scotland and England burst into war, and a Scots army of 10,000 men was met by Sir Thomas Wharton, the

English 'Warden of the Western March', at Solway Moss in Cumberland (November 25, 1542), put to rout, and practically destroyed. James V died of disappointment and fever at the news, leaving his capable wife, Mary of Lorraine, to administer the kingdom of his newly-born daughter, Mary Queen of Scots. Henry VIII seized the opportunity of the weakness of Scotland to propose a treaty of friendship, and the betrothal of the baby Mary to his own son Edward. He died, however, and hostilities were still intermittently continued between the two countries.

Young King Edward was under the guardianship of his uncle, the Earl of Hertford, or, as he is generally known, the Duke of Somerset, a title which he easily obtained from his ward. Somerset was a man of large ideas, and of a certain nobility of mind. At the same time he was fond of wealth and greedy of power, while his plans for the good of the kingdom were generally put into execution too hastily. It was so with Scotland. He proposed that King Edward and Queen Mary should be married, and that Scotland and England should be united not merely in the person of the monarchs, but in government and administration: 'with the sea for a wall and mutual love for its garrison,' the Scots and English were to live together, under the common name of Briton. Matters, however, did not go quickly enough; the Roman Catholic party, the bulk of the people of Scotland, made difficulties. In the autumn of 1547 Somerset invaded Scotland with twenty thousand English, Spanish, Italian, and also, it is said, Greek mercenaries. The Scots army was met, and, with the help of gunfire from some English ships in the bay, defeated at Pinkie Cleugh, on the coast, about seven miles east of Edinburgh. It was the worst possible way to set about persuading the Scots to a union. The young queen was immediately shipped off from Dumbarton, in the west of Scotland, to France; she was brought up at the French court as a strict Catholic; in course of time she married the French king, Francis II; and she returned to Scotland in 1561, to

become the determined opponent of the Reformation and of England.

The First Prayer Book of Edward VI. Somerset was an ardent Reformer, as indeed was Cranmer, although under Henry VIII the Archbishop had been obliged to subdue his own enthusiasm. They now took measures to dissolve such religious foundations as had escaped the dissolution which befell the monasteries. Colleges of education were spared, but all the chantries, pious foundations for praying for men's souls, were done away with. Their property was partly used for starting or helping the grammar schools which still bear the name of King Edward VI. In 1549, the First Prayer Book was written, a complete manual of prayer and worship for the Church services, in the English tongue. Already in the first year of the reign of Edward VI, the important step had been taken of ordering that the Epistle and the Gospel, at the service of High Mass, should be read in English. The rest of the service was still given in Latin. In 1548 the Six Articles of Henry VIII (pp. 228–9) were amended by Parliament, so as to give the cup, as well as the bread, to the congregation at the celebration of Holy Communion. Next year the new Prayer Book was authorized by Act of Parliament. This book was to a large extent a translation (by Cranmer) of the prayers and forms of worship which had been used in England, in the Latin tongue, for over a thousand years. These prayers, rendered into dignified and solemn English, show at once the Reformed position of the Church of England, and also its continuity with the Church of the Middle Ages. In doctrine the new Prayer Book was not so 'Protestant' as to prevent those who were attached to the old faith from coming to the Church services. The central point of the old faith was the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the Roman Catholics holding the belief that the elements of bread and wine become the actual flesh and blood of Our Lord. The Prayer of Humble Access of the First Prayer Book left room for the belief of this doctrine:

'We do not presume to come to this thy table (o mercifull

lord) trusting in our own righteousnes, but in thy manifold and great mercies: we be not woorthie so much as to gather up the cromes under thy table: but thou art the same lorde whose propertie is alwayes to haue mercie: Graunt us therefore (gracious lorde) so to eate the fleshe of thy dere sonne Jesus Christ, and to drynke his bloud in these holy Misteries, that we may continuallye dwell in hym, and he in us, that our synfull bodyes may bee made cleane by his body, and our soules washed through hys most precious bloud. Amen.

Ket's Rebellion. Shortly after the issue of the First Prayer Book, a rebellion broke out in Norfolk, under one Ket, a local landowner, who had made a fortune in the tanning trade. The rebels complained of the number of new nobles who had been created since the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and of the amount of land which they had 'enclosed'. 'Enclosing' meant sometimes the turning of ploughland into pasture-land by the landlords, sometimes the fencing of common land for the use of some private individual. The first kind of enclosure took place, for instance, when a lease for lives ran out. The landlord could then resume possession of the holding and throw it into a pasture farm. The enclosing of common land could legally take place if the local landlord really owned it, even though the villagers had been allowed to use it 'in common' for a hundred or more years. One result of 'enclosing' was that the land maintained fewer small farmers than before, as Bishop Hugh Latimer pointed out to Edward VI in a sermon preached before the King in March 1549.

'My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went into Blackheath field.[1] He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my

[1] When the Cornish rebels were defeated, in 1497.

sisters with five pound, or twenty nobles apiece; so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did of the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pound by year, or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor.' (Latimer's Sermons.)

Enclosures were diminishing the number of such yeomen; and those that were left were getting too poor to educate their sons. 'For if ye bring it to pass that the yeomanry be not able to put their sons to school (as indeed universities do wondrously decay already), and that they be not able to marry their daughters; I say, ye pluck salvation from the people and utterly destroy the realm. For by yeomen's sons the faith of Christ is and hath been maintained chiefly.' And again, preaching before the King in the year following Ket's rebellion, Latimer boldly spoke the truth:

'They in Christ are equal with you. Peers of the realm must needs be. The honest ploughman is in Christ equal with the greatest prince that is. Let them, therefore, have sufficient to maintain them, and to find them their necessaries. A plough land must have sheep; yea they must have sheep to dung their ground for bearing of corn; for if they have no sheep to help to fat the ground, they shall have but bare corn and thin. They must have swine for their food, to make their veneries or bacon of: their bacon is their venison, for they shall now have *hangum tuum*,[1] if they get any other venison; so that bacon is their necessary meat to feed on, which they may not lack. They must have other cattle, as horses to draw their plough, and for carriage of things to the markets; and kine for their milk and cheese which they must live upon and pay their rents. These cattle must have pasture, which pasture if they lack, the rest must needs fail them; and pasture they cannot have if the land be taken in, and enclosed from them. So, as I said, there was in both parts rebellion. Therefore, for God's love, restore their sufficient unto them, and search no more what is the cause of rebellion.'

[1] i. e. They will be hanged by the King under the Forest Laws.

Ket's rebellion was put down, not by Somerset, but by the energetic John Dudley, Earl of Warwick. Simultaneously there had been risings in Cornwall and Devonshire against the new Prayer Book. The risings sealed Somerset's fate. He had shown weakness during the rebellion. He had even shown sympathy with the complaints of the rebels against enclosures. He was charged with high treason and beheaded in 1552.

The period of the Duke of Northumberland. Dudley now assumed chief power over the kingdom, and showed himself no better than others in those grasping times, by getting himself made Duke of Northumberland. From principle or from self-interest, he supported the now strong reform party, and under his authority in 1552 the second Prayer Book of Edward VI was issued, marking a definite stage in the Reformation movement. Under Henry VIII the Roman obedience had been thrown off, but the doctrines of the Church remained Catholic. The first Prayer Book had introduced a simpler liturgy, and one, above all, which was in English, and therefore open to all people; but it was not contrary to Roman Catholic doctrine. The second Prayer Book, however, definitely stated the Protestant position; taking the Consecration Prayer of the Holy Communion as the test, it is clear that the elements of bread and wine were to be held as merely commemorative of Christ's death, not as his actual flesh and blood:

'Heare us, O mercyefull father wee beeseche thee; and graunt that wee, receyuing these thy creatures of bread and wyne accordinge to thy sonne our Sauioure Jesus Christ's holy institucion, in remembraunce of his death and passion, maye be partakers of his most blessed body and bloud.'

Edward had never been strong, and much early study and application to business had further weakened his overstrung body. In 1552 he had measles, and afterwards small-pox. Then a bad cough set in, which may have denoted the wasting disease of consumption. He died on July 6, 1553, at the age of 16. He seems to have been a good, serious

youth, anxious to do his duty, overburdened with the cares of his station. The schemers who surrounded his death-bed had done nothing to cheer or make easy this sad young life.

Queen Mary. Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and Katharine of Aragon, was a woman of plain features and a weak constitution. She had, however, like all the Tudor monarchs, a resolute spirit and staunch courage. On her accession to the throne she had to face a serious rebellion. Before the death of Edward VI the ambitious Northumberland had married his fourth son, Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane Grey, the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary. When Edward died, Jane Grey was proclaimed sovereign; she had been brought up in the reformed faith, to which she was attached, and it was hoped that all the reformed part of the population would support her. Mary's determined conduct, however, overthrew this design. She at once raised a party in Norfolk, where the Catholic family of Howard was strong, and refused to treat with Northumberland. The small army he had hired saw that the feeling of the country was against him. His men fell away; he attempted to make terms with Mary, but though abjectly submissive, he was treated as he deserved, being beheaded for treason.

The Marian reaction. The rest of Mary's reign is the story of her attempt to bring England back to the Roman Catholic obedience. It was reformers who had divorced her mother, and who had made her own early years unhappy; it was members of the reforming party that had nearly dispossessed her of her throne. The only friends she had in the time of her disfavour had been ardent Catholics; her confidential advisers were priests, who carefully impressed her with the idea that she was destined to bring back erring England to the bosom of Holy Church. Nervous, excitable, sickly, she brooded upon this idea until it became a perfect passion. No relaxation was allowed her; her priests kept her great mission constantly in her thoughts. As her life drew to a close she became wretched, hysterical, cruel; pathetically eager for

affection, she knew that she was loved neither by her husband nor by her people. With no home life, no children to cheer and occupy her moments, no wholesome activities, she gave herself over to the religion that only brought her fresh troubles; and she must have many times lived through the horrible death by burning to which she sent the people she was so anxious to save. The stern clergy who kept the unhappy suffering woman to her terrible task must be held accountable, in part, for her decline and death, while their measures roused an apathetic nation to hate the Pope, and so definitely turned the scale, which so long had been balanced between the old and new faiths, now definitely to the side of the reform.

The restoration of Roman Catholicism. The events which now followed showed how easily England might, for a time at any rate, have been kept for a liberal Catholicism, so long as obedience to the Pope was not required. It was this the English disliked. William the Conqueror had, nearly five centuries before, enacted that no Pope should be recognized in England without the king's consent. John's subjection of England as a fief to the Papacy had done more than anything else to ruin his prestige. Edward III's Statute of Praemunire had forbidden subjects to appeal from any decision of the king or his courts to Rome. Thus the rejection of Papal jurisdiction by Henry VIII had been in line with the normal development of English policy, and was not a violent shock at all. The English were proud of their ecclesiastical, as of their political, independence. With Catholic doctrine, on the other hand, they had, in general, no quarrel, although, on the whole, they liked to see their clergy married, to hear the Church prayers in English, and to listen to independent, open-minded sermons, like those of Hugh Latimer.

Mary's first Parliament went a long way to meeting her wishes. Two bills were passed. One bill annulled the divorce of Henry VIII and Katharine of Aragon, so that while Mary's position was made more regular, the marriage which Henry had contracted with Anne Boleyn became unlawful. The

second bill restored the ancient form of worship, thus imposing the Latin Liturgy and the regular Roman doctrines, in place of the English Bible and Prayer Book, which had been established in use in Edward's reign.

The Spanish marriage. Soon after Mary's accession the Emperor Charles V had suggested that she should marry his son Philip, the heir to Spain and the Netherlands. Mary, who kept in mind all her life her Spanish mother's misfortunes, welcomed the notion of the Spanish marriage, and

PHILIP II AND MARY.

persuaded herself of being in love with Philip before she ever saw him. The country, however, disliked the idea, and we can see in this that aversion to Spain which in Elizabeth's reign children seemed to breathe in, as it were, with the English air. Against the proposed marriage, and against the restoration of Catholic worship, a rebellion arose in Kent, under Sir Thomas Wyatt (January–February 1554). The rebels advanced to the capital, failed to take London Bridge, obtained a crossing at Kingston, and fought their way through London to Ludgate Hill, before they were finally defeated and dispersed. Mary had been urged to fly by her Council, but had refused. Again, as in the rebellion of the Duke of Northumberland, her resolution triumphed. The rebels were defeated. Wyatt himself was captured and beheaded. Lady Jane Grey and her husband, Guildford Dudley, who had been prisoner in the Tower since the rebellion of 1553, suffered the death penalty also.

Anti-papal statutes repealed. The defeat of the rebellion of Wyatt seemed to Mary like a sign from God that her religious policy was approved in heaven. It had another baleful effect in arousing her passion and stifling her feelings of pity. For she had set her heart upon the marriage with Philip of Spain; and the rebellion, which was largely directed against the marriage, had nearly lost her this husband. The sickly woman reflecting upon this became a fierce relentless bigot. The Parliament of 1554 was induced to repeal all the anti-papal statutes of Henry VIII's time. Cardinal Pole, who was a grandson of Edward IV's brother Clarence, came from Italy the same year, with a commission from Pope Julius III to absolve England from her heresy and readmit her to the bosom of the Church. The solemn absolution took place in the presence of Parliament, but the lords and gentry would not give up the monastic lands, and the Pope, with a bad grace, had to acquiesce.

The persecutions. Then followed three miserable years, before Mary died just in time to save her throne from a violent upheaval. Philip of Spain had come to England in July 1554, and remained till autumn, 1555. He only returned once (in 1557), although he held the title of King of England. Before departing he had counselled moderation in religious policy to Mary; but she, more bitter than ever after the withdrawal of her husband, who, she knew, did not love her, proceeded, sadly enough, upon her disastrous course. Under the revived statute 'de haeretico comburendo' courts of episcopal inquisitors were set up, and at least 277 persons, who held the reformed opinions, suffered the terrible death of burning. Three of the most notable and beloved of the English clergy were publicly burned in the open space in front of Balliol College, outside the north wall of Oxford (1555–6). These were the gentle Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; the learned Ridley, Bishop of London, and the eloquent, though somewhat rough-tongued reformer, Latimer, Bishop of Worcester. It may be some consolation to weaker brethren

to know that when brought before their ruthless accusers Cranmer had quailed and renounced his 'heresies'; yet after this lapse he returned to constancy of mind, boldly avowed the reformed religion, and met the martyr's death (March 21, 1556). Latimer's words to Ridley when they were being tied to the fearful stake (Oct. 16, 1555) have come down to us as a cheerful message from that time of blood and horror:

> 'Be of good comfort, Master Ridley. Play the man: we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out' (Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*).

Mary's last days. It was not long before Mary had to follow her victims to the bar of judgement beyond the grave. Now thoroughly disliked by the people, she was to bring one more disaster upon the country before she died. In 1557, Philip was at war with France, for the control of Italy. In foreign policy, Mary's affection for her husband made England a kind of appanage of Spain. A Spanish army, under the great soldier, Emmanuel Philibert, of Savoy, accompanied by 7,000 English soldiers under the Earl of Pembroke, invaded France from the side of Flanders. On August 10, 1557, they met the French army outside St. Quentin, a fortress on the right bank of the Somme, and won a complete victory. The French, however, managed to prolong the campaign into the winter, having recalled from Italy their able general the Duke of Guise. To raise and equip the English force which fought at St. Quentin had cost too much for the straitened finances of Mary's Government; the defences of Calais, the last English possession in France, had not been properly maintained. The 'Pale' or district round Calais was cut up in all directions by canals and ditches, made to drain the low-lying land, as well as to protect it from attack. In winter, when the canals and pools or 'plashes' were full of water, the Pale was considered impregnable, and the garrison was therefore, to save money, reduced. In the winter of 1557, although England was at war with France, the garrison was

at its usual low number. Unfortunately the winter was severe; in December the country was, in parts at least, frozen. The energetic Duke of Guise carried out a swift invasion of the Pale with 25,000 men, on New Year's Day, 1558. By the end of January, Calais and the Pale had passed for ever out of the hands of the English. This last misfortune broke the spirit of Mary, who, like all the Tudor monarchs, was patriotic and proud of England's name. Her religious policy had failed, her foreign policy had failed; by an astonishing combination of circumstances, she was actually, at the time of her death, at war with the Pope. For Pope Paul IV was supporting the French in Italy against Spain, and Philip, King of Spain and of England, with whom the English Government was in alliance, had occupied the States of the Church up to the walls of Rome.

Mary died on November 17, 1558, of dropsy. The Spaniard, Gonzales, has reported that she said if her breast were opened after her death, Calais would be found engraven on her heart. Her death undoubtedly saved England from some violent rebellion; so she was at last fortunate in her death.

The close of the Reform Movement. The Catholic reaction of Mary Tudor had failed; with the accession of her half-sister, Elizabeth, the Reformed Church became definitely established in England. Elizabeth was the daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, and the marriage of her father and mother had only been made possible by the breach with Rome. In temperament she was almost an ideal ruler for the English. For they objected to the Pope's supremacy, to the great power of the priesthood, and to the use of a strange tongue in their religious services; but they had a real affection for the stately and dignified ceremonial, the solemn comely Gothic buildings, the historic associations, of the ancient Church. Elizabeth, though not papal, was certainly Catholic in her sympathy; and so under her was established the Church of England, as it still exists, owning the King, not the Pope, as its supreme head, praying and preaching in English, with an educated, married clergy living closely in

touch with the people—but a Church, on the other hand, which goes back without any violent break to the Middle Ages, and to Augustine, administered in the same way through priests and bishops, and with a form of worship, somewhat simplified indeed, but still like the mediaeval liturgy, beautiful and dignified.

The establishing of the Church of England. A Book of Common Prayer, substantially the same as the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, was issued at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and its use was commanded in every church in the land. The organization of the clergy—the arrangement of parishes and dioceses, the ranks of deacon, priest, bishop—was kept, as indeed it had been kept all through the Reform movement. Two Acts of Parliament defined and made legal the two great differences between the Church of England and the Roman Church (1559). The first was the Act of Supremacy, which declared that the Sovereign was the supreme earthly head of the Church, and that no foreign jurisdictions (meaning the Papacy) had any authority in England:

'VII. And to the intent that all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal, may for ever be clearly extinguished, and never to be used or obeyed within this realm or any other your Majesty's dominions or countries; may it please your Highness that it may be enacted, That no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, spiritual or temporal, shall at any time after the last day of this session of Parliament, use, enjoy, or exercise any manner of power, jurisdiction, superiority, authority, pre-eminence, or privilege, spiritual or ecclesiastical, within this realm or within any other your Majesty's dominions or countries that now be or hereafter shall be, but from thenceforward the same shall be clearly abolished out of this realm and all other your Highness' dominions for ever; any statute, ordinances, custom, constitutions or other matter or cause whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.' (Prothero, *Statutes and Constitutional Documents*, p. 5.)

Any 'jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities, pre-eminences,' which the Pope had ever exercised in England were henceforth

to 'be united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm'. (Act of Supremacy, cap. VIII.)

The second Act was the Act of Uniformity:

'And further be it enacted by the Queen's Highness, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled and by order of the same, That all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish church or other place within this realm of England, Wales, and the marches of the

TUDOR FURNITURE.

same or other the Queen's dominions shall from and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, be bounden to say and use the Matins, Evensong, Celebration of the Lord's Supper, and administration of each of the sacraments and all their Common and open Prayers in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book so authorized by Parliament in the said fifth and sixth years of the reign of King Edward the Sixth with one alteration or addition of certain Lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year and the form of the Litany altered and corrected and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other or otherwise.'

(Ibid., p. 14.)

The Act of Uniformity did not merely put upon all clergy the duty of conducting their services strictly according to the

Prayer Book; it put upon all the people in the country the duty of going to Church every Sunday, saying:

'that from and after the said Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist next coming, all and every person and persons inhabiting within this realm or any other the Queen's Majesty's dominions shall diligently and faithfully, having no lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, endeavour themselves to

CIVIL COSTUME IN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.
Left to right from high to low degree.

resort to their parish church or chapel accustomed or upon reasonable let thereof to some usual place where Common Prayer and such service of God shall be used in such time of let, upon every Sunday and other days ordained and used to be kept as Holy Days, and then and there to abide orderly and soberly during the time of the Common Prayer, Preachings or other service of God there to be used and ministered; upon pain of punishment by the censures of the Church and also upon pain that every person so offending shall forfeit for every such offence twelve pence, to be levied by the Churchwardens of the parish where such offence shall be done, to the

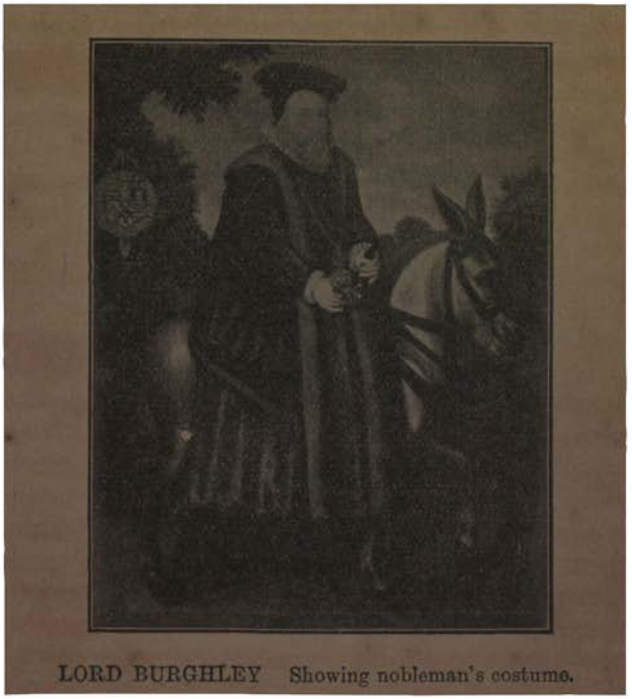
use of the poor of the same parish, of the goods, lands and tenements of such offender, by way of distress.'

(Ibid., p. 17.)

Finally, in 1563, the doctrines of the Church of England, as implied in the Book of Common Prayer, were defined and set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles (a revision of Articles drawn up in the reign of Edward VI), and are now included in the modern Prayer Book.

The growth of Nonconformity. Elizabeth and her Council, in which the leading spirit was the wise Sir William Cecil (Lord Burghley), hoped to establish a wide, tolerant Church, which would include every Englishman. This was why penalties were prescribed against any one who would not attend the established Church, although the penalties were not very heavy. It was felt that the political independence of England was bound up with the religious independence. At this time a vigorous movement was going on within the Roman Church, to purge it of the abuses of which the Protestant reformers had complained. This movement, called the 'Counter' or 'Catholic' Reformation, recovered a great part of the influence which the Roman Church had lost in Europe; and with the vigorous missionary efforts of the Society of Jesus or Jesuits (established in 1540), it seemed likely to reconvert a great part of England, as indeed, between 1580 and 1590 it reconverted the Irish. Elizabeth feared the Counter Reformation, which might bring with it not merely the power of the Pope, but the power of his 'Most Catholic Majesty' of Spain. The English Church was, therefore, made as wide as possible, offering, as it was said at the time, a *via media*, a middle way, between the extremes of Rome and Geneva, that all England might subscribe to. This noble ideal has been only partly fulfilled. The easy-going, the tolerant, and the devout 'Anglicans' subscribed to the Church of England; but the sterner Catholics remained outside. At the same time, the sterner Protestants, those who had adopted the views of the great theologian and reformer, John Calvin of Geneva, found the English Church, with its

ancient vestments and forms of worship, too like the old Papal services to suit them. So they, too, stayed outside the Elizabethan Church settlement. Nevertheless, it was a great work to establish a Church to which in theory at least all English subjects belonged, whose comforts and consolations



LORD BURGHLEY Showing nobleman's costume.

could be denied to none, and which provided a moral rule that bound every one, without infringing on their personal freedom :

'It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since the first compiling of her Publick Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness of admitting any variation from it.' (Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.)

The Reformation in Scotland. While Elizabeth was settling the Church question in England, a Reformation movement had been going on in Scotland. The Scottish Reformation differed markedly from the English in this: in England the Reform (in its initial stages at least) was imposed by the Crown upon the people; in Scotland, it was imposed by the people upon the Crown. It was, therefore, a more violent movement in Scotland, and resulted in the destruction of nearly all the great cathedrals and abbeys. In the far northern Orkneys a mediaeval Scottish cathedral has been preserved intact—the red sandstone Cathedral of St. Magnus at Kirkwall, a beautiful, dignified, and noble edifice, presiding over the quaint old fishing town. Glasgow has its cathedral too, and Edinburgh has its splendid collegiate church of St. Giles. But the other cathedrals of Scotland are all ruined; the ancient parish churches have gone, and the tradition of Gothic architecture was for centuries lost.

All the Scottish kings down to and including Queen Mary were faithful children of the Catholic Church. The Reform movement, which appeared in the reign of James V (1513–42), at the same time as in England, made no great progress, although the Scottish Church was full of abuses which cried for correction. It was not till John Knox came upon the scene that the Reformation was carried out. Thus the Reformation in Scotland was much later than in England. Scotland was, in fact, the last country won to Protestantism. John Knox was born in 1505 at Haddington, and was educated at the town school and at Glasgow University. After leaving the university he settled as a lawyer in his native town, and also took the minor orders of the Catholic Church; he may even have become a priest. Soon, however, he grew attached to the reformed opinions and became a follower of the great Scottish reformer, George Wishart. When the Scottish Government persecuted the new opinions, the reformers seized St. Andrew's Castle and defended themselves in it; Knox joined this band, and it was when preach-

ing to them in the chapel of the castle that he was called by the congregation to the ministry. In 1547, after more than a year's siege, the Regent of Scotland, Mary of Guise, with the help of a French fleet, captured the castle. Knox was sent to work in the French galleys, but after two years was released on the intercession of Edward VI of England. For a time he lived in England, but went abroad during the persecution under Mary, and after sojourning in various places, went to Geneva, where be became associated with the French reformer, John Calvin.

Thus when Knox returned to Scotland in 1559 he was deeply imbued with the Calvinist doctrines and was a convinced Presbyterian. His eloquence, his earnestness, his powerful, uncompromising personality, were eminently suited, as was the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, to the severe temperament of the Scots of those days. Calvinism spread rapidly, and when the young Mary, the widowed Queen of France, came to Scotland in 1561 to rule as well as to reign there, she found most of the country already 'reformed'. During the rest of her reign Knox was striving to keep Mary on what he held to be the right path; and it was his preaching more than anything else perhaps which convinced the Scottish people of her misdeeds. Knox hated the French influence in Scotland, and welcomed the overtures which Lord Burghley made to him from England. When Mary fled from her kingdom after the rising of the Scots lords in 1568, the Roman Catholic system was rooted out of Scotland, and Presbyterianism reigned supreme.

CHAPTER XVI

THE EXPANSION OF ENGLAND

The widening of the national outlook. The romance of Elizabeth's reign is on the sea. Hitherto England had been insular; but at the time of the Renaissance and Reformation the outlook of the nation had been widened. The study of Greek had come by way of Italy. Men began to travel more. Two notable men of Henry VIII's reign, the Earl of Surrey (Henry Howard, son of the Duke of Norfolk) and Sir Thomas Wyatt (who was the father of the rebel of Mary's reign), had travelled in Italy and brought back the sonnet form of poetry, which had flourished there since Petrarch's time. Since Chaucer's day poetry had languished in England, but with Surrey and Wyatt the tradition was renewed again, so that in Elizabeth's reign England became 'a nest of singing birds'.

THE DECADENCE OF ARMOUR.
Puffed suit of sixteenth century, imitating civil dress.

At the same time commerce began to flow more steadily outwards. In 1553 two gentlemen adventurers, Willoughby and Chancellor, in their own ships, had sailed into the White Sea and had begun a trade with Archangel, the northern outlet of Russia. Within a few years the English 'Muscovy Company' was doing a thriving trade in those parts.

The New World. The religious persecutions of Mary's reign seem to have left the hardy men of the south coast dissatisfied with life in England, while the wealth of the country, which

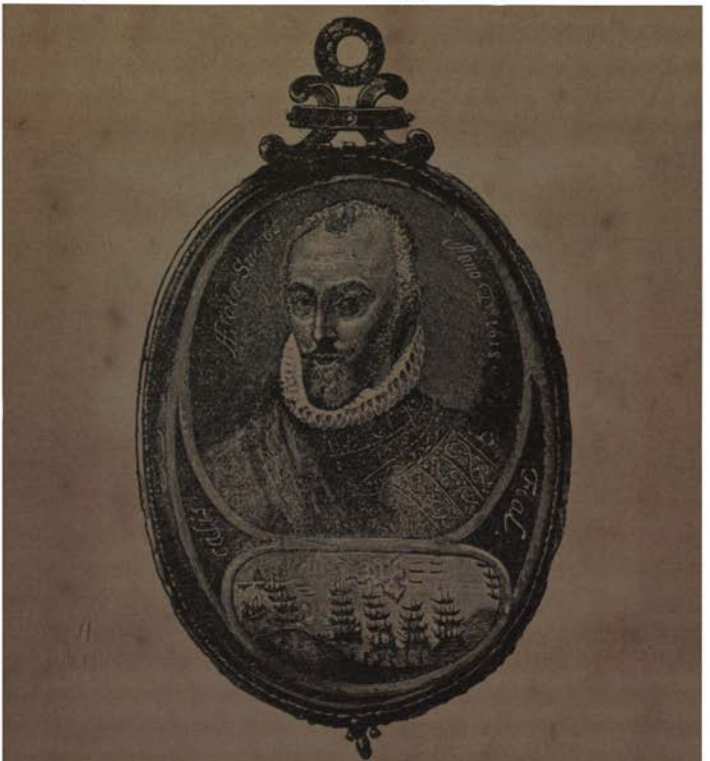
had been steadily increasing since the Wars of the Roses, gave them the necessary resources for overseas enterprise. This inclination and opportunity made them look westwards, over the great ocean, where sixty years before the Genoese sailor Columbus had shown the way. It was the Spaniards, however, who had penetrated the New World; the wonderful *conquistadores*, the companions of Cortez and Pizarro, had carved out new realms for the King of Spain in Mexico

THE 'PRIMROSE' OF LONDON, 1585.

and Peru. The Spanish in South America, the Portuguese in India, were the great colonizing powers of the sixteenth century. Already, by the time Elizabeth came to the throne, there were thriving Spanish towns in Central America and on the Pacific coast of Peru. As yet the English did not colonize distant lands. They trafficked overseas, in year-long voyages, and then returned home.

Raleigh. The overseas empire of Great Britain was not built up through any deliberate policy of the Government, and the private adventurers who sailed abroad had little thought beyond fighting Spain and gaining a living. But

there was one man who dreamed of an England on the other side of the Atlantic. This was Walter Raleigh, the son of a Devonshire squire. He was born in 1552, at Hayes, near Budleigh Salterton, and went, apparently, to one of the

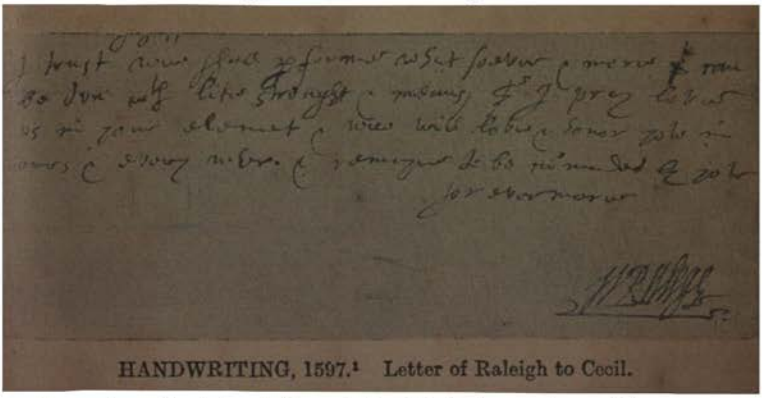


SIR WALTER RALEIGH. From the Duke of Rutland's Miniature.

local grammar schools. There he learned to be a good scholar, though to the end of his life he spoke the English of a Devonshire countryman. When he was fourteen he went into residence for three years at Oriel College, and at the age of seventeen he went to France and fought, as many other Elizabethans did, for the Huguenots. He was at the battles

of Jarnac and Moncontour (1569); and altogether saw five years continuous service in the Religious Wars.

A few years later (1578), after reading law for some time in London, he took an expedition with his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, to the Azores, against the Spanish, and in 1580 he was captain of a company of foot in the English forces in Ireland. He was one of the commanders who received the capitulation of 600 Spaniards at Smerwick,



HANDWRITING, 1597.[1] Letter of Raleigh to Cecil.

where they had landed and fortified themselves (they were all, except their superior officers, executed as pirates). Next year, being sent with dispatches to England, he went to the court at Greenwich, and there one day, as the Queen was coming from her barge (it is related in Fuller's *Worthies*), he spread his fine plush cloak in the mud for her to tread on. The Queen was attracted by the handsome, bright-eyed young man; and he, it seems, fell in love with the Queen. Once, the story is told that he scratched on a window of Greenwich Palace:

Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall;

[1] I trust wee shall p(er)forme what soeuer & more can | be dvn w(i)th like strenght & means, S^r I pray loue | vs in your element & wee will loue & honor yow in | ours & euery wher, & remayne to be com(m)anded by you.

for euermore
W. Ralegh.

and the Queen (who had an equally ready wit), when she saw it, scratched an answering verse :

If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all.

It was not at Court that Raleigh's title to fame was to be won, though he remained a favourite there till 1592, when he lost the Queen's favour by marrying one of her maids of honour, Elizabeth Throgmorton.

Between his coming to court, in 1581, and the death of Queen Elizabeth, his chief activities (when he was not writing poetry, philosophy, or history) were employed in the Irish wars, and in expeditions against the Spaniards. It was in 1585 that he started his great colonizing project, when he fitted out an expedition to sail to America, and to make a permanent settlement there under the English flag. He put his own money into this venture, and got all his friends to subscribe. The expedition sailed under his cousin Richard Grenville, and planted the first English settlement in America —the colony of Roanoke in *Virginia*. The colonists were starved out in a year ; Raleigh sent two more expeditions, which failed likewise, with considerable loss of life. They brought back, however, two things to England—the tobacco plant, which Raleigh was the first Englishman to smoke, and the potato, which he cultivated on his Irish estate at Youghal. The rest of the story of this most remarkable Elizabethan belongs to the reign of James I.

Sir John Hawkins. It was not colonization, however, but the miserable trade in slaves that first took the Elizabethan sailors to the Spanish Main. In 1562 John Hawkins, of Plymouth, a sailor who, like his father, had been engaged in trade with Spain, resolved to make a more distant enterprise. Partly at his own expense, and with the help of other daring spirits, he fitted out a squadron of ships, which sailed, with the crews armed and disciplined, like a naval squadron, to Africa and then to the West Indies :

' Master John Hawkins having made divers voyages to the

Isles of the *Canaries*, and there by his good and upright dealing being grown in love and favour with the people, informed himself amongst them, by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West *India* whereof he had received some knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the advertisements and reports of that people. And being amongst other particulars assured that *Negros* were very good merchandise in *Hispaniola*, and that store of negros might easily be had upon the coast of *Guinea*, resolved with himself to make trial thereof, and communicated that device with his worshipful friends of *London*: namely with *Sir Lionel Ducket*, *Sir Thomas Lodge*, *Master Gunson*, his father-in-law *Sir William Winter*, *Master Bromfield*, and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention that they became liberal contributors and adventurers in the action. For which purpose there were three good ships immediately provided: the one called the *Solomon*, of the burden of 120 tons, wherein *Master Hawkins* himself went as General: the second the *Swallow*, of 100 tons, wherein went for captain *Master Thomas Hampton*: and the third the *Jonas*, a bark of 40 tons wherein the master supplied the captain's room: in which small fleet *Master Hawkins* took with him not above 100 men, for fear of sickness and other inconveniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subject.'

(Hakluyt, pp. 6–7. [Oxford, 1907.])

On the Guinea Coast, Hawkins got 300 negroes, helpless human beings, torn from such homes as they had, by the chiefs who sold them to the adventurers, or by the adventurers themselves. With this human cargo, and with the general merchandise they had brought from England, the adventurers sailed to Hispaniola and traded with the Spanish settlers. Under Spanish law foreigners were not allowed to trade with Spanish colonies; but the settlers wanted the slaves for their sugar plantations, and the fierce adventurers were too well armed to heed the protests of the Spanish officials.

Hawkins's second voyage. The second expedition of Hawkins took place in 1564. This time the 'General's' ship was a fair size—700 tons burden; the rest varied in dimensions, the *Swallow* being the size of a modern fishing smack:

'Master John Hawkins, with the *Jesus* of Lubeck,[1] a ship of 700, and the *Solomon*, a ship of 140, the *Tiger*, a bark of 50, and the *Swallow* of 30 tons, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundred three score and ten, as also with ordnance and victual requisite for such a voyage, departed out of Plymouth the 18 day of October, in the year of our Lord 1564, with a prosperous wind.' (Hakluyt, p. 9.)

Small or large ships were indifferent to those men of sterling heart. The sailing orders of John Hawkins on this expedition show something of the spirit of that great age:

'The small ships to be always ahead and aweather of the *Jesus*, and to speak twice a day with the *Jesus* at least. If in the day the ensign be over the poop of the *Jesus* or in the night two lights, then shall all the ships speak with her. If there be three lights aboard the *Jesus*, then doth she cast about. If the weather be extreme, that the small ships cannot keep company with the *Jesus*, then all to keep company with the *Solomon*, and forthwith to repair to the island of Teneriffe, to the northward of the road of *Sirroes*. If any happen to any misfortune, then to show two lights, and to shoot off a piece of ordnance. If any lose company and come in sight again, to make three yaws,[2] and strike the mizen three times. Serve God daily, love one another, preserve your victuals, beware of fire, and keep good company.' (Hakluyt, p. 10.)

After taking their human cargo from West Africa they sailed to the Spanish Main (the Mainland of Central and South America), where they saw many strange sights, among others, the crocodile:

'In this river we saw many crocodiles of sundry bignesses, but some as big as a boat, with four feet, a long broad mouth, and a long tail; whose skin is so hard that a sword will not pierce it. His nature is to live out of the water, as a frog doth; but he is a great devourer, and spareth neither fish, which is his common food, nor beasts, nor men, if he take them, as the proof thereof was known by a negro, who, as he was filling water in the river, was by one of them carried clean away and never seen after. His nature is ever when he would

[1] Bought from Lubeck by Henry VIII for the Royal Navy.
[2] = angles in the course.

have his prey, to cry and sob like a Christian body, to provoke them to come to him, and then he snatcheth at them.'

(Hakluyt, p. 43.)

On the way home, coasting by way of Florida, the adventurers became acquainted with tobacco:

'The Floridians, when they travel, have a kind of herb dried, who, with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire and the dried herbs put together, do suck thorough the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and there with they live four or five days without meat or drink.'

(Hakluyt, p. 61.)

The third voyage of Hawkins, in 1567, ended in a fight off St. Juan d'Ulloa. The Spanish viceroy of New Spain (or Mexico) appeared with a fleet of twelve ships, against Hawkins's six, to stop the smuggling trade. A regular sea-battle ensued; Hawkins lost four ships; the fifth subsequently foundered at sea; only one, the *Judith*, of 50 tons burden, with Hawkins and Francis Drake on board, returned to Plymouth. Henceforth there was to be 'no peace beyond the line'.[1]

Frobisher and the North-west Passage. The great enterprise of polar exploration was begun for England by Martin Frobisher, a Yorkshire sailor, who had long dreamed of finding a way to China, round North America. In 1576 the Earl of Warwick helped him with money to fit out three ships, one a mere pinnace of 10 tons, the other two barks of 20 and 25 tons. The pinnace went down in a storm; the 25-ton bark gave up and sailed home, but Frobisher in his little *Gabriel* of 20 tons sailed on to Greenland, and found a passage which he thought lay between America and Asia. He succeeded in sailing back to England to equip a new expedition, but five of his men had to be left behind, taken prisoners by the Esquimaux. These men later managed to build a rough boat

[1] In 1493 Pope Alexander VI had drawn a line from pole to pole across the map, one hundred leagues west of the Azores, and had adjudged that all countries discovered to the east of this line were to be Portuguese, and all discovered to the west, Spanish.

from some timber left by Frobisher, and in this frail craft they set out over the uncharted seas, past mountains of ice, for England. They were never heard of more.

Frobisher made two more voyages to the northern coast of Canada and to Greenland. On the third voyage (1578) he drifted through the ice into the straits now known as Hudson's Straits. On this voyage he had fifteen ships, one of 200 tons burden, the others of various smaller size; fearful dangers and difficulties were encountered with ice, which one of the captains, George Best, has described in his narrative of the voyage:

FROBISHER.

'This was a more fearful spectacle for the fleet to behold, for that the outrageous storm which presently followed, threatened them the like fortune and danger. For the fleet being thus compassed, as aforesaid, on every side with ice, having left much behind them, thorough which they passed, and finding more before them, thorough which it was not possible to pass, there arose a sudden terrible tempest at the south-east, which blowing from the main sea directly upon the place of the Straits, brought together all the ice a sea-board of us upon our back, and thereby debarred us of turning back to recover sea-room again; so that being thus compassed with danger on every side, sundry men with sundry devices sought the best way to save themselves. Some of the ships where they could find a place more clear of ice, and get a little berth of sea-room, did take in their sails and there lay adrift. Other some fastened and moored anchor upon a great island of ice, and rode under the lee thereof, supposing to be better

guarded thereby from the outrageous winds, and the danger of the lesser fleeting ice. And again some were so fast shut up, and compassed in amongst an infinite number of great countries and islands of ice that they were fain to submit themselves and their ships to the mercy of the unmerciful ice, and strengthened the sides of their ships with junks of cables, beds, masts, planks, and such like, which being hanged overboard on the sides of their ships, might the better defend them from the outrageous sway and strokes of the said ice. But as in greatest distress men of best valour are best to be discerned, so it is greatly worthy commendation and noting with what invincible mind every captain encouraged his company, and with what incredible labour the painful mariners and poor miners, unacquainted with such extremities, to the everlasting renown of our nation, did overcome the brunt of these so great and extreme dangers. For some, even without board upon the ice, and some within board upon the sides of their ships, having poles, pikes, pieces of timber, and oars in their hands, stood almost day and night without any rest, bearing off the force, and breaking the sway of the ice with such incredible pain and peril, that it was wonderful to behold; which otherwise no doubt had stricken quite through and through the sides of their ships notwithstanding our former provision; for planks of timber of more than three inches thick, and other things of greater force and bigness, by the surging of the sea and billow with the ice were shivered and cut in sunder, at the sides of our ships, so that it will seem more than credible to be reported of. And yet (that which is more) it is faithfully and plainly to be proved, and that by many substantial witnesses, that our ships, even those of greatest burdens, with the meeting of contrary waves of the sea, were heaved up between islands of ice, a foot well-near out of the sea, above their water-mark, having their knees and timbers within board, bowed and broken therewith.' (Hakluyt, pp. 144–5.)

The north-west passage by the frozen Arctic Ocean has baffled all adventurers. The actual results of Frobisher's enterprise (apart from the discovery of some mineral districts) was to train a most hardy school of sailors, whose traditions have been carried on by the whaling crews of a later day.

The opening of the Pacific. The glorious Pacific Ocean,

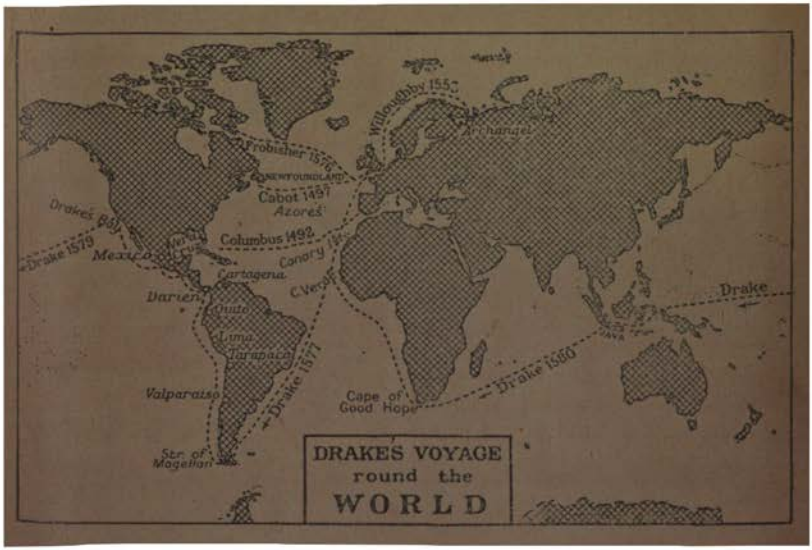
with its rich and romantic shores, was till fifteen years after the accession of Elizabeth known only to Spaniards. No Englishman had penetrated there. In 1573, Francis Drake, who was born in Tavistock, and was brought up in Rye, and who had served under Hawkins at San Juan d'Ulloa in the *Judith*, took an expedition to the West Indies. He landed on the Isthmus of Panama, and penetrated some distance inland.

FRANCIS DRAKE.

Some 'maroons' of the country conducted him to a high ridge on which was a huge tree, with steps cut in it. Drake climbed up, and from this lofty perch saw in the distance the shining waters of the Pacific. His resources, however, did not enable him to go farther that year. One of his captains, John Oxenham, who had likewise climbed the giant tree of Panama, resolved to be the first Englishman to sail on the Pacific. In 1575 he sailed for Panama, landed with his men on the Isthmus, crossed it on foot, cut some timber and built a rough pinnace. With this small craft he launched upon the heaving waters of the mysterious ocean. Two Spanish galleons, laden with silver and gold, sailing from Mexico to Peru, fell a prey to the daring and unexpected freebooter. Elated with success, Oxenham delayed returning to Panama, and then the enemy proved too strong. He was captured by the ships of the Spanish viceroy, and hanged as a pirate at Lima in Peru.

The famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake. Drake's wonderful expedition, which proved the weakness of the vast Spanish

Empire, and declared the great oceans open to the English, started in 1577. The story has been written by Francis Pretty, one of Drake's 'gentlemen-at-arms' on the voyage. Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Leicester, and other notable people, took shares in the adventure, the object of which, undoubtedly, was plunder from the Spanish colonies. In 1570 Pope Pius V had, so far as in him lay, outlawed



Elizabeth, and declared that her subjects no longer stood in allegiance to her. Spain was the strong support of the Pope; and although open war did not yet exist between Spain and England, in practice war went on at sea.

'The 15. day of November, in the year of our Lord 1577 Master *Francis Drake*, with a fleet of five ships and barks, and to the number of 164 men, gentlemen and sailors, departed from *Plymouth* giving out his pretended voyage for *Alexandria*.'
(Hakluyt, p. 196.)

Drake was at this time aged 37. His ships consisted of the *Pelican*, 120 tons, the *Elizabeth*, 80 tons, the *Swan*,

50 tons, the *Marigold*, 20 tons. The sailors, of course, had the mariner's compass to steer by, but no charts.

The squadron, although really a private enterprise, sailed under strict discipline. Drake bore the title of general with his crews. The voyage was made by way of Cape Verde, across the Atlantic to South America. Drake's plan was to get to the Pacific without the knowledge of the Spaniards, by the route no Englishman had yet followed, round South America, through the Strait of Magellan. Some prizes were made of Spanish ships on the way across the Atlantic. Coasting along by Patagonia, Drake was able to get fresh water and some provisions from the shore. On one occasion the natives came and danced in a friendly fashion before the crews; and Drake, turning his back to them, suddenly found his cap seized off his head by a native, who immediately ran away. The cap was a round felt one, with a high brim and a gold band; the native got the cap and gave the band to 'his fellow'. Drake, who was a most severe and dignified man, does not seem to have resented the incident.

At Port St. Julian, on the Patagonian coast, it was discovered that a mutiny among some of his men was being arranged by Master Thomas Doughty, his second in command.

'Which when our General saw, although his private affection to Master *Doughty* as he then in the presence of us all sacredly protested, was great, yet the care he had of the state of the voyage, of the expectation of her Majesty, and of the honour of his country, did more touch him, as indeed it ought, than the private respect of one man. So that the cause being throughly heard, and all things done in good order as near as might be to the course of our laws in *England*, it was concluded that Master *Doughty* should receive punishment according to the quality of the offence. And he, seeing no remedy but patience for himself, desired before his death to receive the communion, which he did at the hands of Master *Fletcher*, our minister, and our General himself accompanied him in that holy action, which being done, and the place of execution made ready, he having embraced our General and taken his leave of all the company, with prayers for the Queen's Majesty and

our realm, in quiet sort laid his head to the block, where he ended his life.' (Hakluyt, p. 205.)

On August 21, 1578, the squadron, reduced to three (for Drake had burned the *Swan*), entered the Strait of Magellan. At this point of the voyage, Drake changed the name of the *Pelican* to the *Golden Hind* (the cognizance of Sir Christopher Hatton). In the Strait great difficulties were encountered.

'The land on both sides is very huge and mountainous; the lower mountains whereof, although they be monstrous and wonderful to look upon for their height, yet there are others which in height exceed them in a strange manner, reaching themselves above their fellows so high that between them did appear three regions of clouds. These mountains are covered with snow. At both the southerly and easterly parts of the Strait there are islands among which the sea hath his indraught into the Straits, even as it hath in the main entrance of the frete.[1] This Strait is extreme cold, with frost and snow continually; the trees seem to stoop with the burden of the weather, and yet are green continually, and many good and sweet herbs do very plentifully grow and increase under them. The breadth of the Strait is in some places a league, in some places two leagues and three leagues, and in some other four leagues; but the narrowest place hath a league over.' (Hakluyt, p. 206.)

By September 6, the squadron was through the Strait, but on the 7th a storm blew the ships 200 leagues out of their course, and the *Marigold* went down with all hands. The *Elizabeth* returned to England, and the *Golden Hind* sailed up the coast of Chile. Entering the port of Valparaiso, Drake found a Spanish ship there, the hatches of which he managed to batten down on the top of the few men who were in it. Then Drake and his men entered the town of Santiago near by, which only consisted of nine households. The inhabitants fled, and the English rifled it, and took the 'silver chalice, two cruets and one altar-cloth' from the church. The ship in Valparaiso harbour yielded a large store of gold and silver. At Coquimbo, where the English landed, they had

[1] Lat. *fretum*.

a skirmish with 500 Spanish soldiers, but only lost one man. At Tarapaca:

'We found by the sea-side a Spaniard lying asleep who had lying by him thirteen bars of silver, which weighed 4,000 ducats Spanish. We took the silver and left the man. Not far from hence, going on land for fresh water we met a Spaniard and an Indian boy driving eight *llamas* or sheep of Peru, which are as big as asses; every of which sheep had on his back two bags of leather, each bag containing 50 lb. weight of fine silver. So that, bringing both the sheep and their burthen to the ships, we found in all the bags eight hundred weight of silver.' (Hakluyt, p. 210.)

At Lima, where Drake boldly sailed into the harbour, there were twelve Spanish ships, which the English seized and rifled, getting good store of silver and of merchandise. Drake then cut the cables of these ships, and sailed away to intercept a treasure ship, which he heard had left shortly before. The ship was overtaken, part, not all, of its silver seized, and the ship and crew then allowed to pursue their own way. The town of Guatulco in Panama was next ransacked, and certain prisoners whom Drake had taken out of his prizes were left there. It was the custom of Drake to let go all the Spanish ships, after he had overhauled them and taken his choice of the cargo.

By this time the year 1578 had passed. The Spaniards had never expected an enemy in the Pacific, hitherto undisturbed except for the solitary raid of John Oxenham; none of the Pacific ports were fortified. Now, however, the advantage of surprise had passed; and Drake, if he had returned by the Strait of Magellan, would probably have found a Spanish squadron waiting to intercept him. So he resolved to sail west, the way no Englishman had ever gone, across to the Indian Ocean, and so back to England by the Cape of Good Hope.

Accordingly, the *Golden Hind* sailed up the Californian coast to some place near where is now San Francisco. The English flag was hoisted at this point, as a sign of possession.

Then the westward cruise began. The adventure had been an astonishing success, thanks to the skill and resolution of the general, and to the wonderful courage and endurance of the sailors. Drake's behaviour on board his ship was described by a Spaniard who was taken in one of the prizes.

'The English general . . . is about thirty-five years of age, of small size, with a reddish beard, and is one of the greatest sailors that exist, both from his skill and from his power of commanding. His ship . . . sails well, and has an hundred men, all in the prime of life and as well trained for war as if they were old soldiers of Italy. . . . He treats them with affection and they him with respect. He has with him nine or ten gentlemen . . . who form his council, . . . but he is not bound by their advice, though he may be guided by it. He has no privacy: these of whom I speak all dine at his table. . . . He has all possible luxuries, even to perfumes, many of which he told me were given him by the queen. None of these gentlemen sits down or puts on his hat in his presence without repeated permission.'

The Spaniard concludes his description by saying that Drake dined and supped to the music of violins, and that he had in his ship two draughtsmen, who so carefully mapped the coast that any one could follow it.[1]

The voyage across the Pacific was safely accomplished, and the return journey made by way of Java, the Cape of Good Hope, Sierra Leone. On September 26, 1580, the *Golden Hind*, after a voyage of just under three years, sailed into Plymouth Sound. Queen Elizabeth, who had given advice and encouragement, and had ventured a good deal of her money in the enterprise, visited the ship, and knighted Drake upon his own quarter-deck. The wonderful vessel, which was no bigger than a small coaster, must have suffered from the tremendous voyage. It never sailed again, but was broken up a few years later. A piece of its timber, made into a chair, may still be seen in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Other voyages. Drake's 'Famous Voyage' of 1577–80, as

[1] Don Francisco de Çarate, quoted by J. K. Laughton in his article on 'Drake' in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Hakluyt calls it, opened up the New World to English seamen. In 1585 he took a 'Great Armada', 25 vessels, with 2,300 men, to attack the Spanish Main. The size of the expedition shows the wealth that was then in England, for the fleet was equipped privately. It was a joint-stock adventure, the queen and the great men taking shares: the plunder, when brought back, was to be divided; one-third as prize-money among the officers and crews, two-thirds among those who had provided the capital. The West Indian colonies of Spain were attacked, and treasure secured, but fever prevented the attack which Drake had planned on the Isthmus of Panama.

Another seaman, the studious Humphrey Gilbert, half-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh, sailed for Newfoundland in 1583. This island, since John Cabot discovered it in 1497, had become a great fishing centre for Spanish, French, and English fishermen. Gilbert conceived the idea of making Newfoundland an English colony, so that land and livelihood could be found for the many Englishmen who, in spite of their strength and energy, seemed unable to live at home, and who were discontented with a humdrum life.

Gilbert received from Queen Elizabeth a grant of whatever lands he might discover in North America, and in June 1583 he sailed from Cawsand Bay, near Plymouth, with five ships. The expedition landed at St. John's, Newfoundland, and took formal possession of the island for the British Crown. The ships next crossed the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Breton, where one vessel sank on a shoal. It was decided to return home, and to fit out another expedition in spring. Off the Azores a dreadful storm arose. Gilbert had insisted upon sailing in the smallest ship, the little 'frigate' *Squirrel*. The *Golden Hind*, the largest ship, tried to keep company. The last time they saw Sir Humphrey Gilbert, he was sitting calmly in the bow of his ship, reading a book, which is believed to have been More's *Utopia*: he

'cried out to us in the *Hind*, so oft as we did approach within hearing "*We are as near to heaven by sea as by land*"; re-

iterating the same speech, well beseeming a soldier, resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was. The same Monday night, about twelve of the clock, or not long after, the frigate being ahead of us in the *Golden Hind*, suddenly her lights were out, whereof as it were in a moment we lost the sight, and withal our watch cried *the General was cast away*, which was too true. For in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea.' (Hakluyt, p. 319.)

The war with Spain. Open war between the Governments of England and Spain did not break out till 1588. The wonder was that even a nominal peace had been preserved so long. There were three causes which in particular produced tension between the two Governments and between their peoples: the first cause was religious, the second was maritime, the third was the revolt of the Spanish Netherlands.

As the years of Elizabeth's reign passed by, the people, in general, became more 'Protestant'. The 'Counter Reformation' (p. 246) was bringing back large parts of Europe, chiefly in Germany and Poland, to Catholicism. Refugees came from the Continent to England, and brought strict Protestant doctrines with them. Within the English Church a 'Puritan' party arose, consisting of men who thought the English Church form of service, and the vestments worn by the clergy, too like the system of the Papacy. Puritan views were strongest in the University of Cambridge, where some eminent theologians began to criticize the power of the English Church bishops, and to embrace the view that the Church should be governed by ordinary clergymen and lay elders, under the system known as Presbyterianism. The general result of this feeling was an increasing distaste for the Papacy, and for Spain, which was looked upon as the temporal support, the strong right arm of the Papacy.

Mary, Queen of Scots. The feeling of religious antagonism between England and Spain was complicated by the Scottish problem. Mary was the granddaughter of James IV of Scotland and his wife Queen Margaret. Margaret was the elder sister of Henry VIII. Her granddaughter was accordingly nearest in descent to the English throne, if Queen Elizabeth should die childless. Mary (see p. 232) had been brought up at the court of France as a strict Catholic. She had married the French king, Francis II, who reigned only one year; she returned to Scotland in 1561.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

Before Mary's arrival, Scotland had been administered, with the help of French troops, by a Regent, who was the queen-mother, Mary of Lorraine. The Reform movement, under the influence of the stern Calvinist, John Knox, was then at its height, having occurred later than in England. The Reformers rebelled against the French troops; Elizabeth sent help to the Scots, and the French were expelled (Treaty of Edinburgh, 1560).

It was just a year after this that Mary arrived from France, to govern her kingdom. The intervention of Elizabeth, and the Treaty of Edinburgh had prevented Scotland from becoming a French province; but the arrival of Mary was a blow to the Reform movement there, and therefore, indirectly, a danger to the Reformation settlement in England. Mary, however, did not get on well with her Scottish subjects. She married her cousin, Henry Stuart, Earl of Darnley, a good-looking Scottish Catholic with neither brains nor character (1565); but her great favourite was David Riccio, an Italian, one of the singers in her chapel, whom she raised to be her secretary. Darnley and other of the Scottish nobles could not endure this, so they broke into

the Queen's dining-room in Holyrood Palace one night when she and Riccio were at supper, and murdered the favourite (March 9, 1566). Mary, however, got her revenge by allowing her lover, James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, to blow up Darnley, who was lying ill in Kirk o' Field House, near where Edinburgh University now stands (February 1567). Then she let Bothwell carry her off to Dunbar and marry her. This was too much for any people to bear, even in those days of unlicensed manners. In the summer, 1567, they rose in revolt and scattered her troops at Carberry Hill near Edinburgh. She was imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, escaped, and was beaten again at Langside, near Glasgow (May 1568). Mary herself was present at the battle, and only escaped by galloping to the Solway, and then taking passage in a fishing-boat to the Cumberland coast. Elizabeth provided her with quarters, and treated her well, until plots began to be formed by Catholics to force Elizabeth from the throne, and to put the Catholic Mary in her place.

The years 1570 to 1588 were full of danger for England. In 1570 Pope Pius V outlawed Elizabeth, so far as the Catholic world was concerned, by declaring her excommunicate, and her subjects released from their allegiance. This practically meant that he looked upon Mary as Queen of England. In 1580 the Jesuits came to England, to reconvert the country, and continued their efforts, although in 1581 their chief preacher, Father Campion, who made no concealment of his mission, was executed as a traitor. In 1586, a plot against Elizabeth's life was discovered, and evidence was found that Mary, almost certainly, was privy to the plot. She was tried and executed at Fotheringay Castle in 1587. Pope Sixtus V immediately proclaimed a crusade against Elizabeth, and Spain answered the call with the Great Armada.

The Netherlands Revolt. The filibustering expeditions of Hawkins and Drake had already nearly forced Spain into war with England. The execution of Mary took away all prospect of a peaceful succession of a Catholic and therefore friendly

queen to the throne of England. Meanwhile, if Spain was to reconquer her revolted Netherland provinces, she must deal drastically with England.

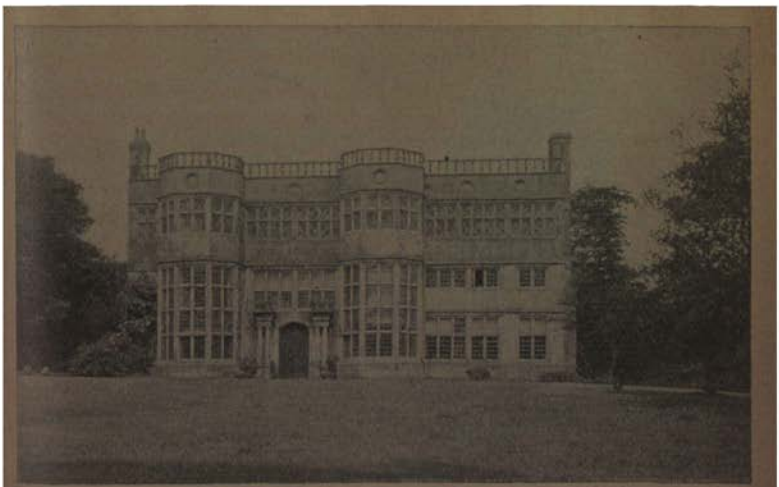
The Netherlands, comprising the modern States of Holland and Belgium, had come through marriage to the royal family of Spain. Since 1519 they had been under Spanish governors. In 1567, the drastic administration of the Duke of Alva produced a revolt among the Netherlanders, which was partly religious, partly political. A great deal of sympathy with the revolt was shown by the English, who justly considered that the Netherlanders were fighting for the religious and civil freedom which was so dear to the English themselves. Officially Elizabeth would give no help to the Revolt, but volunteers were allowed to go and take service against Spain.

ELIZABETHAN ARCHITECTURE.
Barlborough Hall, 1583–1584.

The Netherlanders had equipped a few ships for war, and these cruised among their islands, and occasionally used English ports. In 1572 these 'Sea Beggars', after waiting quietly in Dover port for their opportunity, sailed out and surprised a Spanish squadron which was taking to Antwerp money for the Duke of Alva's army. Following up this success quickly, the 'Beggars' captured the port of Brill on the Island of Voorn, at the mouths of the Meuse and the Rhine.

After this success the Revolt went on with varying fortune, sometimes indeed in so low a state that it was just kept alive by volunteers from England, and money collected in English

churches. The heroic Prince of Orange, William the Silent, in 1574 thought of giving up the struggle and sailing with any Netherlanders that would follow him to America. He resolved, however, to hold out at home, and gradually his fortunes improved. In 1577, Elizabeth made her first official league with the rebels; she advanced £20,000, and gave complete freedom



ASTLEY HALL, LANCASHIRE. Sixteenth century.

to Englishmen to volunteer for service in the ranks of the Netherlanders.

In 1584 the Prince of Orange was assassinated by an agent of Philip of Spain. This was the greatest blow that the Netherlands cause had suffered, and made it certain that, unless England gave more substantial help, the Dutch were bound to succumb. And if Spain conquered the heroic Dutch, England's turn would come next, for the two countries were practically involved in war. So at the end of 1585 Elizabeth, with great reluctance (for she hated supporting rebels, and feared open war), sent the Earl of Leicester (Robert Dudley, brother of Guildford Dudley[1]) with 8,000 men to the Netherlands.

[1] See p. 237.

Leicester's expedition. The expedition was not a great success. Leicester knew nothing of generalship, while the Spanish commander-in-chief, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, was one of the first military leaders of the age. The attempt to capture the town of Zutphen, in Guelderland, which was held by the Spaniards, has become famous through the death of the beloved Philip Sidney. The Duke of Parma sent 4,000 men, partly cavalry, but chiefly the famous Spanish infantry, to convoy a train of supply-wagons into the besieged town. Leicester sent 500 of the English mounted volunteers, chiefly young noblemen and country gentlemen, to intercept the convoy. The English riders, with their lances and battle-axes (those mediaeval weapons were still used), rode through the Spanish cavalry, but they could not get at the solid ranks of the musketeers and pikemen (September 1586).

Put vp yor Sword.
24.
How in sheathing his sword with the right hand he must beare the Buckler backeward on his body that he may do it without any impe: dimente
MOTIONS OF SWORD EXERCISE.
From *Mars his Field*, 1595.

Sir Philip Sidney, the brilliant son of a famous Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Sir Henry Sidney, had before the action given the thigh-plates of his armour to a friend, Sir William Pelham. He led three charges through the ranks of the Spanish cavalry; in returning from the last his thigh-bone was shattered by a musket-ball. He kept his seat, and rode back to the English lines; but he died

at Arnheim a month later. He was only thirty-two years of age, and was already in the first rank of great Englishmen as a diplomatist, a soldier, a man of letters. There is no limit to the height this great spirit might have attained even in that age of heroism and genius. His prose romance of *Arcadia*, his Sonnets, his *Defence of Poesie*, show a delicate taste, a command of English, an appreciation of the beautiful, comparable to that of Keats, another rare genius, whose career was even shorter. Sidney died quietly and

A PIECE OF CANNON. From *Webbe his travailes*, 1590.

contentedly, discoursing with his friend on letters and religion, on poetry and the Bible; he accepted sincerely the immortality of the soul, and held he was going closer to the beauties of nature, of which he himself had sung:

Who hath his fancy pleasèd
With fruits of happy sight,
Let here his eyes be raisèd
On Nature's sweetest light;
A light which doth dissever
And yet unite the eyes,
A light which, dying never,
Is cause the looker dies.

The Great Armada. The intervention of England in the Netherlands struggle made impossible the conquest of the heroic Dutch by Spain. For though without great successes, England was none the less sending men and money, and her ships were blocking the channel, the natural road between Spain and Holland. So, for this among other reasons, Philip equipped the Great Armada of 1588, and sent it against heretic England. The number and tonnage of the Spanish ships, as compared with those of the English, has been greatly exaggerated by some historians. As a matter of fact, the two fleets which fought each other in the famous ten days at the end of July were fairly equal both in *personnel* and in *matériel*.[1] The Great Armada contained about 137 ships, but of these only 69 were of sufficient size and armament to be much good for fighting. The rest were used chiefly for carrying munitions and stores. To meet this force, Lord Howard of Effingham had about 90 ships in all, but in 'principal' or heavy fighting ships he was practically equal. He had five great ships (i.e. over 800 tons), the biggest being the *Triumph*, 1,100 tons, and the *Bear*, 1,000 tons; he had eleven ships of over 400 tons, and six of over 100 tons. Against this fleet, the Spanish admiral, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had eight great ships, the largest being the *San Juan*, 1,050 tons, and the *San Martin*, 1,000 tons; eight ships of the 'middle sort' (over 400 tons), and three of the lesser sort. The rest of the fighting ships were simply armed merchantmen. The English ships were built with a low forecastle, while the Spanish ships had lofty forecastles; thus ship for ship the Spanish fleet looked more powerful, but it was not really so. In guns too, the fleets were, as far as can be judged, about equal: the English great-ships had each a battery of thirty-eight guns or more, while the Spanish great-ships carried about forty guns; but the total weight of shot fired by an English broadside is calculated to have been considerably heavier than the Spaniards'. The Spanish equipment

[1] See Julian Corbett: *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, vol. ii, chap. vi.

was, however, very scientific and up to date. Guns recently (1919) recovered from sunken Spanish galleons off Tobermory in Mull were found to be breech-loaders.

Sir John Hawkins had been put at the head of the naval administration, and he knew how a ship should be 'found'. When the Armada was ready to sail, Hawkins was able to assure the Secretary Burghley that the English ships in Plymouth Sound were 'in royal and perfect state, feeling the seas no more than if they had been riding at Chatham'.[1] On land, volunteer companies had been started by gentlemen in every county, and thirty thousand men were in training to meet the Spaniards if they landed. An army of sixteen thousand men was mustered at Tilbury to protect London, and Elizabeth herself went down the Thames and made a noble speech to them:

'My loving People, We have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people.

Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects, and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all, to lay down for my God, and for my kingdoms, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust.

I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a King, *and of a King of England too*; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realm, to which rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.'

The Armada, however, was never to reach an English harbour. On May 20, 1588, the sails of the Spanish ships were hoisted and, gracefully filling and swelling to the northern breeze, took the stately Armada down the majestic River

[1] Quoted in Froude's *History of England*, xii. 443.

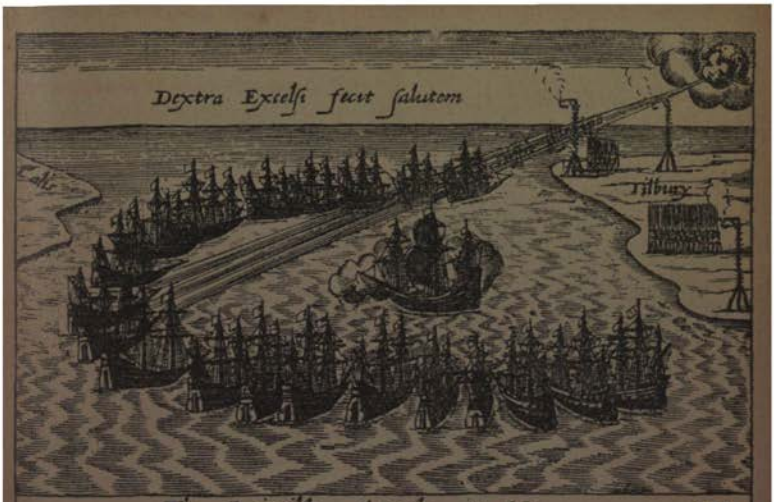
Tagus. Bad weather delayed it at Ferrol. From there it set out again on July 12. In a classic passage the modern historian of Elizabeth's reign has described the scene :[1]

'The scene as the fleet passed out of the harbour must have been singularly beautiful. It was a treacherous interval of real summer. The early sun was lighting the long chain of the Gallician mountains, marking with shadows the cleft defiles and shining softly on the white walls and vineyards of Coruña. The wind was light and falling towards a calm; the great galleons drifted slowly with the tide on the purple water, the long streamers trailing from the trucks, the red crosses, the emblem of the crusade, showing bright upon the hanging sails. The fruit boats were bringing off the last fresh supplies, and the pinnaces hastening to the ships with the last loiterers on shore. Out of thirty thousand men who that morning stood upon the decks of the proud Armada twenty thousand and more were never again to see the hills of Spain. Of the remnant who in two short months crept back ragged and torn, all but a few hundred returned only to die. The Spaniards though a great people were usually over conscious of their greatness, and boasted too loudly of their fame and prowess; but among the soldiers and sailors of the doomed expedition against England, the national vainglory was singularly silent. They were the flower of the country, culled and chosen over the entire Peninsula, and they were going with a modest nobility upon a service which they knew to be dangerous, but which they believed to be peculiarly sacred. Everyone, seaman, officer, and soldier, had confessed and communicated before he went on board. Gambling, swearing, profane language of all kinds had been peremptorily forbidden.'[2]

PHILIP II.
The Bodleian portrait.

[1] Froude. *History of England*. xii. 454–5. [2] Ibid.

On July 19 the beacons blazing from hill to hill announced along the English coast that the Spanish fleet was at hand. It came just in time; the frugal Queen Elizabeth had cut supplies too fine; there was only provision for one week in the English fleet; the supplies of powder and shot, however, proved to be adequate even for the fierce and continuous fighting which was to come. On July 20 the Spanish ships,



From Carleton, *A Thankfull Remembrance*, 1624.

in crescent formation, sailed into the Channel, on the way to receive Parma's army in the Low Countries. As they passed slowly along with the light breeze that was blowing, the English ships stood out from Plymouth and followed in their wake, just out of shot of cannon.

At dawn on July 21 the English were close by, and the Spaniards expected an action to take place; but it was not such as they looked for. The English ships, it was found, could sail twice as fast, and manœuvre twice as quickly; while their cannon could also be fired and reloaded four times

to every single discharge of the Spanish heavy artillery. The Admiral's flagship, *The Ark Royal*, and three others sailed across the track of the Armada, and raked it with three broadsides. A running fight ensued, lasting some hours. The Spanish ships, being to leeward of the English, heeled over, and the decks were tilted, so that their broadsides fired

A GALLEON.

high, and passed over the low English ships. It was a hard fighting but sorely harassed Armada that sailed up the Channel.

The next two days there were intermittent encounters, the Spaniards vainly attempting to come to close quarters with the English, who were short of powder. By Friday, July 26, the fleets were almost clear of the Channel. The Spaniards bore towards Calais, while Lord Howard ran his ships up to Dover, to replenish his powder stocks.

The Armada was sorely battered, and had lost two of its finest ships. Yet by sheer weight and numbers, coupled with the determination shown by its officers and men, it had made its way to Calais roads, and might soon reach Antwerp, where Parma's army was awaiting it. On the night of July 28, however, the English captains tried a daring plan, which, being favoured by the weather, proved a brilliant success.

A GALLEY. From Furttenbach's *Architectura Navalis*, 1629.

Eight of the smaller and less useful vessels of the English fleet, filled with anything that would burn, under a cloudy sky, and with a westward wind, with daring seamen on board, sailed into Calais roads. The sail-ropes were then tied, the helms lashed, and left. The crews made off in small boats. Suddenly, in the darkness of the night, the Spaniards became aware of the terrible blazing ships, sailing down upon them like demons of destruction. The ships of the Armada slipped their cables, and stood out again to sea, not in battle order, but in great confusion, and at dawn found the nimble English

ships ready to harass them again. They had had no time to refit.

The action off Gravelines (July 29). Spread out upon the open sea off Gravelines, the Armada (it had lost its greatest galleon coming out of Calais roads) was brought to bay by the English ships. Drake's squadron, never resting, gave the Spaniards no leisure to array themselves; he approached to within almost a hundred yards of the enemy, so as to be sure of his mark, and poured in shot after shot. The English losses were wonderfully light, owing to the disorganization that was now apparent among the harassed Spanish crews. The remaining three galleons sank; three fine ships fell away, drifting helplessly before the westerly wind to the Flemish coast. The Armada had now little powder left. The remaining ships were becoming scenes of indescribable horror, shambles where the ruined corpses and fragments of brave men lay weltering on the decks. The Spaniards had come to conquer England, but, although they fought with the utmost courage, were being driven off in a tempest of bloodshed. At the end of the day (July 29), the Admiral, Medina Sidonia, gave up the whole design; hopeless of ever taking off Parma's men, still more hopeless of landing them in England, he resolved to make for Spain, with whatever portion of his great fleet he could save. The wind did not favour a return by the western route, and, moreover, the Armada was in no condition to try again the narrow battle-ground of the Channel. So Sidonia gave the signal to hoist sail, stand out to the North Sea, and make for Spain by the northern way round Scotland. Lord Howard and Drake clung to them as long as they could, scarcely believing that the Spaniards were flying, and always hoping they would turn and offer battle. Wounded and lame, the Armada toiled on, ships occasionally falling away and sinking, the rest casting overboard their horses and mules, to save the water that was now so scarce. But the English ships were not provisioned for a voyage, and off the coast of Norfolk the weather grew

had and scattered them. Off Newcastle Howard and Drake had to go back to the Thames for stores, but the gale completed their work and shattered the Armada. When the gale began, there were still afloat 119 out of the 130 ships which had left Spain less than a fortnight before; but only 52 leaking vessels crawled back to Spanish ports after the terrible journey round the Orkneys and the West of Ireland.

'When the Spanish Armada rode upon our seas to the terror of all Europe, with so much noise and so much assurance of success; it took not the least fisher boat, nor burnt the least cottage, nor so much as touched upon our coast: but being routed in an engagement, was dispersed by a miserable flight, and with frequent storms; and so left England and her sea coasts in an unmoved and undisturbed Peace.'[1]

The last expeditions against Spain. The defeat of the Great Armada not merely saved England from Spain. It gave the English the command of the Channel, and so cut the communication by sea between Spain and her armies in the Netherlands. The Dutch had to continue the struggle for twenty years; but the fighting was desultory and there was no longer any danger that Spain would subdue them. The Dutch themselves became strong upon the sea, and gradually built up a great colonial empire for themselves. Englishmen, too, took more than ever to the sea, to plant a great empire in the West, and from this time our maritime power has steadily increased. The English Government retaliated on Spain, for the sending of the Armada, by dispatching a regular invading force against that country. Fifteen thousand men with 130 ships, commanded by Drake as admiral and Sir John Norris as general, left Plymouth in April, 1589. The troops were landed at Corunna, and captured and sacked 'the lower town'. Embarking again, and sailing farther down the coast, they put to shore again at Peniche, intending to march to Lisbon, in order to encourage a national move-

[1] Bacon's *Character of Queen Elizabeth.*

ment among the Portuguese against their Spanish masters Lisbon was too strongly held, however, and the expeditionary force, after an exciting march through the country, took to the ships again at Cascaes and sailed back to Plymouth, where it arrived on July 2. In 1591 another expedition, this time purely naval, set forth to intercept the Spanish treasure-ships which came from South America. They were to be met off the Azores; but when the English squadron, numbering 16 ships, under Lord Thomas Howard, were lying off the island of Flores, a pinnace brought news of a Spanish fleet of 53 sail coming against him. So he weighed anchor and set off, judging that his men and ships were in no condition to meet the Spanish fleet. But the Vice-Admiral, Richard Grenville, in the *Revenge* (500 tons), a man of fierce and intractable nature, refused to leave at the same time (August 31). That evening he found himself cut off by the 53 ships of Spain, and at once resolved to fight his way through. But the great Spanish ships, towering above the *Revenge* with their huge spreading sails, took the wind away from it, and the English ship lay becalmed among its adversaries. The fight that ensued has been narrated in noble prose by Walter Raleigh, who was Grenville's cousin, and by Tennyson in perhaps the finest battle-poem in the English language. In the end the *Revenge* was captured, and Grenville died of his wounds on board the Spanish flagship, the *San Pablo*.

It was in August 1595 that Drake set forth on his last voyage. For the two previous years he had been member of Parliament for Plymouth. The expedition which he led in 1595 consisted of 27 sail, with Sir John Hawkins as vice-admiral. From the first it had no success. It failed in an attempt on Grand Canary, and again at Porto Rico. Then it made for the Spanish mainland and burnt Nombre de Dios. But when a land march was attempted to the town of Panama, the Spaniards were found to be in too great force. Sir John Hawkins had died off Porto Rico. It was now Drake's time

to meet his end. He died off Porto Bello, in his ship the *Defiance*, and his body was put in a leaden coffin and sunk in the sea (Jan. 27, 1596).

> The waves became his winding-sheet; the waters were his tomb.[1]

Ireland. The English settlement of Ireland had made considerable progress since the days of Henry II and Strongbow, but even in Elizabeth's time Ireland was still a foreign country and the scene of war. The land directly governed by the English 'Deputy' stretched from the neighbourhood of Dundalk on the north to below Dublin on the south, and extended for 30–40 miles inland. The rest of Ireland was indirectly under the English Government, but was chiefly left to the great Irish or Anglo-Irish (often called Anglo-Norman) families, who were supposed to be in the English interest. These were the Fitzgeralds, of whom the elder branch (the Earls of Kildare) were in Leinster, and the younger branch (the Earls of Desmond) were in Munster. The native Irish family of O'Neil was very strong in Ulster. The Butlers (Earls of Ormonde) were a great family in the country between the Kildare and the Desmond Fitzgeralds; the Burkes, Earls of Clanricarde, were in Connaught. The Reformation, which Henry VIII and Edward VI had tried to enforce in Ireland, at first made some headway, but was set back in Mary's reign. Under Elizabeth, the Irish, except among the English settlers, were completely recovered for the Papacy by the labour of the Jesuits.

At the same time, under Elizabeth, there was a great danger, not merely that Ireland should be entirely lost to the Protestant religion, but that it should become a Spanish province, or an Irish state under the protection of Spain. Between 1558 and 1567 Shane O'Neil, the second Earl of Tyrone, maintained a semi-independent position in the north-east of Ireland, and actually invaded the Pale, but was

[1] Anonymous, from the *Worthies of Devon*, quoted in article by Laughton in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (s. v. 'Drake').

defeated before the town of Dundalk. He was a man of ability and determination, but violent, unscrupulous, and blood-thirsty. In 1567 he was murdered by the Mac Donnells, with whom he was at feud.

Shane's death was followed by a very serious rebellion on the part of the Munster Fitz Geralds. In 1579 Pope

Gregory XIII called upon the Irish to rise against the heretic Queen Elizabeth, and the Earl of Desmond rose with all his men. The war against him was conducted by Arthur Grey, fourteenth Baron Grey de Wilton, Lord Deputy of Ireland. With him was the poet, Edmund Spenser, as private secretary, and Walter Raleigh as a captain of infantry. In 1580 a force of 600–700 Spanish and Italian soldiers were landed at Smerwick on the south-west, in the heart of the Geraldine country; here they fortified themselves, but were besieged by Lord Grey, and blockaded towards the sea by

an English squadron. On November 9 they surrendered and, with the exception of the officers who were ransomed, were all put to death. At this time Spain and England were not at war, and the soldiers at Smerwick, although sent with the collusion of the Spanish authorities, were in the eye of the law merely pirates. The war against the Irish, which was fought as a war of extermination, with fire and sword, went on for three years more till Gerald Fitz Gerald, the Earl who had rebelled and submitted so many times, was caught and killed (1583).

The last big rebellion in Elizabeth's time in Ireland was raised by Hugh O'Neil, third Earl of Tyrone, a nephew of Shane. He had been educated in England and had considerably more cultivation than the second Earl, and quite as much guile. He began his rebellion in 1594, was defeated, pardoned, and began again intriguing with Spain. Philip II sent an Armada to help him in 1596, but storms broke up this expedition before any fighting was done. In 1598 Sir Henry Bagnal, who was Marshal of the Queen's forces in Ireland, was defeated and slain on the Blackwater by Hugh O'Neil. The English rule in Ireland seemed almost at an end. In 1599 the Earl of Essex was sent as Deputy by Queen Elizabeth to carry on the war, but he preferred to negotiate a truce with the O'Neil. Returning to England as a disappointed man, he became involved in a plot to displace by force the present councillors of the Queen, and in 1601 he was executed. In Ireland matters would have gone from bad to worse but for the energy of one of Essex's friends, whom the Queen sent to succeed him as Lord Deputy. This was Charles Blount, eighth Baron Mountjoy (later made Earl of Devonshire), who had fought in the wars in the Netherlands, and against the Armada. Mountjoy, receiving adequate forces from England, put a garrison in all the chief towns. A second Spanish expeditionary force, which landed at Kinsale (1601), was blockaded and captured. Everywhere else the rebels were either defeated or starved out, for Mountjoy's garrisons swept the country around. In some districts desperate people

are said to have resorted to cannibalism. By the end of Elizabeth's reign the rebellion was at an end. Hugh O'Neil died in exile at Rome in 1608.

Under Elizabeth Ireland cannot be said to have prospered, although a great start was made towards an intellectual revival by the foundation of Trinity College at Dublin, in 1590. The rebellions were crushed without pity, and much of the country was ruined. This work of destruction, however, never had to be done again on a great scale. Although there were two terrible wars in Ireland in the next century, the country advanced in population and in material prosperity under the Stuarts, particularly in the north, where the plantation of Ulster by Scots (1608–11) made a new land. The 'plantation policy' was begun by Mary (1557) with the 'shiring' of Queen's County and King's County. In 1580, the land confiscated in the Desmond rebellion was offered to English gentry, and especially to soldiers, who were to make estates and farms in Munster. Among others who accepted the offer was Edmund Spenser, who took land round Kilcolman Castle (near Cork), where he lived, at intervals, from 1588 to 1598, when the castle was burned during the rebellion of Hugh O'Neil. At Kilcolman Spenser wrote *The Faerie Queene* and also an interesting but depressing *View of the Present State of Ireland.* A more successful colonist was Walter Raleigh, who acquired an estate at Youghal, and introduced the potato-plant there. In Spenser's eyes, the regeneration of Ireland was still far off, and he sometimes wondered whether 'Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time of her reformation, or that he reserveth her in this unquiet state still, for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England' (*View of the Present State of Ireland*).

Religious troubles. In the last half of Elizabeth's reign the attitude of the Queen's Government and of the ecclesiastical authorities became stricter than it had been. Elizabeth's desire for religious unity was stronger than ever, but there were growing up within the Church of England itself opinions

which were at variance with her views and with those of her bishops. There were a number of people who objected to the use of vestments as enjoined in the Book of Common Prayer, which had the authority behind it of the Act of Uniformity of 1559. Further, certain of the clergy had taken to holding private gatherings, where they discussed the Scriptures and to which they admitted laymen as hearers. These meetings, called *prophesyings*, became a kind of religious services, but not according to the way laid down in the Book of Common Prayer.

'In many of our archdeaconries we have an exercise lately begun, which for the most part is called a prophecy or conference, and enacted only for the examination or trial of the diligence of the clergy in their study of holy scriptures. Howbeit such is the thirsty desire of the people in these days to hear the word of God, that they also have, as it were, with zealous violence intruded themselves among them (but as hearers only), to come by more knowledge through their presence at the same . . . and as it is used in some places weekly, in others once in fourteen days, in divers monthly and elsewhere twice a year, so it is a notable spur unto all ministers thereby to apply their books, which otherwise (as in times past) would give themselves to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tippling at the ale-house, shooting of matches and other such-like vanities' (W. Harrison, *Description of England*, 1577).

In 1576 Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of York, was translated by the influence of Lord Burghley (who believed in toleration) to the see of Canterbury, and for a time the prophesyings were allowed to continue. Grindal took great care that they should be conducted soberly and in accordance with Church doctrine. Queen Elizabeth, however, was greatly afraid lest the prophesyings should make schism inside her ecclesiastical system; and by an unparalleled exercise of ecclesiastical authority she procured the 'sequestration' of Grindal in 1577, so that he could fulfil none of the duties of his office. On Grindal's death in 1583, John Whitgift, Bishop of Worcester, was made Archbishop. He revived the Court

of High Commission to inquire into and prosecute offences against the ecclesiastical laws of the country. By this time a fairly large number of people, both clergy and laity, had grown quite dissatisfied with the English Church system; some wished to have the Church governed by presbyteries (or councils) rather than by bishops; others, followers of Robert Browne, wished each congregation to be quite independent. Neither the Presbyterians nor the Independents received any toleration from Whitgift, and Burghley was constrained in 1584 to write to him:

'I favour no sensual and wilful recusants. But I conclude that, according to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savouring of the Romish inquisition, and is rather a device to seek for offendors than reform any.'

Robert Browne was a graduate of Cambridge (Corpus Christi College), like nearly all the leading Puritans of that time. Thomas Cartwright, the chief of the Presbyterian nonconformists, was a Cambridge man too (St. John's College). Archbishop Grindal himself came from Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. Browne and Cartwright suffered exile. When Parliament tried to debate ecclesiastical questions or to criticize the Queen's policy regarding the Church, it received the severest snubs, as in 1593, when she sent to the Speaker a message which he delivered thus to the House of Commons: 'it was not meant that we should meddle with matters of state, or in causes ecclesiastical (for so her Majesty termed them). . . . her Majesty's present charge and express commandment is *that no bills touching matters of state, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited.*'

Resentment against Elizabeth's system of episcopal church government was increased by the tracts of 'Martin Marprelate', written between 1589 and 1592 by Puritan ministers who had been deprived of their livings.

Parliamentary Opposition. Yet people submitted to the old Queen's high-handed dealings. Indeed, she always knew just how far she could go. In the last ten years of her reign there were great grumblings against the grant to various

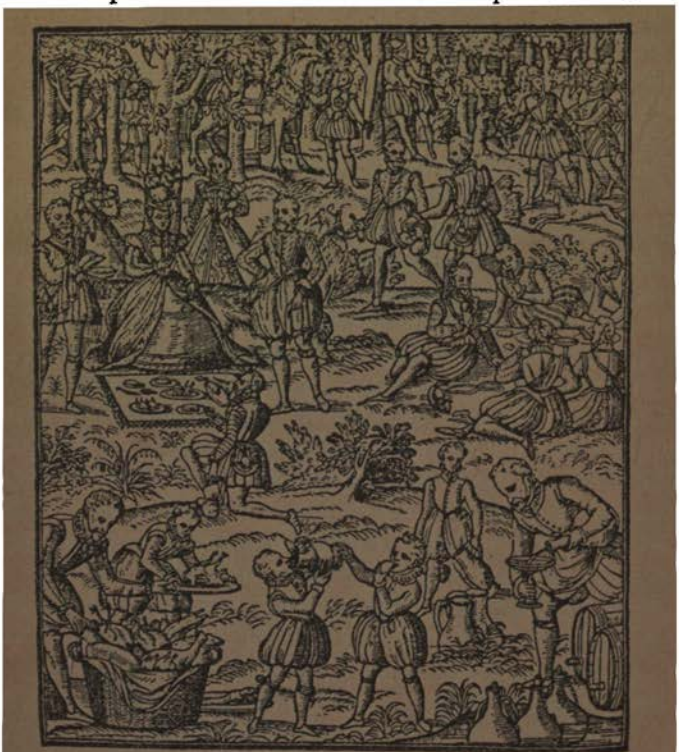
people—courtiers, generally, like Raleigh—of the sole right to trade in salt, or leather, or gold wire, and so forth. When the Parliament of 1597 tried to stop these monopolies, the Queen sent the Lord Keeper to tell the Commons that her prerogative was 'the choicest flower in her garden and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem'. And she added, she would settle the question of monopolies herself. In 1601, however, the murmurs grew stronger, and Parliament again proposed to abolish the patents. This time Elizabeth saw she must yield freely or by compulsion. She preferred to do it freely and with a charming grace. Calling the Speaker to her, she spoke her heartfelt grief at discovering the abuses of monopolies. 'I cannot express unto you', the Speaker afterwards told the House, 'the apparent indignation of her Majesty towards these abuses.' And she intimated that she would herself at once revoke all grants which could be proved injurious to the country. Thus 'this ferment was suddenly appeased by one of those well-timed concessions by which skilful princes spare themselves the mortification of being overcome'.[1] This was one of her last public actions. The same parliament which criticized monopolies in 1601 passed the great consolidating act regarding Poor Relief. All maimed soldiers, and people too old or too sick to work, were to be provided for in hospitals, and all 'valiant beggars' were to be forced to work.

The end of the reign. Queen Elizabeth died in March 1603. She had ruled in a period of supreme danger and supreme development, when England produced the greatest men of the time, on the sea and in the world of letters. Her character has been described by Sir Francis Bacon, whose father was one of her confidential ministers:

'It is worthy of our observation to consider in what sort of times she flourished. For some ages are so barbarous and ignorant that men have been governed with as much ease as a shepherd manages and drives his sheep. But this princess

[1] Hallam, *The Constitutional History of England*, chap. v.

lived in a most learned and polite age; wherein it required great parts and a high degree of virtue to be excellent. A female government is likewise very often eclipsed by marriage and all the praises and conduct is bestowed upon the husband,



QUEEN ELIZABETH PICNICKING OUT HUNTING.
From Turbervile's *Book of Hunting*.

whilst those who live unmarried have no sharers or partners in their glory. And in this was our queen to be the more commended in that her throne stood upon no other basis than what she herself had erected. She had no brother, no uncle, nor any other of the royal family to partake of her cares or share in her government. But even those whom she did advance to any places of trust were so managed and kept in

such awe that each of them was solicitous how to please her, so that she was always mistress of herself.' [1]

In the affection of her subjects, and the good fortune of her reign, she may be compared with the greatest rulers of any age.

'To all this we may add her outward embellishments; she was tall of stature, well shaped in her body, and had in her face the mixture of sweetness and majesty; and always enjoyed a very sound health. Beside all this she was strong and vigorous to the very last, never experienced the changes of fortune nor the miseries of old age, and at last by an easy and gentle death she obtained that *Euthanasia* which Augustus Caesar was used so passionately to desire.'

Elizabeth was religious and devout, and her religion prevented the vanity which historians have too freely imputed to her:

'In Religion, Queen Elizabeth was pious and moderate, constant and steady, and a professed enemy to novelty. As for her piety, though the chief strokes of it appeared in the actions and affairs of State, yet some signs of it were to be seen in the course of her life, and her ordinary conversation. She was seldom absent from Divine Service, either in her public or private chapel. She employed much of her time in reading the Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, especially of St. Augustine. She composed some prayers herself upon some occasions, and for some extraordinary purpose. Whenever she mentioned the name of God, even in ordinary discourse; she generally added the title of Creator; and shewed some sort of humility and reverence in her looks and countenance, which I myself have often observed. As for that which some have reported, that she was so far from thinking of her mortality that she could not endure to be told of old age or death, it is absolutely false: since she herself, several years before her death, would frequently with much facetiousness call herself the old woman: and would often discourse about the inscription she had a mind should be upon her tomb: she gave out that she was no lover of glory and pompous titles but only desired her memory might be recorded in a line or two which should very briefly express her name, her virginity, the time of her reign, the reformation of religion and her preservation of the Peace.' [2]

[1] Bacon's *Character of Queen Elizabeth.* [2] Ibid.

Although she died childless, the last of her race, she was able to leave an undisturbed kingdom to the new dynasty of the Stuarts, who, though coming from an alien country, were quietly accepted by the English as their rulers.

Shakespeare. The last ten years of Elizabeth's reign—distinguished as it is throughout for literary brilliancy—are particularly splendid through the great plays of Shakespeare. William Shakespeare was the son of a corn-dealer in Stratford-on-Avon; the house where he was born is still to be seen in that beautiful old English town. He was educated at the

SHAKESPEARE'S SIGNATURE.

Stratford Grammar School, entered his father's business, married, at the age of 18, Anne Hathaway, and in 1586, being now 22 years old, tramped to London, leaving his wife and family behind him. At London he was drawn towards the career of an actor, and entered the company which performed under the patronage of the Earl of Leicester. In this profession he distinguished himself, and though he is known now as the world's greatest dramatist, he was best known in Elizabeth's reign as a fine actor. When the Globe Theatre was built in Southwark, in 1599, Shakespeare was able to acquire a share in it; and though the plays which he was writing only brought him in £10–£15 each, he was soon getting from his share in the theatre and other investments about £600 a year. He was able to buy a good house in his native place, Stratford; to this house he went on visits, and there his wife and family lived. It was not till 1611 that he settled finally at Stratford, where he interested himself in local affairs till his death in 1616.

With *Love's Labour's Lost* Shakespeare's period of play-

writing began in 1591, three years after the victory over the Spanish Armada. Then came the Italian plays, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the *Comedy of Errors*, *Romeo and Juliet*. *Richard II*, perhaps his finest historical play, appeared in 1594, *Richard III* having been written in the previous year. The *Merchant of Venice* and *King John* were being written about the same time; and the beautiful and mysterious 'Sonnets', though

THE GLOBE THEATRE.

not published till James I's reign, were known in this period to Shakespeare's friends. In *Henry IV* (1597) the part of Falstaff so pleased the Queen that she called on him to draw the stout knight again, this time in love. Shakespeare responded with the *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Before Queen Elizabeth died he had added *Henry V* to his great series of English historical plays, and had begun on ancient history with *Julius Caesar*; finally in 1602 came *Hamlet*, in which Richard Burbage, the greatest of the Elizabethan actors, took the leading part, while Shakespeare himself acted the Ghost.

Other plays (notably *Othello, King Lear, Antony and Cleopatra, The Tempest*) followed in King James's reign, but the most productive period was under Elizabeth.

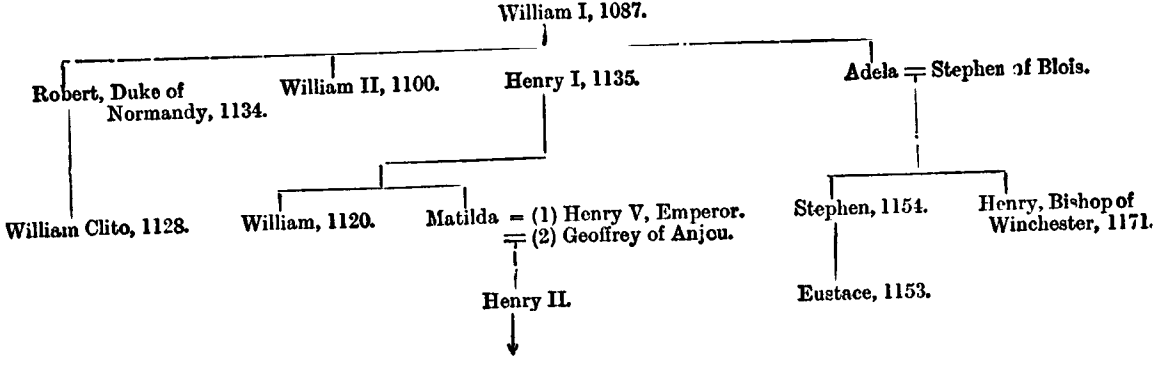
Shakespeare in *Hamlet* says that players are 'the abstract and brief chronicles of the time'. But *his* players are something more. They show the glory of the Elizabethan Age, its adventurousness, its curiosity, its patriotism, its wholesome outdoor life. Shakespeare is even more, however, than a national dramatist: he is a citizen of the world, in whom all nations can recognize their common human nature, and share in the elevation of his feelings, and the profundity of his thoughts.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

(Dates of death only are given)

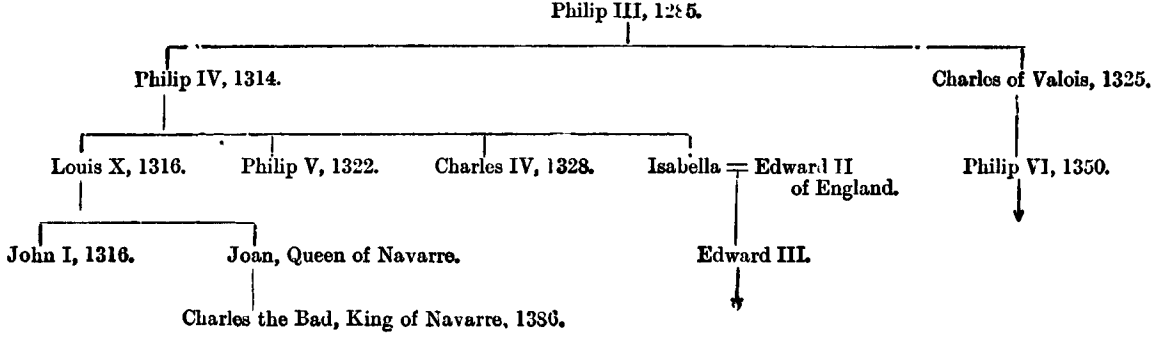
1

THE NORMAN KINGS

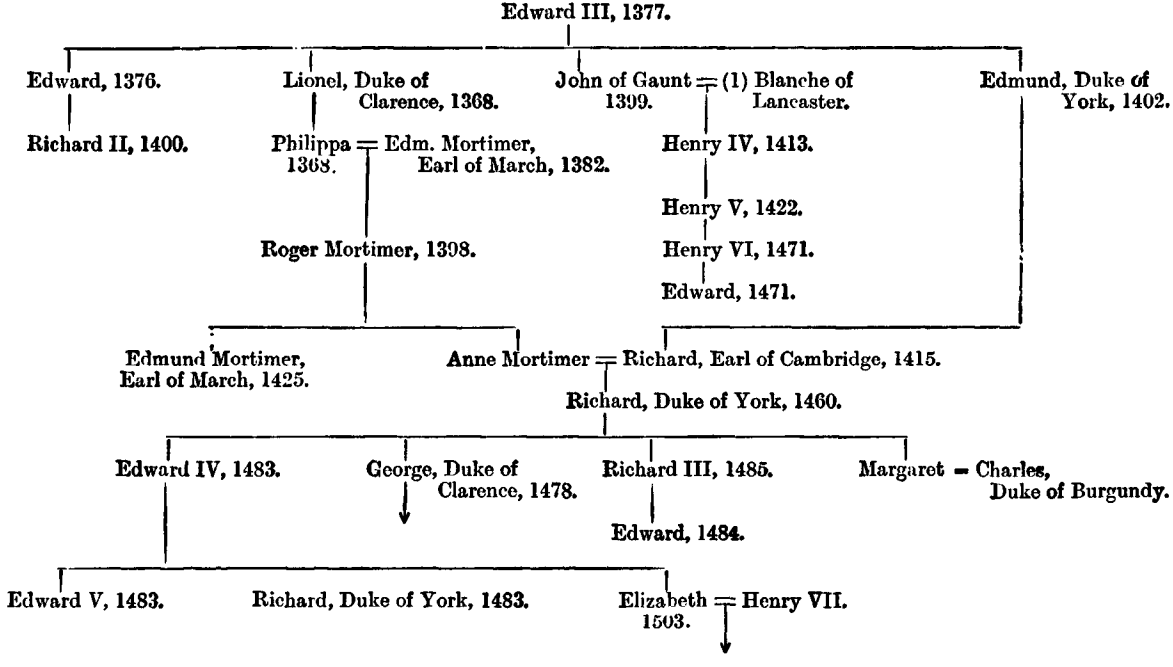


2

THE FRENCH CLAIM OF EDWARD III

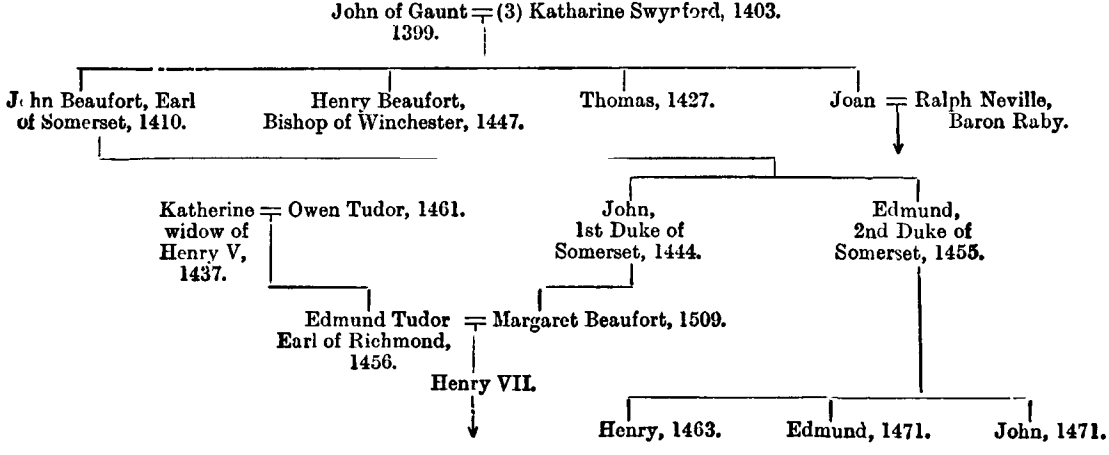


THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK

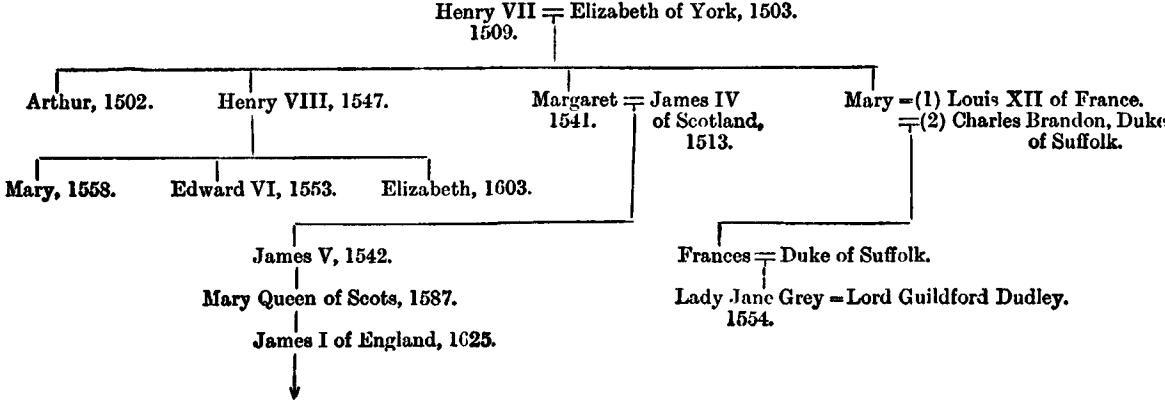


4

THE HOUSE OF BEAUFORT


John of Gaunt = (3) Katharine Swyrford, 1403.
1399.
John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, 1410.
Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, 1447.
Thomas, 1427.
Joan = Ralph Neville, Baron Raby.
Katherine widow of Henry V, 1437. = Owen Tudor, 1461.
John, 1st Duke of Somerset, 1444.
Edmund, 2nd Duke of Somerset, 1455.
Edmund Tudor Earl of Richmond, 1456. = Margaret Beaufort, 1509.
Henry VII.
Henry, 1463.
Edmund, 1471.
John, 1471.

THE DESCENDANTS OF HENRY VII



HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

PART II. FROM 1603 TO 1815

CHAPTER XVII

THE GENESIS OF THE GREAT REBELLION

The greatness of the Stuart Period. In the sixteenth century had occurred the Reformation, and, a little later, the wonderful efflorescence of English letters with Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe, Sidney, and others who are only lesser lights because the first stars were so bright. Great, however, as was the sixteenth century, the seventeenth seemed greater still. Milton, Dryden, Defoe, and Swift belong to this age, although the two last belong to the eighteenth century also; the majestic prose of Clarendon, the haunting allegories of Bunyan, the bold speculations of Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke, the golden eloquence of Jeremy Taylor, the mathematical genius of Isaac Newton, mark this century as one of the greatest in the history of thought and letters.

Socially, it was an age of quiet and effective development. Land was carefully farmed, fens were drained; the towns, without becoming markedly industrial, flourished with many useful handicrafts, carried on by master-workers in their homes. Overseas colonies were established—New England, Virginia, Carolina—and the foundations were laid of the British Empire in India.[1]

The striking political events of the period, the Rebellion and Revolution, have taken men's minds away from contemplating the brilliant and yet solid achievements of this great age. Yet the momentous results of the Rebellion and

[1] For the seventeenth-century colonies in America, see p. 402; and for the Indian settlements, see p. 620.

Revolution must be remembered too—the liberty of speech and act, the constitutional form of government, which have been models to the whole world.

The reign of James I. The Great Rebellion, which began in 1642, was, as it were, brewing and germinating all through the reigns of James I and his son. There were three causes which contributed towards it. The first was the dependence of James upon favourites, a tradition which marred the early years of the reign of Charles I. The second cause was the arbitrary and autocratic methods of Charles in obtaining money from the country; the third was the religious policy of the first two Stuarts.

JAMES I

A favourite is a person who owes his high position in the councils of the State not to his ability or experience in affairs, not to his services to the public, but solely to the personal regard of the monarch. Such a position causes despair to the regular officials, whose advice is disregarded, and it gives opportunity to infinite intrigue and corruption on the part of those who, outside the regular official avenues of promotion, seek to advance their interests through the influence of the favourite.

For the first nine years of the reign the country was fairly satisfied under the administration of King James and his Secretary, Cecil, who became Earl of Salisbury, a son of Queen Elizabeth's wise counsellor, Lord Burghley. Cecil had some of the characteristics which English statesmen were to display in the eighteenth century. He belonged to the large class of landed gentry, which was becoming the governing class of England. Born to affluence, but not to great riches, educated for politics, administration, statesmanship, he took to the career of governing, as the natural profession for him to follow.

Cecil died in 1612, and James, who had always tended to trust in favourites, gave his whole confidence to Robert Carr, a Scottish gentleman whom he made Earl of Somerset. Carr's public career ended with a scandal; he and his wife were found (in 1616) to have been parties to the poisoning of a friend who stood in their way.

The next favourite was George Villiers, the handsome son of a Leicestershire squire, who had died and left him nothing wherewith to make his fortune but good manners and good looks. The mother obtained an introduction for her son at Court, and the King, who was attracted by the very charming young man, soon made his fortune. In 1619 Villiers became Lord High Admiral of England, and was brought into the innermost counsels of the King. He obtained from James the title of Duke of Buckingham, together with pensions and estates.

The Thirty Years' War. James's daughter, the beloved Princess Elizabeth, had in 1612 married a Protestant German Prince, Frederick V, 'Elector Palatine' of the Rhine. Splendid as his fortune was, brilliant as was his Court at Heidelberg, he aspired to be something greater. In 1619, the Protestant nobles of Bohemia, wishing to get rid of their Habsburg rulers, offered the crown to Frederick. He accepted it, and ruled as King at Prague for one short winter. At the battle of the White Hill, Prague, 1620, he was routed by the Catholic princes of Germany. He lost Bohemia, and within two more years had lost the Palatinate too, which was occupied by a Spanish army. Elizabeth and her family found a home among the Dutch. Thus began the fearful Thirty Years' War. It was a religious struggle, involving all the German States, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, and finally France; but Great Britain had no direct share in it.

The Spanish Marriage Project. King James was a man of great learning, of high intellectual powers, and with a genuine desire to promote peace. To this end all his foreign policy was directed. He refused to engage actively in the Thirty

FRONT OF BRAMSHILL HOUSE, HAMPSHIRE.

Built between 1607 and 1612. The Gothic form still underlies the wealth of classic ornament.

Years' War. He hoped by making a marriage between his son Charles and the 'Infanta' (the eldest daughter of the King of Spain), to detach Spain from the Austrian alliance, and to obtain, with the help of Spanish influence, the restoration of the Palatinate to Frederick.

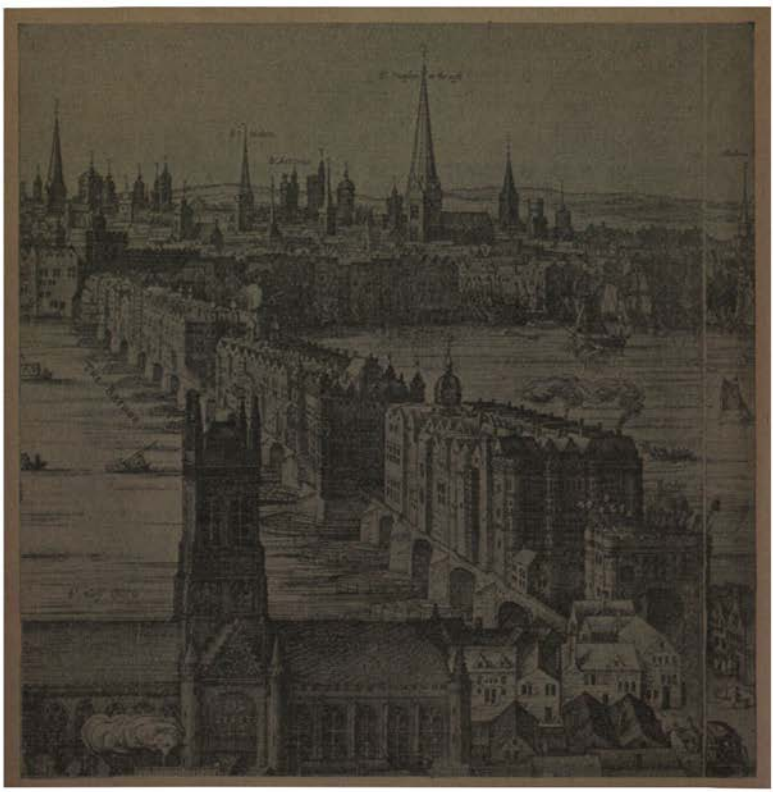
The projected marriage came to nothing, although in 1623 Prince Charles and Buckingham visited Madrid, to woo the Infanta and to arrange the terms of the marriage. The ridiculous adventure only had the effect of making the British public fear, not without some justification, that James's Government was ready to suspend the laws against Roman Catholics in England. Spain, in English eyes, was still the fanatic power, ever menacing the Reformation settlement, and consequently the liberties of England. Against any concessions to the Catholics the Puritans set their face, and opposition to the Crown at once became strong.

Parliamentary History. James reigned for twenty-two years, and in that period held four Parliaments. Each Parliament (except the second) had several sessions, which lasted for only a few months at a time. The first Parliament lasted in all from 1604 to 1611; the second (known as the 'Addled Parliament') existed for only seven weeks; the third was from 1621 to 1622; the last was in 1624. Between the second and the third there was an interval of seven years—to be compared with Charles I's eleven years of 'Personal Government'—when no Parliament sat at all.

In every session James was involved in friction with the House of Commons, or with the House of Lords, or with both. The questions over which the King and Legislature quarrelled were Religion, Money, and Foreign Policy.

The first question was Religion. In the later part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, Puritanism had been growing very strong; and when James came to the throne the Puritans were anxiously expecting some relaxation of the restrictions which they had endured under the old Queen. On his leisurely journey from Scotland to England in 1603, James had been

presented with a petition signed by 825 Puritan ministers (not by a thousand, though it was called the *Millenary Petition*) asking for mitigation of the laws against all who refused to conform to the established system of public worship.



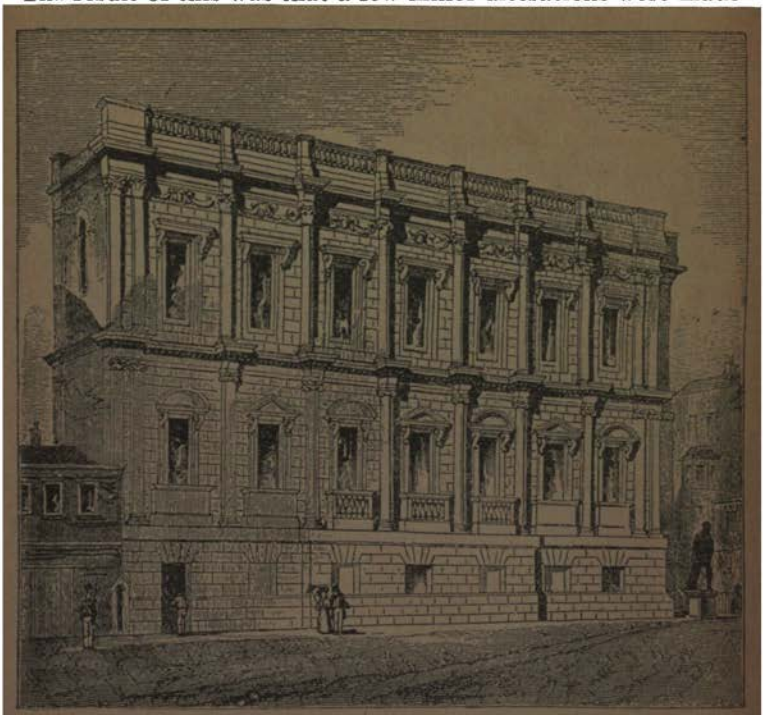
LONDON BRIDGE, 1616

James was unfavourable to the request, so that it may be said, in the words of the historian Henry Hallam, 'his popularity had vanished away before his arrival in London'.[1]

Yet James did not immediately shut the door to all chance

[1] Hallam, *The Constitutional History of England*, vol. i, ch. vi.

of compromise. In 1604, at his pleasant river-side palace of Hampton Court, he held a Conference attended by eighteen prominent Church dignitaries and four Puritan clergymen. The result of this was that a few minor alterations were made



WHITEHALL PALACE, THE BANQUETING HALL
Designed by Inigo Jones, 1622, and marking a definite break with Gothic tradition.

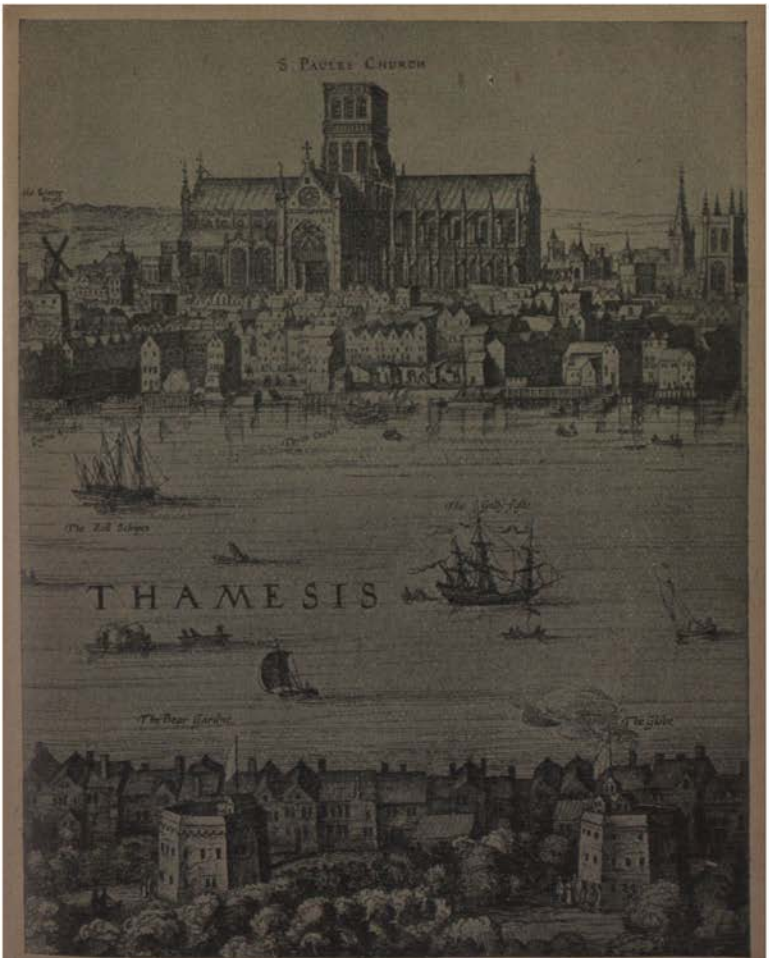
in the Church service, but the Puritans were in no way satisfied; nor were they more pleased with James's remark (made during the Conference, at which he was present): 'I know what would become of my Supremacy, for *No Bishop, No King*'; still less did they like his concluding warning to all Puritans: 'I will make them conform themselves, or else I will harrie them out of the land.' In fact,

he could not have spoken more plainly: 'Presbytery', he said, 'agreeth with King as well as God with devil!' Far, indeed, from making concessions to the Presbyterian form of worship, he actually tried to weaken it even in Scotland, where it was the national Church; in 1612 he succeeded in getting the Scots Parliament to recognize the episcopal authority. The English people would have been more openly opposed to James's church policy, had not the Gunpowder Plot occurred to make them think that perhaps toleration was rather dangerous. The 'Guys' which English boys carry through the streets on the afternoon of November 5, serve to remind us that on that day in the year 1605, Guy Fawkes, an Englishman who had served in the Spanish Army, and Robert Catesby, the heir of a Warwickshire squire, just failed to blow up both King and Parliament.

Money, as well as religion, troubled James's relations with his first and second Parliaments. He increased the rates at which Tunnage and Poundage had to be paid, and he obtained a decision in the Court of Exchequer against the 'Turkey merchant' Bate who refused to pay them (1606). The Second or Addled Parliament was so angry with James's Impositions that it refused to pass any of his measures and was dissolved (1614).

In the third Parliament the dispute raged chiefly over Foreign Policy. Parliament wanted to see England pursuing a vigorous policy of intervention in the Thirty Years' War. James, on the other hand, rightly or wrongly, thought he would get his way with the Germans and Spaniards by negotiation. He arrogantly told the Commons that it was not their business even to discuss foreign policy, and he warned them particularly 'not to deal with our dearest son's match with the daughter of Spain'. The Commons replied with a Protestation that

'the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the King, state and defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, . . . are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in Parliament'.



OLD ST. PAUL'S, THE BEAR GARDEN, AND THE GLOBE THEATRE IN 1616

This Protestation was inscribed in the Journals of the House (December 18, 1621), but it will not be found there now, only a marginal entry stating: 'King James, in Council, with his own hand rent out this Protestation.'[1] Like nearly all the Parliaments of the first two Stuarts, the Parliament of 1621 was dissolved in heat by the King. One of the things it had done was to impeach the eminent judge, philosopher, scientist, historian, and essayist, Francis Bacon (Viscount St. Albans) of bribery. He was sentenced to imprisonment at the pleasure of the King, who released him after a few days spent in the Tower of London.

The fourth and last Parliament passed an important statute forbidding the granting of monopolies in trade or commerce to any individuals or to political or other corporations (1624); and it induced James to send an expeditionary force of 12,000 men, under the command of Count Ernest von Mansfeld, up the Rhine to drive the Spaniards out of the Palatinate. Mansfeld was an able mercenary soldier, but not the man to lead an English army; and besides, the men were ill equipped and their provisioning was shockingly neglected. They never reached the Palatinate; most of them perished helping the Dutch in the long siege of the Spanish garrison of Breda (1625).

It was therefore amid failure and gloom that James died on March 27. Yet some of the things which happened in his reign have come to a great fruition; in 1608 he had 'planted' Ulster with Scottish colonists; in 1607 he had authorized the expedition to Virginia, which began permanent settlement there (Jamestown); and in 1620 the 'Pilgrim Fathers' from the *Mayflower* landed at Cape Cod in Massachusetts, and began to make a *New England*.

Charles I. Charles was the sort of man who ought to have made a splendid king. When he succeeded to the throne he was only twenty-five years old. As a boy he had been

[1] See Prothero, *Statutes and Constitutional Documents* (Oxford, 1898), p. 313, n. 2.

sickly, yet he came, says Sir Philip Warwick, 'to have as firm and strong a body, as most persons I ever knew'. He had beautiful, strongly marked features, dark hair, which he wore long, in the style of a gentleman of that day; his mouth was firm, his eyes large, clear, and calm. He rode well, played tennis excellently (chiefly in the old court at Hampton Court), was always moderate in eating and drinking; 'fruit he would eat plentifully', but 'betwixt meals he never meddled with anything'.[1] In manner he was dignified, and he spoke slowly, with an air of serious thought. He would tolerate no loudness or impropriety in his Court, and he was extremely regular and devout in attending religious worship. Convinced of his own good intentions, he could never believe himself to be in the wrong; so that he was impatient of all opposition. When the Great Rebellion came he bore all the hardships of campaigning with an easy mind, and perfect health of body; when he came to die, he met his fate with splendid quiet courage. Yet this monarch, with so much good in him, became involved in intricacies, and at times seems to have entangled himself in deceptions and untruths; but this was long after his accession to the throne.

When he became King, Charles, as he had long learned to do, gave all his confidence to the Duke of Buckingham. Buckingham had been eager for the 'Spanish Marriage' project. Failing in this, he had arranged with King James that Charles should marry a French princess. The treaty was arranged, but James died (March 1625) before the marriage was completed. The lady chosen was Henrietta Maria, daughter of the great King Henry IV of France. She had something of the firmness of mind of her father, but lacked his tact and good nature. She was fond of her husband, yet proved his evil genius. As a Catholic, and as having great influence over her husband, she increased the

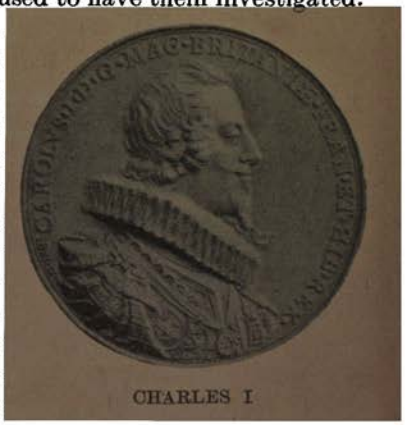
[1] *Memoirs of the Reign of King Charles I*, by Sir Philip Warwick (see *Characters of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. D. N. Smith (Oxford, 1918), p. 53).

impression in England that the Reformation Settlement was in danger.

The Île de Rhé. The vagaries of Buckingham's policy soon brought on war with France, in spite of the marriage of Henrietta Maria. The Huguenots were the Protestants of France, tolerated, after long civil wars, by the French Crown, and allowed to have a fortified city of their own, La Rochelle. Queen Elizabeth had given some support to the Huguenot rebellions both with men and money, and had helped them to make their peace. By 1627, however, trouble had again arisen with the French Crown. La Rochelle was being besieged. Buckingham took a naval and military expedition to help it in this year. He landed in the Île de Rhé, opposite the port of La Rochelle, but after over two months of hard fighting was forced to return, with a loss of over half his men. The expedition had been grossly mismanaged, the ships were badly equipped (one was said to have the same rigging as it had used when sailing against the Armada), the soldiers badly fed and not paid. Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth in August 1628 by a disappointed officer, John Felton, whose pay was about £80 in arrear, and who had been passed over for a captaincy. Buckingham deserved a better fate; though a poor statesman, and no general, he was a dashing soldier, and, in spite of his fine ways, shared all the hardships of a campaign with his men, sleeping like a common soldier on the marshy ground of the Île de Rhé, and exposing himself in the front of the fight with the utmost bravery. Charles loved him, and after Buckingham's death never gave his confidence to any one else.

The break-down of Parliamentary Government. Charles I held three Parliaments before he embarked on the policy of Personal Government (1629 to 1640) which brought him to the Great Rebellion. With each successive Parliament his relations became worse than ever. The income of the Crown was little more than in Queen Elizabeth's time, and yet all the public services, and the Court, had to be maintained on

a more liberal scale than under that very frugal queen. Moreover, the value of money had been falling ever since the middle of the sixteenth century, owing to the amount of silver which came from the mines of Peru and Mexico. The supply of the precious metal becoming greater, its purchasing power became less; so that, with rising expenses, the King had an income from taxes which was actually less than his predecessors had received. Parliament, however, would not vote more money, as long as Charles conducted all his affairs through Buckingham and refused to have them investigated.


CHARLES I

The Five Knights' Case. A real crisis, which might have given rise to the Great Rebellion even then, occurred in 1627. In order to raise the forces necessary for the expedition to the Île de Rhé, Charles had recruited men by 'press', that is, simply by seizing them and forcing them to serve. Money was also wanting, so Charles asked for a loan (which no one meant to give, and which the King could not repay), and he proceeded to collect the loan by force; those who refused to pay were fined before the 'Star Chamber'. The Star Chamber was the Privy Council, the regular administrative body of the Government, sitting as a law court. Five especially independent knights (Darnell, Corbet, Erle, Heveningham, and Edward Hampden) who refused to pay were put in prison. When they applied, as was their right by Common Law, to be charged with their offence and tried in a regular court, they were refused, and kept in prison without trial. The reason the judges gave for this decision was that the King 'by special command' could imprison any one 'without cause shown'. 'If no cause of the commitment be expressed, it is to be

presumed to be for matter of state, which we cannot take notice of.'[1]

Thus the 'Five Knights' remained in prison at the King's discretion. Very shortly afterwards, it is true, he set them free, but his point was gained: he had established a precedent for doing as he pleased with the bodies and property of his subjects.

The Petition of Right. When the third Parliament of Charles I met in 1628, it was determined to bring about at least the dismissal of all those who gave bad advice to the King. Under the British Constitution, the King himself cannot be considered ever to do wrong. It is therefore necessary for the country to have some control over his ministers. This is what is called 'Responsible Government'; the King can do no wrong, and cannot be called to account, but his ministers and advisers can; and this prevents autocratic arbitrary government. Charles, however, not merely (as was right) claimed to be himself free from criticism, but would allow nothing less than the same treatment for his advisers. So that the nation's hands were tied; it could neither control the King, nor in any way check the ministers and officials through whom he acted.

The Parliament met after the disastrous expedition to the Île de Rhé, but before the assassination of Buckingham. The House of Commons vigorously demanded an inquiry into the conduct of the expedition, and wished to 'impeach' Buckingham before the House of Lords. Charles would have no inquiry, though ships and men were lost and the good name of England besmirched. All this he did to shield the Duke. The House of Commons then brought forward a Bill, called the 'Petition of Right', and, after a long controversy, Charles assented to it. It declared the illegality of levying either loan or tax by compulsion without parliamentary authority; of imprisoning any English subject without due process under the law of the land; of billeting soldiers in private houses,

[1] Lord Chief Justice Hyde's Judgement on the Case of the Five Knights. See Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, p. 64.

and of the issue of commissions of martial law in time of peace. Charles's Government, in order to coerce people to give him money, had billeted soldiers in men's houses, so as to cause both great expense and very serious domestic trouble :

'And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm and to the great grievance and vexation of the people. . . .' [1]

This was to cease. At first Charles tried to satisfy the Commons with an ambiguous answer, 'The King willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm'. But Parliament would not take this for an answer, so at last he had to give assent in the regular form : *soit droit fait comme il est désiré.*

The second session (1629) of Charles's third Parliament was even more stormy than the first. The goods of a member named Rolle had been seized by the King's officers, because he had not paid Tunnage and Poundage, a tax which Parliament had not authorized. Sir John Eliot, one of the members for the county of Cornwall, wished to treat Rolle's imprisonment as a breach of the privileges of Parliament. John Pym, who had been one of the most active supporters of the Petition of Right, was in favour of making the subject a general question for the whole people. 'The liberties of this House', he said, 'are inferior to the liberties of this kingdom. To determine the privileges of this House is but a mean matter, and the main end is to establish possession of the subjects'—by which he meant the right of people to keep their own property as against arbitrary taxation by the King. Most of the members, however, took Eliot's view of the question, and excitement ran high in the House. The King adjourned Parliament in order to let passions cool.

[1] Petition of Right. Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.*

When the House assembled again, the subject of grievances against the King was at once renewed. On March 2 Charles sent another order for adjournment. When the Speaker, Sir Heneage Finch, rose to deliver it, two members of the opposition party, Denzil Holles and Benjamin Valentine, rushed forward and held him down in his chair, while Sir John Eliot read three resolutions against innovations in religion, the levy of Tunnage and Poundage, and against any one who should pay it. The doors were locked, and the resolutions carried amid a hubbub. When the doors were opened, and the members had gone to their homes, Charles dissolved Parliament. Eliot was imprisoned for his conduct, and died of consumption in 1632 in the Tower of London 'by the cruelty and harshness of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation' (Grand Remonstrance, article 15).

The Personal Government. Up till 1629 Charles had held three Parliaments. His experience of the last, however, had made him resolved to rule without any more in the future. There is no law of the Constitution which compels the sovereign to summon Parliament every year; it is only the necessity of providing for the annual expenses of the kingdom which makes the annual meeting of the Legislature, as a rule, inevitable. Charles, however, hoped by economy to make his ordinary income balance with the expenditure of the Crown, so that he should be independent of Parliament.

The financial resources of the King, which did not depend upon an annual grant, were chiefly the rents of the Crown lands, customs dues, feudal dues (fees for knighthood and so forth), and the fines levied in the law courts, particularly in the Star Chamber, a court composed of the King's councillors, which was chiefly used to fine men for contempt of the King's commands. Yet when everything was scraped together, there was still not enough to pay for the ordinary expenses of the country. The income was £618,000; the expenditure was £636,000. Another method had, therefore, to be devised: the Crown decided to levy Ship Money.

Ship Money. Taxation for the upkeep of the Navy, without parliamentary authority, had been levied on a fair number of occasions, especially during the Middle Ages. In time of imminent national peril, if the danger is too pressing to admit of delay and the summoning of Parliament, it is the right and duty of the Crown to levy money, and to make every use of the property or services of the people, necessary to secure the safety of the country. But this extraordinary power which the Crown, and under the Crown the whole Executive Government, has, to act without the ordinary legal procedure, must be exercised only during an emergency. When there is time and opportunity for using the ordinary legal process (for instance, the process of asking Parliament, or any other means provided by the common law), the Crown must not act simply on its own authority. Its 'discretionary power' can only be used in grave emergency, when the ordinary methods recognized by the Constitution are not sufficient.

In his action with regard to Ship Money, Charles and his advisers cannot be said to have acted with perfect honesty. The first writ for the levy of 'Ship Money' was issued in 1634, when England was at peace. Moreover, the writ was sent out on August 4, but the shipping, or the equivalent in money, which was asked from the ports, was not to be delivered till the 1st of March following. Parliament might have been summoned in the interval at least to ratify the action of the King. Ship Money was again demanded by Charles in 1635, this time not merely from ports, but from inland counties. It was, in fact, becoming a permanent tax, without any consent on the part of the tax-payers or their representatives. It is true that the Ship Money was all spent, honestly and usefully, on the Fleet. This does not excuse the manner in which it was levied. During the whole period of personal government (1629–40) Charles acted as though there was a pressing emergency, which did not admit of his consulting Parliament; an 'emergency' of eleven years' duration is impossible.

John Hampden. Both James and Charles used the law courts and the great authority of the English Bench to support their 'Prerogative', that is, the power of the Crown to act without parliamentary authority. Judges at that time only held their office at the pleasure of the Crown (not for life); and both James and Charles, by dismissing judges (for instance, Chief Justice Coke, dismissed in 1616) who did not agree with them, had managed to secure a Bench inclined to take

A HANGING. For the Costume of the Period

the most favourable view of the Crown's action. In order, therefore, to ensure that his financial resources should be completely independent of Parliament, Charles instituted a prosecution in the Court of Exchequer against John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire, of good family and ample means, of the highest character, and one of the most respected men in the country. He was a supreme type of the most powerful class in England, the class that was the greatest obstacle to royal autocracy—the country gentlemen.

If the Crown could win its case against such a man, with

the eyes of all England upon him, the law would be established completely in favour of personal government, and the King would be unfettered. The Court of Exchequer decided (1638), by seven judges out of twelve, that the levy of Ship Money from John Hampden's estates was legal. The King could raise such an impost during an emergency, and 'his Majesty is the sole judge both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided'.[1]

A PEDLER. For Costume. See also pp. 374–7 for the growth of Vagrancy

There was now no other course open to the English people but to submit to the King's autocracy, or to resist it by force. There was no redress to be obtained through the law courts; nor could the laws be amended by Parliament, because Charles would not summon it to meet. Thus the King, by cutting off every legal and constitutional means by which his people

[1] Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution* [Answer of the Judges], p. 109.

could change a situation felt, rightly or wrongly, by them to be intolerable, had made rebellion certain.

Archbishop Laud. Charles's adviser in all that had to do with the Church was William Laud, Bishop of London from 1628 to 1633, and after that Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud, who had been President of St. John's College, Oxford, was a well-educated man, but without wide knowledge or interests. He was sincerely religious, and desired to see all the people living in peace and unity. For this reason he deplored all sects and schisms in the Church, and laboured by all means to produce uniformity of worship throughout the land. The English, however, were an undisciplined people, disliking coercion of every kind, and especially in religious affairs, in which they believed the Reformation had given them complete freedom. Laud insisted that congregations should all observe the same procedure at the Holy Communion, that the Communion table should be placed at the east end of the chancel, and that every one should bow towards the table on entering the church. Fines were inflicted to promote uniformity, and the most determined opponents even suffered cruel mutilation, in the loss of one or even both ears. The old laws were on Laud's side, and as Parliament was not meeting there was again no lawful means of changing them.

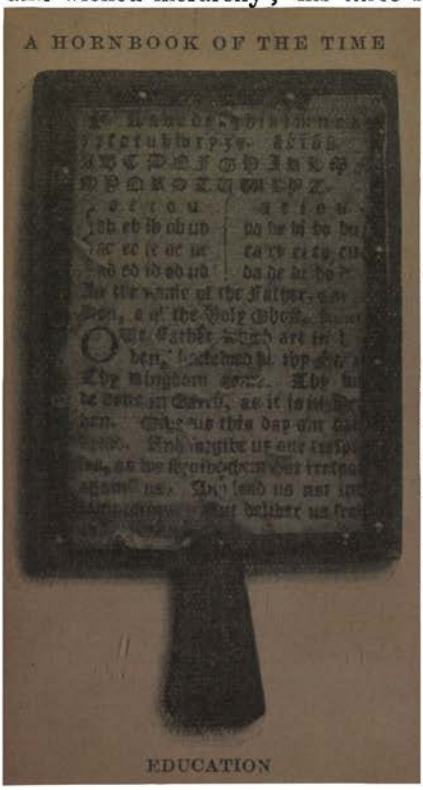
The Bishops' War. Hostilities actually broke out in connexion with the Crown's policy towards Scotland. The Presbyterian system of Church government (that is, a Church without bishops) had been established in Scotland under James VI, before he became James I of England. James felt that the interests of the monarchy would be better served by episcopacy than by the Presbyterian system, which savoured, he thought, of republicanism. He had been a king only in name in Scotland: 'no bishop, no king', was what he said to the Puritan divines of England in 1604. It was for the same reason that in 1606, and the following years, he re-established a few of the old bishoprics in Scotland. Charles

followed his lead. In 1633 he went to be crowned in Scotland, which was separate from England in Constitution and Government, although it had the same king. The ceremony of coronation was carried out by the Scottish bishops. In 1636, a Prayer Book of a 'High Church' character was drawn up by Laud, and commanded to be used by all the Scottish clergy and congregations, who up till then had used no fixed or printed liturgy at all. The attempt to use the Prayer Book in St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh, in July 1637, provoked a riot, which within a few months became a war.

In February 1638, the chief nobles and gentry and Presbyterian clergy of Scotland signed the 'National Covenant'. The Covenant declared the worship of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland to be the true worship for the country, and that none other should be recognized there. Thus Charles's prelates and his whole episcopal system in Scotland were condemned, along with

'the usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist upon the Scriptures of God, upon the Kirk, the civil magistrate and consciences of men; all his tyrannous laws made upon indifferent things against our Christian liberty; his erroneous doctrine against the sufficiency of the written Word, the perfection of the law, the office of Christ and his blessed evangel . . . his blasphemous opinion of transubstantiation or real presence of Christ's body in the elements, and receiving of the same by the wicked, or bodies of men; his dispensations with solemn oaths, perjuries, and degrees of marriage, forbidden in his Word; his cruelty against the innocent divorced; his devilish mass; his blasphemous priesthood; his profane sacrifice for the sins of the dead and the quick; his canonization of men, calling upon angels or saints departed, worshipping of imagery, relics, and crosses, dedicating of kirks, altars, days, vows to creatures; his purgatory, prayers for the dead, praying or speaking in a strange language; with his processions and blasphemous litany, and multitude of advocates or mediators; his manifold orders, auricular confession; his desperate and uncertain repentance; his general and doubtsome faith; his satisfaction of men for their sins; his justification by works, *opus operatum*, works of supererogation,

merits, pardons, peregrinations and stations; his holy water, baptizing of bells, conjuring of spirits, crossing, sacring, anointing, conjuring, hallowing of God's good creatures, with the superstitious opinion joined therewith; his worldly monarchy and wicked hierarchy; his three solemn vows, with all his shavelings of sundry sorts; his erroneous and bloody decrees made at Trent, with all the subscribers and approvers of that cruel and bloody band conjured against the Kirk of God.'[1]



The vigorous language of the Covenant, a comparatively moderate manifesto in the history of the Reform controversy, gives some idea of the intensity of religious feeling at that time, and of the sheer impossibility that Charles should force his views upon such a people. The defiance shown towards Charles's system of religious government was a defiance of his whole system of autocracy. The King accepted the challenge, got together an army, and set out for the Scottish border. The Scots Covenanters, on their side, had collected a fine volunteer army, officered by skilful soldiers who had fought under King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, in the Thirty Years' War. This army posted itself on Dunse Law near Berwick (June 1639).

[1] The Scottish National Covenant. Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.*

When the two forces appeared against each other, the force of freedom and the force of autocracy, it was the force of autocracy that collapsed. There was no fighting; Charles recognized his hopeless military position, and signed the Treaty of Berwick (June 24), promising to let the Scots settle their religion in a 'free Parliament' at Edinburgh.

The end of personal government. Charles now turned to the ablest official in his service, Thomas Wentworth, now created Earl of Strafford, who had been his Deputy or Lord Lieutenant in Ireland. Strafford saw that the system of personal government had failed, and he wisely advised the King once more to summon Parliament, the link, which for eleven years had been missing, between the Government and the people. So in April 1640 the 'Short Parliament' met. Charles asked for a million pounds, and offered to give up the levy of Ship Money. Parliament asked for more concessions, and the King impatiently dissolved it (May 5). He now resolved to make one more effort to vindicate personal government. The Scots had, under the Treaty of Berwick, declared the abolition of episcopacy, but Charles could not submit to this. He pressed together an army again, and

advanced north. The Scots, on their part, did not wait for him to come; they crossed the border, forced the passage of the Tyne at Newburn (August 1640), and Charles found himself again compelled to sign peace. By the Treaty of Ripon (October) he agreed that the Scots army should remain under arms, at the King's expense, until the religious question should be settled. Personal government had hopelessly broken down. So Charles again, and for the last time, was fain to have recourse to a Parliament to settle his difficulties, and especially to provide him with money, so that the Scottish army might be paid and then disbanded.

Crown and Country. When the 'Long Parliament' met on November 3, 1640, there had been open war in the island for over a year. Charles had failed to put down the Scottish rebellion, because the English people, as a whole, had shown not the slightest inclination to take part on the King's side. The Puritans, who objected to Laud's 'High Church' customs, the country gentry, who resented being excluded from Parliament and public affairs, the townspeople and merchants, who feared arbitrary taxation, were all determined that the laws should be amended, so as definitely to remedy the grievances of which they complained. There was to be no longer the possibility of eleven years of personal government by the monarch. If Charles showed himself determined to retain autocratic power, there would be war. If 'Constitutional Government' could be secured for the future, there might be peace. The history of the Long Parliament shows that Charles did indeed grant practically everything necessary to ensure Constitutional Government and the rule of law in the future; and yet this did not prove enough; and the war between Crown and Parliament ensued. The reason was, that the 'Parliamentarians' considered good laws by themselves to be an insufficient guarantee; they would not trust Charles to keep the laws, if he retained control of the militia, the armed force of the country. They therefore demanded that the control of the militia should be

transferred from Crown to Parliament; Charles refused, and war ensued.

The Long Parliament. An examination of the actions and the legislative measures of the Parliament shows the concessions made by the King to have been wonderfully great, for such a proud man, for one who, in spite of certain questionable actions, was himself so conscious of his integrity.

The Commons began by impeaching the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud before the House of Lords. The real offence of Strafford was that he was a strong man, who believed in a system of thoroughly efficient government, carried on by rather autocratic means. The Commons believed that if he were left alive, Charles might again be able to set up personal government. Strafford had proved a very efficient Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and had trained a military force there, which the Commons feared might be brought over to England to coerce recalcitrant subjects.

As Strafford represented the system of autocracy in secular matters, so Laud was considered to represent it in religious affairs. Therefore the Puritans had made up their minds that Laud must go too. A doggerel verse current at the moment expressed their view:

> If Strafford were once away
> Canterbury would make no stay.[1]

When the trial of Strafford 'by impeachment' before the House of Lords was found not to be proceeding exactly as the Commons wished, they brought in a Bill of Attainder, to have him executed by Act of Parliament for high treason. The Bill passed both Houses, and King Charles, although he did not feel himself lawfully bound to sign all Bills, gave his assent (May 10, 1641). Strafford met his fate calmly, having, in the hope of saving the Crown, actually urged Charles to sign the death-warrant. This shameful abandonment of his best servant by Charles seems to have been due to the knowledge that, if he did not let Strafford be executed, the Commons

[1] *Baillie's Letters.*

would impeach the Queen, who, they believed, exercised political influence over him. Even while he was hesitating about signing, a mob had gathered round Whitehall and howled for vengeance against Strafford; and if baulked of Strafford's death they might have turned against the Queen. Laud,

THE NAVY. Peter Pett (1610–70), Master Builder, and a ship of his designing

after being kept in prison for four years, was executed by Parliament in January 1645.

The Reforming Acts. A striking series of Bills was passed by the Long Parliament and assented to by the King, and seemed to make it certain that Parliament would never again be left out of the counsels of the Government. The first was the Triennial Act (February 1641), which provided that a

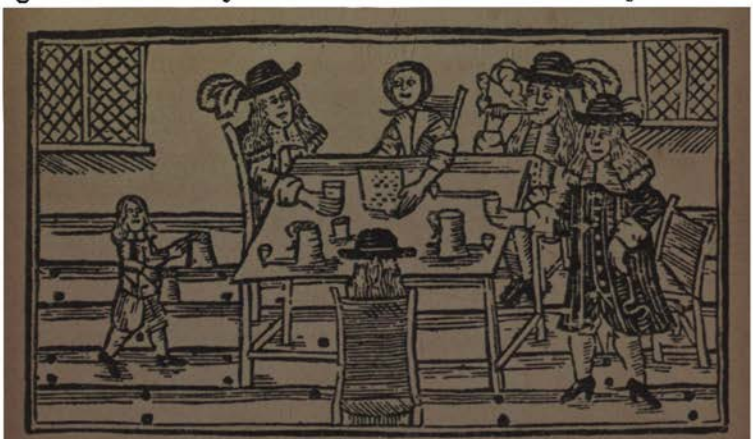
Parliament should be held at least once every three years. The second Act stipulated that the present Parliament should not be dissolved by the King without its own consent (May). This was an extraordinary concession, and gave the Parliament unlimited time for carrying out its measures of reform. Next the courts, over which the Government had special control, were abolished (July 1641): these were the Star Chamber, the Council of the North Parts, the Council of Wales, and the Ecclesiastical Court of High Commission. Another measure made Ship Money illegal. Towards the end of this wonderful year of legislation, a long statement of grievances was drawn up, and ordered by the Commons to be printed. This was the famous Grand Remonstrance (November 1641), in 204 clauses, which specified, one after another, all the abuses of Charles's personal government, although the blame was actually put upon the King's 'malignant' advisers.

The Grand Remonstrance. The Grand Remonstrance began with a temperate introduction, in which, among other things, the Commons asked the King to choose only such ministers as had the confidence of Parliament. This is what is now called the system of Responsible Government, where the ministers are responsible to the Legislative Assembly. The rest of the document was not so pacific; it was in effect nothing less than a grand accusation against Charles and his policy, bringing his power into contempt, and showing monarchy now to be no more than a shadow of its former self. The Remonstrance was so drastic that it seems as if the Commons meant to do away with Charles as king altogether, either by making him abdicate, or by some other means.

The Grand Remonstrance was made a sort of test by the most determined part of the Opposition to the Crown. It separated the moderates (the Constitutional Royalists) from the extreme Puritans, and only passed in the Commons by a majority of eleven votes. Oliver Cromwell, one of the members for Huntingdon, remarked to Lord Falkland on leaving the House that if the Bill had not passed, 'he would

have sold all he had the next morning, and never seen England more'. 'So near was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance,' adds Clarendon in his *History of the Rebellion*.

The Impeachment of the Five Members. The narrowness of the majority for the Remonstrance had shown many men averse from the extreme policy of the Puritans and ready to support a moderate Constitutional Monarchy. Charles, who had assented to all the Reforming Acts, was now on firm ground. Suddenly he cut it from under his feet by an un-

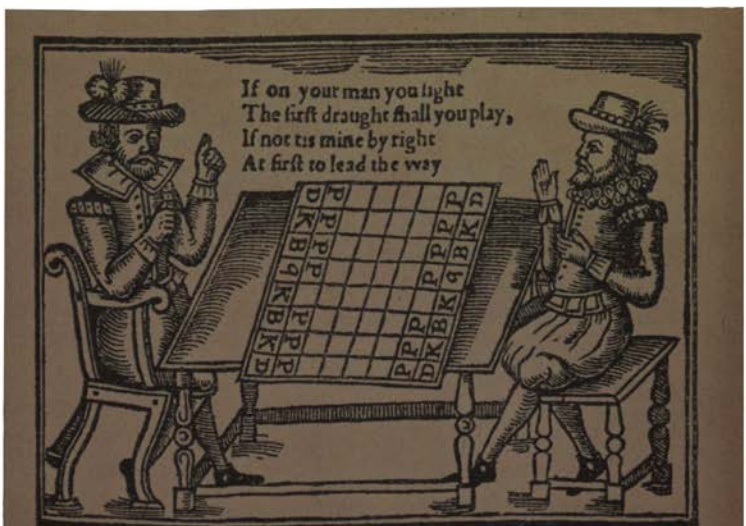


PASTIMES. A game of Backgammon

constitutional act, from which no possible advantage could be gained. He had promised the statesmanlike Clarendon (Edward Hyde) to take no decisive step without consulting him; but almost immediately afterwards Charles suddenly appeared with an armed force before the House of Parliament, personally to impeach five members of the Commons and one member of the Lords (January 3, 1642). The accused members were Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazlerigge, Strode, and Lord Kimbolton (afterwards Earl of Manchester).

The scene is described in a report of the House of Commons :

'Many soldiers, Papists and others, to the number of about five hundred came with His Majesty on Tuesday last to the said House of Commons, armed with swords, pistols and other weapons, and divers of them pressed to the door of the said House, thrust away the door-keepers, and placed themselves between the said door and the ordinary attendants of His Majesty, holding up their swords and some holding up their pistols ready cocked near the said door and saying, "I am



PASTIMES. A game of Chess

a good marksman; I can hit right, I warrant you," and they not suffering the said door according to the custom of Parliament to be shut, but said they would have the door open, and if any opposition were against them, they made no question but they should make their party good, and that they would maintain their party.'[1]

Clarendon himself does not question the substantial truth of this statement, and points out that Charles, by his foolish

[1] Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*, p. 239.

act, threw away a great part, if not all, of the support which he had recently been gaining :

'The truth is it cannot be expressed how great a change there appeared to be in the countenance and minds of all sorts of people, in town and country upon these late proceedings of the King.' [1]

It is the privilege of members of Parliament to be able to debate freely in their own House, and without this power of free speech the usefulness of Parliament would disappear. Charles, by impeaching the members for their words and actions in Parliament, had once again entered upon the disastrous path of striking at the liberties of the nation. He did not even gain his immediate purpose, for the members had escaped from the House when the King made his undignified entry into it.

The opening of war. The reply of the Commons to this was to demand that the whole military and naval power of the Crown should be delivered into their hands. For this is what the Militia Bill (March 1642) practically meant. If Charles had assented to it, the Parliament would have had command of all forts and of the militia, that is, of all the English subjects when called out under arms. He refused his assent, and chose war instead. Indeed, there was no alternative course open to him, if he was to remain King at all. On April 23 Charles came before the fortress of Hull, and found that the Royal Governor, Sir John Hotham, had barred it against him. The Commons, under whose instructions Hotham was acting, had in effect deposed the King.

The Irish Rebellion. The situation which both the King and Parliament had to face was immensely complicated by events in Ireland. For in the autumn of 1641 a terrible rebellion had been started there, and was raging all the time that the Civil War was going on in England. The Rebellion began with a rising of the native Irish against the in-comers who had settled upon their lands in Ulster. Numberless

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion.*

people were murdered, and the most fearful atrocities were committed. The English and Scottish settlers retaliated, and the war in Ireland became a savage struggle, partly racial, partly religious. Large tracts of the country were desolated, and if France or Spain had chosen this time to land an army, nothing could have saved Ireland from coming under a foreign power. The Irish Catholics, out of hostility to Puritanism, detested the English Parliament, and offered their support to Charles; and these negotiations between the King and the Catholic rebels, although they came to nothing, greatly damaged Charles's reputation. Until Charles was defeated in England, the Parliament had no forces to spare for Ireland; and it was not till eight years after the Rebellion had started that Cromwell, by his iron methods, brought peace to the country (see pp. 357–9).

CHAPTER XVIII

THE GREAT REBELLION AND THE COMMONWEALTH

The spirit of the combatants. The war between Parliamentarians and Royalists in England (1642–9) was very different in character from the Thirty Years' War in Germany. The Thirty Years' War began as a religious question, and ended in a struggle for territory. The Great Rebellion began as a constitutional question, to define the respective rights of Crown and Parliament. Towards the end, religious feeling appeared more prominently: 'Religion', said Cromwell in a later speech, 'was not the thing at first contended for, but God brought it to that issue at the last.' Religious struggles always become very bitter, yet the Great Rebellion was less bitter than most. The executions of Laud in 1645 and of King Charles in 1649 were largely due to religious feeling, but no others in England seem to have been put to death on account of their faith.

Although much more of a national concern than the Wars of the Roses, the Great Rebellion did not absorb the resources of the whole country. The ordinary size of an army was 7,000 to 10,000. Sometimes it rose to 15,000, occasionally to 20,000. The discipline on the whole was good. The King's forces were the worst offenders: they sacked Bolton in May 1644, and Leicester in May 1645. The supplies taken for the Parliamentary armies were paid for. But the forces of the King, as his money gradually became exhausted, were not quite so scrupulous, and the cavalry of Prince Rupert (Charles's nephew, son of the ex-King and Queen of Bohemia) gained a bad reputation for plundering. When Charles was besieging the important town of Gloucester on the Severn in 1643, he was unable to find supplies in the surrounding country; yet when the Parliamentary army, under the Earl of Essex, came up to relieve the city, provisions were at once produced from various hiding-places in the country-side for the army that could pay and did not steal:

CHARLES I AS AN ARCHER

'The Earl of Essex stayed in that joyful town (where he was received with all possible demonstrations of honour) three days; and in that time which was as wonderful as any part of the story, caused all necessary provisions to be brought in to them, out of those very quarters in which the king's army had been sustained, and which they conceived to be entirely spent: so solicitous were the people to conceal what they had, and to reserve it for them; which, without

a connivance from the king's commissaries, could not have been done.'[1]

Throughout the war, both sides fought with great determination, each to force its will upon the other. Yet they did not on this account fight with cruelty. Prisoners were taken, and found their lot tolerable. The Republican, Edmund Ludlow, when a prisoner with the King's army at Oxford, found a friend of his family on the King's side, and received courteous treatment. He says in his *Memoirs* that collections of money were made in London, and sent to Oxford for the relief of prisoners.

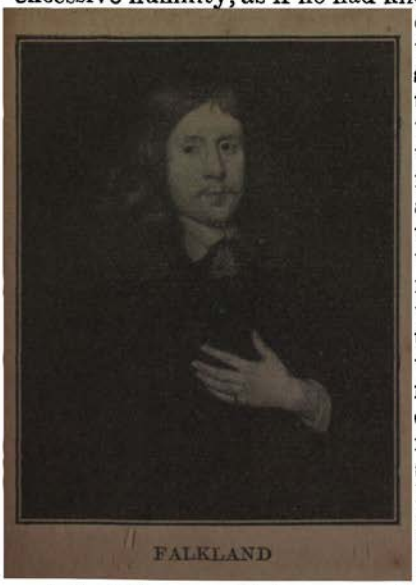
The King's forces. To Charles's side there rallied not all, but by far the greater number of the nobility, and also a majority, though not so large a majority, of the country gentlemen. There were those upon the King's side, like 'the incomparable Lord Falkland', who disapproved of his unconstitutional measures, yet felt bound to fight for him, rather than join in rebellion against their lord, the lawful head of the nation. The lot of such men as Falkland was pathetic, forced as it were to fight for a cause which had little more than half their heart. At the first battle of Newbury, in September 1643, Falkland sought and found release in death from these unhappy troubles.

'Before this parliament his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to twenty years of age, he was master of a noble fortune. . . . He was a great cherisher of wit and fancy, and good parts in any man; and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune. . . . He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore having once resolved not to see London, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry, that it will not

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Book VII.

be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

In this time, his house being within ten miles of Oxford he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that University, who found such an immenseness of wit, and such a solidity of judgement in him, so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in anything, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air; so that his house was a university in a less volume; whither they came not so much for repose as study; and to examine and refine those grosser propositions which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.... From the entrance into this unnatural war his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him which he had never been used to; yet, being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences and that there would be so great a victory on one side, that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor, (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most men, and prevented the looking after many advantages, that might then have been laid hold of,) he resisted those indispositions, *et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat.* But after the King's return from Brentford and the furious resolution of the two houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness.... In his clothes and habit which he had intended before always with more neatness, and industry and expense, than is usual to so great a mind, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent.



FALKLAND

. . . When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous and exceedingly solicitous to press anything which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word Peace, Peace; and would passionately profess, "that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart". . . . In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the lord Byron's regiment, who was then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers, from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning; till when there was some hope he might have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having so much dispatched the business of life, that the oldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocence: whosoever leads such a life needs not care upon how short warning it be taken from him.'[1]

Other cavaliers were not so thoughtful as Falkland, held the 'Roundheads' to be base rebels, and stood by the King out of pure loyalty, almost prejudice, without reflection. Robert Browning has correctly imagined the views of those men:

I

Kentish Sir Byng stood for his King,
Bidding the crop-headed Parliament swing:
And, pressing a troop unable to stoop
And see the rogues flourish and honest men droop,
Marched them along, fifty-score strong,
Great-hearted gentlemen, singing this song.

II

God for King Charles! Pym and such carles
To the Devil that prompts 'em their treasonous parles!
Cavaliers, up! Lips from the cup,
Hands from the pasty, nor bite take nor sup
Till you're—

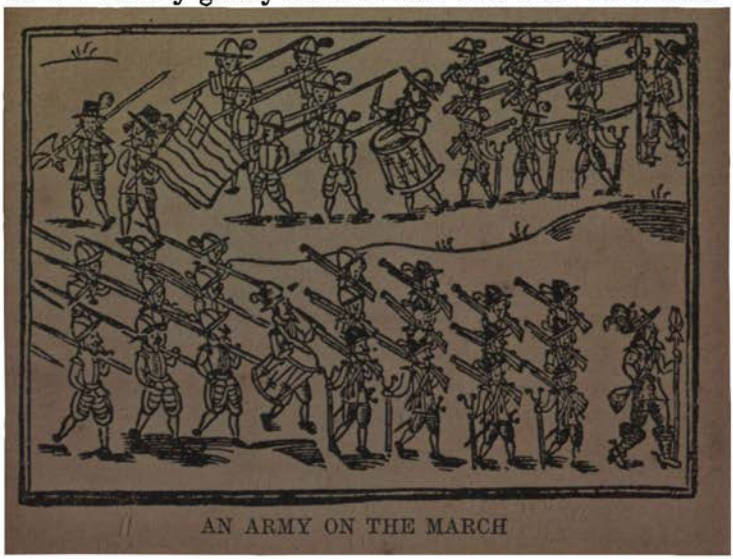
Chorus. Marching along, fifty-score strong, &c.

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Book VII.

III

Hampden to hell, and his obsequies' knell
Serve Hazelrig, Fiennes, and young Harry as well!
England, good cheer! Rupert is near!
Kentish and loyalists, keep we not here.
Chorus. Marching along, fifty-score strong, &c.[1]

The Parliamentary forces. The King was strong in cavalry, for the country gentry came to him with their own horses



AN ARMY ON THE MARCH

and also mounted their tenants. Parliament had a certain number of country gentlemen too, but for the most part it had to depend on hired men, by no means all trained to arms and to field sports, like the cavaliers, and altogether of a poorer quality. Cromwell, years afterwards, recalled this early type of Parliamentary army, in a speech to the Commonwealth Parliament:

'I had a very worthy friend then; and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all,—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going into this engagement,

[1] R. Browning, *Marching Along.*

I saw our men were beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's army, of some new regiments; and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. This is very true that I tell you; God knows I lie not. "Your troops", said I, "are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters and such kind of fellows; and", said I, "their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality: do you think that the spirit of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them?" Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously; and truly I did tell him: "You must get men of a spirit: and take it not ill what I say—I know you will not—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go: or else you will be beaten still." I told him so. I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one.'[1]

A PIKEMAN

It was after giving this advice that Cromwell resolved to remodel the Parliamentary army. Cromwell, a Huntingdonshire squire of small property, had distinguished himself in the local fighting between Roundheads and Cavaliers in the eastern counties. He found then that the small farmers and yeoman tenants, men of some means and of indomitable Puritan views, made magnificent fighters; and he resolved to make these the basis of the 'New Model' army. The immense will-power and silent capacity of Cromwell impressed all who came near him. His influence in the Long Parliament grew with each year of the war. Thus he was able to induce Parliament to pass the Self-Denying Ordinance (April 3, 1645), according to which all Members of Parliament resigned their commands in the army (see pp. 347–9). This brought about the retirement of the Presbyterian generals, including the Earl of Manchester and the Earl of Essex, neither of whom

[1] T. Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Speech XI.

had been very successful, and ultimately concentrated military power in the hands of Cromwell and the 'Independents', who differed from the Presbyterians chiefly in allowing freedom to each separate church congregation to settle its own affairs. The 'Independent' part of the Long Parliament was the most determined to do away with the King's power, the most resolute to carry the war through to a complete defeat of the Royalist party.

The local war. The war was fought out in two ways, which might be called the local and the central. The local war went on in every county, where the gentry took sides, and either defended or besieged country houses, or carried out small raids. Such is the warfare described so well in Ludlow's *Memoirs*. Edmund Ludlow was a stalwart Republican, the son of a country gentleman, and a member of Trinity College, Oxford. He raised a troop of horse in Wiltshire, defended Warder Castle in that county, fought an action in Salisbury town, was taken prisoner and sent to Oxford. He was subsequently exchanged, and took a prominent part in conquering Ireland for the Commonwealth. His descriptions of the local fighting in Wiltshire give a good picture of what was taking place everywhere:

'This is how the defence of Warder Castle was prepared: We got in some cattle for our provision, but the Enemy drawing into the Villages about us, soon prevented us from bringing in any more: Yet we ventured one Morning, knowing it to be Market-day, to draw out between forty and fifty Pikes and Firelocks, with which we went about a quarter of a Mile from the Castle upon the Road that leads to Shaftsbury. According to our expectation the Market-people came with Carts and Horses loaded with Corn and other Provisions, which we seized and sent to the Castle, paying for it the Market-price, at which they were not a little surprised. By this means we furnished ourselves with three Months more Provision than we had before; which we had no sooner taken in, when the Enemy drew round the Castle and from that time blocked us up more closely raising a Breastwork by casting up of Earth about a Tree which we had cut down

on the side of a Hill: from whence they commanded the Gate of the Castle, the only way that we had to sally out upon occasion, and shot several of our Men, amongst the rest my Gunner, as they fetched in wood.'[1]

The central war. Apart from the local strife of Cavalier and Roundhead, there were the grand campaigns, and the great battles of the field armies. It was these battles that settled the issue of the struggle. Charles for most of the time had his head-quarters at Oxford, where the colleges provided good accommodation for his court and gentlemen; the town itself was defended by the numerous streams which for miles around run into the Thames and Cherwell. Oxford proved to be a place of great strength; and even after the battle of Naseby Charles was able to return to it. In 1646 it endured a five months' siege, and this time Charles was only able to escape from it disguised as a servant (April 27, 1646). All through the Civil War skirmishes had taken place at five to fifteen miles' distance from the town, and it was in one such engagement that John Hampden was killed in 1643, having encountered some of Rupert's troops at Chalgrove Field, about thirteen miles south-east of Oxford. His loss was a great blow to the Parliament, as he was one of its noblest and most moderate members. The description of him forms one of the finest portraits in the great gallery of Clarendon's history.

'He was a gentleman of a good family in Buckinghamshire and born to a fair fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world he indulged to himself all the license in sports and exercise and company, which was used by men of the most jolly conversation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society, yet preserving his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and above all a flowing courtesy to all men; though they who conversed nearly with him found him growing into a dislike of the ecclesiastical government of the church, yet most believed it rather a dislike of some churchmen, and of some introducements of theirs which he apprehended might dis-

[1] Ludlow's *Memoirs* (1698), vol. i, pp. 73, 74.

quiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse or fame in the kingdom, before the business of ship-money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst at his own charge, support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage, throughout this agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly, to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony. And the judgement that was given against him infinitely more advanced him, than the service for which it was given. When this parliament begun, (being returned knight of the shire for the county where he lived,) the eyes of all men were fixed on him, as their *patriae pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempest and rock which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his power and interest, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt, than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time: for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided that no corrupt or private ends could bias them. . . . After he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his sword he threw away the scabbard; for he passionately opposed the overture made by the king for a treaty from Nottingham, and as eminently, any expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at Oxford; and was principally relied on to prevent any infusions which might be made into the Earl of Essex towards peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that party, than the general himself. In the first entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a colonel, on all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might

have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so as any man could deserve to be.'[1]

The Campaign of 1642. By the time summer had come round in 1642, it was clear to Charles that the Parliament men were openly defying him, and that they had engaged the sympathies even of some of his own officers. It was of the highest importance to him that he should hold the arsenals, where such arms and gunpowder as the Crown possessed were stored. It was for this reason that in April 1642 he appeared with a company of men outside Hull, the Royal fortress on the Humber, but was refused admittance (see p. 330). The Parliament warmly approved of Hotham's action, and said that any other course would have been treason—the King, as Charles bitterly remarked, 'being now the only person against whom treason could *not* be committed'. There was nothing for it, therefore, but war, and on August 22 Charles erected the Royal Standard on the Castle-hill of Nottingham; but few people gathered round.

'Melancholy men observed many ill-passages about that time. There was not one regiment of foot yet levied and brought thither; so that the trained bands which the sheriff had drawn together, was all the strength the king had for his person, and the guard of the standard. There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the whole town, and the king himself appeared more melancholic than he used to be. The standard itself was blown down, the same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed. This was the melancholy state of the king's affairs, when the standard was set up' (Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Book V, end).

Charles had no regular soldiers, and his gentlemen and their followers were at first a motley crew. In September, ill equipped with what they could privately supply, they marched away into the west country (where the King's cause

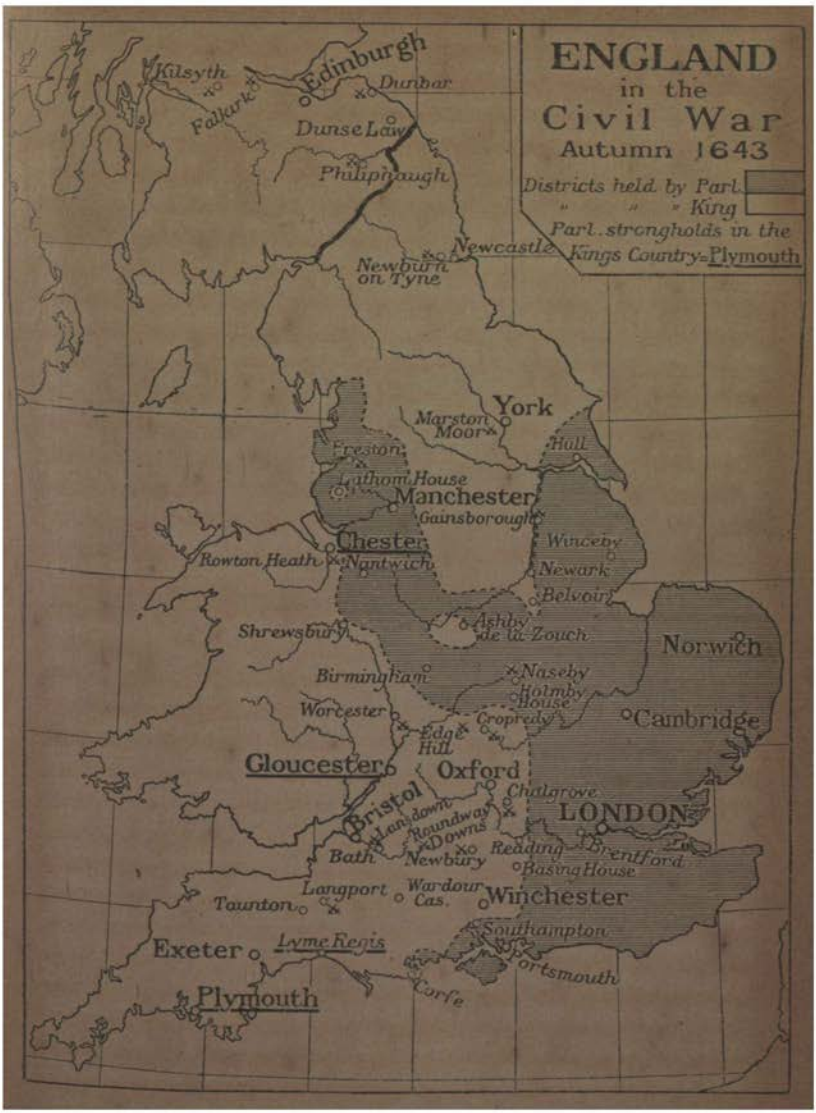
[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Book VII.

was stronger) 'caparisoned rather like strolling players than like a King and the prime of his nobility going forth to war'.[1]

It was not long before a pitched battle took place. The Earl of Essex and the Parliamentary army went out from London to meet Charles in the West, but Charles, having collected a fair number of men in Herefordshire, Salop, and Gloucestershire, started to cross England and make for London. Essex had gone as far west as the Severn when he found that Charles had departed and was marching for the capital. So he went after the King, post haste, through the Midlands. Just below Edgehill, which 'rises high over the undulating plain of Warwickshire'[2] (about 29 miles distant from Oxford), Charles and Essex met with their armies and fought an inconclusive battle (October 23, 1642). Both sides were very indisciplined. Rupert could not yet control his fiery cavaliers, nor could Essex even completely command the Parliamentary foot. Oliver Cromwell fought in the battle, and was thoroughly disgusted with the exhibition of the Parliamentary army.

A week later (October 29) Charles entered Oxford, where the Colleges loyally placed themselves at his disposal. For the next three years the quadrangles were thronged with handsomely dressed cavaliers and their ladies; Charles had his own establishment in Christ Church, and many animated scenes took place in his somewhat distracted Council there. A regular system of fortifications was constructed round the old city—earthworks and ditches—which remain to this day. But first of all, Charles tried to seize London by a bold dash. Shortly after taking up his quarters in Oxford, he led forth his army by the old road over Shotover and down into the Thames valley. Rupert and his horse scattered the advanced guards of the Parliament at Brentford (November 12), near where to-day the Great Western Railway crosses the Brent and then goes straight into London. Charles should have pressed forward at all costs; but the City militia had come forth

[1] Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, ch. viii.
[2] Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War* (ed. 1888), i. 49


ENGLAND
in the
Civil War
Autumn 1643
Districts held by Parl.
" " " King
Parl. strongholds in the
Kings Country = Plymouth
Kilsyth
Falkirk
Edinburgh
Dunbar
Dunse Law
Philiphaugh
Newcastle
Newburn on Tyne
York
Marston Moor
Hull
Preston
Lathom House
Manchester
Gainsborough
Chester
Winceby
Rowton Heath
Nantwich
Newark
Belvoir
Ashby de la Zouch
Shrewsbury
Norwich
Birmingham
Naseby
Holmby House
Worcester
Cropredy
Cambridge
Edge Hill
Gloucester
Oxford
Chalgrove
Bristol
Landdown
Roundway Downs
LONDON
Bath
Newbury
Reading
Brentford
Basing House
Langport
Wardour Cas.
Winchester
Taunton
Southampton
Exeter
Lyme Regis
Portsmouth
Corfe
Plymouth

to Turnham Green, on the left bank of the Thames between Kew and Hammersmith. There were 20,000 Londoners, chiefly lusty young apprentices, who, however disinclined for distant enterprises, were ready enough to defend London itself. Charles had no stomach for such a fight, and on November 13 he turned back to Oxford. He was never to get so near to London again till he came as a captive.

The Campaign of 1643. For the next year a more elaborate plan was prepared by Charles, in order to get London, for this was the obvious goal of every endeavour. The Earl of Newcastle, the great Royalist nobleman who had raised a foot-regiment of his own (the Whitecoats) in the North, was to break through the Eastern Counties (where Cromwell and the 'Eastern Association' had some well-trained forces), and so to come at London from the Essex side. Sir Ralph Hopton,[1] the successful leader of the local armies of Devon and Cornwall, was to come up from the south-west, and get to London from the side of Surrey or Kent; and Charles was to come from Oxford down the Thames valley. This was the famous scheme for a 'triple advance' upon the capital; London was to be attacked by an army from every side. The army of Lord Newcastle was to occupy the northern bank of the Thames below London, while Hopton's troops occupied the southern bank. The combined forces would thus be able to stop the passage of ships up the river, and thus to starve out the city. This would neutralize the efforts of the Navy, which had joined the Parliamentary side, and had kept London open to the sea.

The converging campaign upon London was a failure. The Earl of Newcastle defeated Lord Fairfax and his son, Sir Thomas, at Ardwalton Moor near Bradford (June 1643), and secured most of Yorkshire (but not Hull) for the King. But Cromwell, with the forces of the Eastern Association (Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, and Hertford), defeated the Royalist horse at Winceby (near Horncastle in Lincolnshire)

[1] Hopton was a lucky accident; it was Lord Hertford who was originally selected for the Southern advance, and it was to be from South Wales, not from Cornwall. Hopton's plan took its place when it failed.

on October 11 (1643), and showed the men of the North that they would have no unimpeded march. Moreover, Hull was still holding out for the Parliament, and the men of the North did not like to leave the Roundhead garrison behind them. Hull was never taken, so the march of the King's northern forces came to nothing.

Rather earlier in the summer Hopton had got ready to make his advance upon London with the men of the West. Rupert, who co-operated from Oxford with Hopton, captured Bristol in July. In the previous month Hopton had taken Taunton, and in September Prince Maurice (the brother of Rupert) took Exeter. The Royalists, however, could not take Lyme Regis, Dartmouth, and Plymouth. This stopped their advance. The men of the West would not advance towards London, leaving the Parliamentary garrison of Plymouth free to come out against their homes. They beat Waller at Roundway Down near Devizes (July 13), but they would not follow their victory eastwards.

Charles, too, had not a free hand. Bristol was his, but Gloucester, the key to the Severn valley, was still held by Parliament; and Charles felt he must secure this before he would be free to advance on London. So on August 10 he pitched his camp in front of the ancient city; if it fell, the whole West of England would be the King's, and with this safely behind him and most of the North in his hands he would soon make short work of London. Thus the siege of Gloucester was the most critical event of the war.

Both sides strained to the utmost, the Royalists to gain and the Parliament to save the key to the West. The city was well defended, by 'a soldier of fortune', as Clarendon calls him, named Colonel Massey, who left 'nothing unperformed that became a vigilant commander'. The Royalist army harried the country round about, and turned all the country people against the King's cause. Then Parliament made a great appeal to the Londoners; and the apprentices, who had never thought of going on a distant expedition,

answered the call. The Earl of Essex led 15,000 men of the City trained bands across the Cotswolds to the Severn valley. The hills were bare and open, but the Severn valley itself, rich in orchard and farm, was all hedged and ditched, unsuitable for Rupert's cavalry. So Charles wisely did not risk a battle there. When Essex's army appeared on the Cotswold edge above Gloucester, Charles and his army were breaking up camp and burning their military works (September 5, 1643).

The King had one more chance, however. He had failed to take Gloucester, but he might yet win London itself, and so end the war. He made towards London, Essex and his apprentices following as best they could. They must have marched well, for on September 20 (1643), Charles found he would have to meet them in battle. Among the fields by Newbury a hotly contested battle took place 'at push of pyke', as Clarendon says; 'one of the most soldierly actions', he adds, 'of this unhappy war'. The Londoners more than held their own; Charles, after sleeping on the field, next morning broke up his camp and retired to Oxford. Gloucester and the West, London and the lower Thames valley, were now safe for the Parliamentary cause.

The Campaign of 1644. The Scots army which had come into the North of England during the Bishops' War (see p. 320), had been paid off by the Long Parliament in 1641; but as things were not going brilliantly for the Roundheads, these renewed their alliance with the Scots in the summer of 1643. This was an unpopular decision, for the Scots were looked upon as foreigners in England; but they had a fine army, and after all the Parliament men would rather swallow their prejudices than be beaten by the King. So they made the *Solemn League and Covenant* with the Scots, promising, in return for military support, to reform religion in England according to the 'word of God and the example of the best reformed churches'. The Scots took this to mean a promise to enforce the Presbyterian system of Church government in England; this made trouble later. The Solemn League

and Covenant was the last work of the great Parliamentary leader, Pym, who died on December 8, 1643, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

In 1644 the Scottish army, led by officers like General Alexander Leslie, who had served at Lützen under Gustavus Adolphus, and had become a Swedish Field Marshal, joined the Roundheads before York. York was defended by the Earl (promoted by Charles to be Marquis) of Newcastle; and Rupert brought a small army, mainly of horsemen out of the West, and over the hills from Lancashire, and relieved the city. Then the two forces faced each other on the historic plain of York. On the Parliament side were about 25,000 men —including the Scots army and Cromwell's men of the Eastern Association. On the Royalist side Rupert and Newcastle had rather less than 20,000 men, but among them were the finest cavalry in England, and Rupert himself was one of the finest leaders. At Long Marston, eight miles west of York, the momentous battle was fought. The Royalist Colonel Goring with his cavalry swept Fairfax's men off the field; half the Scots in the centre broke and fled, but the other half remained constant and held their ground with the pike; while Cromwell, with the East Anglian cavalry on the left wing, actually drove Rupert's famous troopers off the field. Then he came round to the relief of the hard-pressed Scots, and turned what seemed a lost day into a brilliant victory (July 2, 1644). As the relief of Gloucester had saved the Severn valley for Parliament, so the battle of Marston Moor won the North; and not even the capture of Essex's army by Charles at Lostwithiel (September 2, 1644) in Cornwall could neutralize this victory.

The New Model Army. Marston Moor had won the North country for Parliament, but affairs were still critical. The King was strong, and the Roundhead forces, on the whole, badly led and badly organized. Charles, returning from his successful rush into Cornwall (Lostwithiel), might have been wholly cut off and destroyed at the second battle of Newbury

(October 27, 1644), if the commander, the Earl of Manchester, had been more energetic. At least so Cromwell thought, and he decided in his own mind that a reorganization of the Parliamentary forces was necessary.

Till this point in the struggle there had been no definitely organized Parliamentary army at all. There had been a number of local forces, some raised by private gentlemen, some by committees of counties, or associations of counties (like the Eastern Association); and sometimes the Parliament would take these local forces into its pay, as it did with the levies of the Eastern Association for the campaign of Marston Moor. But the military affairs of Parliament, as a whole, were somewhat irregular; many of the soldiers of the Parliament's armies were enlisted for a single expedition or campaign, and their pay was often in arrear. This was not the way to form an army with a strong *esprit de corps* and discipline; while enlistments by local leaders or associations resulted in bad pay; men often had arrears due to them, and would leave one side and join the other in order to better themselves.

The best generals, like Cromwell, saw that Parliament must have an army of its own, raised, paid, and completely controlled by the Government. They saw, too, that the officers must be appointed for their military ability, not because of their political interest or theological views. Therefore Cromwell insisted, and carried it in the House, that all Members of Parliament should resign their commands, and should submit to be re-appointed or not, as the Commander-in-Chief chose (Self-Denying Ordinance). Fairfax was made Commander-in-Chief, and all the best of the various soldiers and ex-soldiers who had followed Essex or Manchester or the local associations were taken into direct Parliamentary pay. Over eight thousand recruits were required to make up the 20,000 required for the New Model Army. These were raised by pressing able-bodied men into the service. The New Model was not a voluntary force. It was to form a single, professionally trained army, and it did not matter

whether they were Presbyterians or Independents—or even Anglicans—so long as they kept quiet about it. The majority, however, were Independents. Cromwell was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Horse.

The Campaign of 1645. The Self-Denying Ordinance, establishing the Parliamentary army, went through the Houses of Parliament by April 3, 1645. The New Model army was definitely established. The effect was wonderful; the control exercised by one firm mind, the cohesion of one trained army, almost immediately made the Parliamentary cause triumph. Fairfax and Cromwell, not troubling to occupy this part or that part of the country, made for Charles's field army and offered battle. The King accepted the challenge at Naseby, near Market Harborough, in Northamptonshire (June 14, 1645). Prince Rupert's horse, as so often before, broke through the opposing wing of its opponents, and scattered it over the country. But the bulk of the Parliamentary army was left intact and was more than a match for the Royalist foot, which was ill trained and inferior in number, though it fought stoutly enough.

The battle of Naseby was nearly decisive. Charles's foot-soldiers were broken and dispersed. He lost his baggage-train too, and the state-cabinet, containing records of his correspondence with the Irish, Scots, French, and other foreigners. There was still a plundering Royalist force in Cornwall under the energetic, arrogant Goring. Fairfax took the New Model down into the west country, and destroyed this force at Langport on the Parrett (July 10, 1645).

Charles had now nothing to hope for, unless his own people, the Scots, would have pity on him.

On May 5, 1646, having fled in disguise from Oxford, he rode to Newark, and surrendered himself to the Scottish army there; and on June 20 Oxford capitulated. The Scots were proud that their own King, of the house of Stuart, was also King of England; and Charles may have expected that they would leave him at least in possession of the Crown.

The last years of Charles I. The Scots had no desire to destroy the monarchy, but they set more store by their Presbyterian principles. At Newcastle (July 13, 1646), to which place they had removed the King, they joined with the English Parliament in proposing to restore Charles to power, if he would surrender control of the militia for twenty years, would 'be pleased to swear and sign the late Solemn League and Covenant', and would consent to a Bill 'for the utter abolishing and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors', &c. The first answer which Charles gave to these 'Propositions of Newcastle' was evasive (August 1), and committed him to nothing; the second answer was of the same character (December 20, 1646). Only the third answer (May 12, 1647) was really to the point, and it amounted to a refusal. The reason why Charles took so long to give a clear reply was that, while he was with the Scots (up to January 30, 1647), he hoped to gain his ends by playing off the Scots army, the English Presbyterians, and the Independents, one against the other. On January 30, 1647, he was handed over by the Scots to the Parliament and lodged in Holmby House in Northamptonshire; and in these circumstances, after long temporizing, he felt compelled to give a straight answer.

It was this temporizing policy that ruined Charles. He knew that the English Parliament was mainly Presbyterian, and that the New Model army was mainly Independent. As Clarendon says in his *History of the Rebellion*: 'The very high contests between the Parliament and the army, in which neither side could be persuaded to yield to the other, or abate any of their asperity, made many prudent men believe, that both sides would, in the end, be willing to make the King the umpire.' Charles himself thought so too; and his intrigues with both sides, as well as with the Irish and the French, at last convinced the Independents that there was no trusting him, and that death was the only remedy.

It was not long before the Independents gained complete mastery of affairs in England. Now that the King had been

defeated, Parliament wished to disband the army, which was costing much money and keeping taxes high. The army, on the other hand, vigorously protested against the proposal to disband them, and demanded first to receive their full pay, which was now greatly in arrear. In this contest the army was bound to win, for it had the preponderant physical force, and in Oliver Cromwell it had the most decisive mind in the country. To Cromwell the greatest credit is due for having put an end to the mutinies in the army, and for preventing the unpaid soldiers from overturning all government and order.

On June 3, 1647, a troop of horse under Cornet George Joyce, acting under instructions from Cromwell, carried the King away from Holmby House to the army head-quarters at Newmarket; thence he was taken to Hampton Court. There the army leaders offered to make a settlement with the King; this offer was contained in a document called *The Heads of the Proposals offered by the Army* (August 1, 1647). The chief points in it were that 'the power of the militia by sea and land, during the space of ten years next ensuing, shall be ordered and disposed by the Lords and Commons assembled'; and that there should be complete liberty of worship for all Protestants (even bishops to be tolerated), and no one to be forced to take the Covenant. But to this most liberal offer neither Charles nor the Parliament would agree, and in November he escaped to the Isle of Wight, where he gave himself up to the garrison of Carisbrooke Castle. It was while he was there that the Second Civil War took place (see p. 356).

After these events Cromwell determined that they would no longer be troubled by the Presbyterian majority in Parliament or by the King. On December 6, 1648, Colonel Thomas Pride, who was in command of the guard in the Lobby of the House, was given a list of the Presbyterian members; and as each one of these approached the door to enter, he was turned back, and, if he resisted, was made a prisoner.

Altogether 130 members were excluded by *Pride's Purge*. After this, events marched quickly; the House of Commons, now reduced to an Independent Rump, announcing that they represented the people of England and therefore held the supreme power, established a High Court of Justice to try King Charles for treason.

From Carisbrooke Charles had been removed in December to Hurst Castle, a lonely blockhouse on the Solent; in the

WESTMINSTER HALL

same month he was taken to Windsor Castle, and in January 1649 to St. James's Palace. The trial of the King began on January 19 in Westminster Hall; the Court numbered sixty-seven members. The King was accused of high treason for having 'maliciously levied war against the present Parliament, and the people therein represented'. In a dignified document Charles submitted reasons for declining to recognize the jurisdiction of the Court. On January 27, in the presence of the King, the death sentence was read by John Bradshaw, the President of the Court.

On January 29 Charles took leave of his children, and on January 30 prepared for death. Sir Thomas Herbert accompanied him throughout the last months of his life; on the morning of the 30th, the King said: 'Herbert, this is my second marriage-day. I would be as trim as may be; for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus.' Then he asked for a shirt of more than ordinary thickness: 'Let me have a shirt more than ordinary, by reason the season is so sharp as probably may make me shake, which some observers may imagine proceeds from fear. I would have no such imputation; I fear not death. Death is not terrible to me: I bless my God I am prepared.' Bishop Juxon read him the morning service; and then accompanied by Colonel Tomlinson, one of Cromwell's soldiers, by Juxon, and followed by Herbert, the King walked between a double row of soldiers across St. James's Park to Whitehall. There he was allowed to rest a while. He took a glass of wine and ate a piece of bread. Afterwards he mounted the scaffold placed before the Banqueting Hall, and in front of a silent crowd declared to Bishop Juxon that he forgave his enemies, and that not he but Parliament had originated the Civil War. He laid his head on the block, and made the agreed sign. With one blow the executioner struck off the King's head, and then holding it aloft pronounced the regular formula: 'Behold the head of a traitor.' On February 8 the body was buried in St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

CHARLES I AT THE TIME OF HIS DEATH

Charles was a man who, under happier circumstances, and with better advisers, would have been a good ruler. He had been brought up with exalted ideas of the King's personal power, and the disastrous Buckingham had encouraged him along the path of autocracy. His consciousness of his own uprightness, and of the justice of his cause, seems to have prevented him from understanding the desires of the vigorous and somewhat ill-disciplined people over whom he had to rule. In the long negotiations that took place between him and Parliament from 1642 to 1649, Charles occasionally acted without complete straightforwardness. His contempt for the motives of the men who were against him occasionally led him into some double-dealing. His portrait shows a man of a noble countenance, with a dignified and serious, though somewhat proud, expression. He died at the age of 49, in perfect health, and in the prime of life. Clarendon's concluding words on his master's character give the best estimate:

'To conclude, he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian that the age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the best king, if he were without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments and so much without any kind of vice.'[1]

The Commonwealth. At the death of Charles, England was ruled by what was left of the Long Parliament and by the Army. The House of Lords was suppressed by an Ordinance of the House of Commons, which declared that the Upper Chamber was 'useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished'. The House of Commons, after large numbers of members had left it, voluntarily or under compulsion, now consisted only of fifty-six Independent members, known as the Rump. No new elections had been held in the country, most of the original members were dispersed, and yet the preposterous Rump went on, claiming to be the representative of all England.

[1] Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion.*

and to have the whole government of the country in its hands. Cromwell, the chief of the army, and his officers, knew that the Rump was not representative of the country's opinion, but for the next four years (1649–53) they were too busy with warfare, the aftermath of the Great Rebellion, to attend to civil government.

The wars arising out of the Great Rebellion. The Scots had not all fought on the side of Parliament. Throughout the year

DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE. Houses in Great Queen Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1640

1645 James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, had been fighting for Charles with brilliant success in the Highlands of Scotland. The loyal and martial Highlanders fought for him with the same enterprise and vigour with which they fought, a hundred years later, for Prince Charles. Sir Walter Scott, in the novels *The Legend of Montrose* and *Waverley*, has described, as no one else can, each of these great episodes in the history of the Highlands. Montrose was at last overborne by the superior

resources of General David Leslie, at Philiphaugh, in Selkirkshire (September 13, 1645).

In 1648 the Scottish Presbyterian army entered England again, this time in favour of King Charles, for they now regretted that they had handed him over to Parliament (p. 350). They were met by Cromwell and the New Model army at Preston and Wigan, and after a running fight were dispersed. Simultaneously a revolt against the Parliament broke out in Sussex, Kent, and Essex; and part of the Fleet seceded to the King's side. But Fairfax beat the Kentish insurgents at Maidstone, and when they crossed the river shut them up in Colchester, till they surrendered through starvation. So ended the *Second Civil War*.

After the execution of Charles, the fury of the Scots, who were themselves so largely responsible for it, broke out again in war. They had the young Charles (afterwards Charles II) in their hands, and him they made a 'covenanted king', a king, that is to say, who should rule on condition of maintaining the National Covenant for preserving the Presbyterian Church. This drew down upon them once more Cromwell and his invincible 'Ironsides'. He occupied Edinburgh, and then won a lucky victory at Dunbar (September 3, 1650). The war was not over, however, for Charles and the Scots were able to invade England next year, when Cromwell obtained his 'crowning mercy' at the battle of Worcester (September 3, 1651). He describes the crisis he had gone through in a letter to Speaker Lenthall, written, as all his letters are, in a serious religious tone:

'This battle was fought with various success for some hours, but still hopeful on our part; and in the end became an absolute victory,—and so full an one as proved a total defeat and ruin of the Enemy's Army; and a possession of the Town, our men entering at the Enemy's heels, and fighting with them in the streets with very great courage. We took all their baggage and artillery. What the slain are I can give you no account, because we have not taken an exact view; but they are very many; and must needs be so; because the

dispute was long and very near at hand; and often at push of pike, and from one defence to another. There are about Six or Seven thousand prisoners taken here; and many Officers and Noblemen of very great quality: Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Rothes, and divers other Noblemen,—I hear, the Earl of Lauderdale; many Officers of great quality; and some that will be fit subjects for your justice. . . . The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy. Surely, if it be not, such a one we shall have, if this provoke those that are concerned in it to thankfulness; and the Parliament to do the will of Him who hath done his will for it and for the nation.' [1]

The Irish War. This second war with Scotland had called Cromwell away from Ireland; it was there that the Commonwealth system was in greatest danger. In the reign of Elizabeth the Irish, who had previously felt the influence of the Reformation, were reconverted to Roman Catholicism by Jesuits. They had rebelled against Elizabeth's government, and had received armed assistance from Spain. Elizabeth's great fighting 'Deputies' saved Ireland from Spain, at the cost of much bloodshed. Under James I, the north-east of Ireland, where much land was vacant owing to the long rebellions, was resettled chiefly with Presbyterians from Scotland (1608–11). This 'Plantation of Ulster' made the north-east of Ireland a home of industry, enterprise, and loyalty to the British Crown; [2] it also emphasized the division which existed, though in a less degree, throughout the rest of the country, between Catholic and Protestant.

In 1641 a terrible rebellion broke out, the Catholics aiming at throwing off the English government (see p. 330). When the power of Parliament superseded that of Charles, the rebellion became worse than ever. Protestants were massacred; their land laid waste. Retaliation ensued. In the course of this terrible upheaval, Ireland is said to have lost

[1] T. Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Letter CLXXXIII.

[2] An earlier and not unsuccessful Plantation was in Leinster—Queen's County and King's County—which were 'shired' and colonized by English settlers (1557). About 500,000 acres in Munster were planted by Queen Elizabeth in 1584.

one-third of her teeming population. In 1649 Cromwell resolved that, at any cost, the fearful struggle must be stopped. He crossed St. George's Channel with a small, but perfectly trained army. The Irish, though they would not submit, could not hold out. Drogheda and Wexford were stormed, and the garrisons slaughtered.

'The Enemy [at Drogheda] had made three entrenchments, both to the right and left of where we entered; all which they were forced to quit. Being thus entered we refused them quarter; having the day before summoned the Town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. . . . This hath been a marvellous great mercy. The Enemy being not willing to put an issue upon a field battle had put into this Garrison almost all their prime soldiers, being about 3000 horse and foot, under the command of their best officers. . . . I do not believe, neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one Lieutenant who I hear, going to the Enemy said, That he was the only man escaped of all the Garrison. The Enemy upon this were filled with much terror. And truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood through the goodness of God.' [1]

When Cromwell was summoned back to England by the Scottish War, the conquest of Ireland was partly achieved. It was completed by his son-in-law, Ireton, and by Ludlow, who devotes a large part of his interesting *Memoirs* to a history of the campaigns. He thus describes the capture of Gourtenshegore, a castle near Limerick, after the refusal of the garrison to submit:

'The rest of the men I drew into several parties, and assigned them their particular attacks: Every soldier carried a fagot before him, as well to defend himself, as to fill up the Enemies trenches or to fire the Gates as there should be occasion. . . . Upon our first Approach the Enemy shot very thick upon us and killed two of our men, which so enraged the rest that they ran up to the Works, and helping one another to the top of them, beat off the Enemy, following them so close, that by means of some Ladders which those within had made use of they got into the Court, and put to the Sword most of those

[1] T. Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, vol. ii, Letter CIV.

they found there. . . . Lieutenant Foliot finding his Case desperate, resolved to sell his Life at as dear a rate as he could, and charged our Men who were nine or ten in number, with a Tuck in one hand, and a Stilleto in the other, defending himself so well with the one and pressing them so hard with the other that they all gave ground; but he closing with one of them whom he had wounded, and probably might have killed, gave an opportunity to another to run him through the Body, by which Wound he fell, and the House was quickly cleared of the rest.'

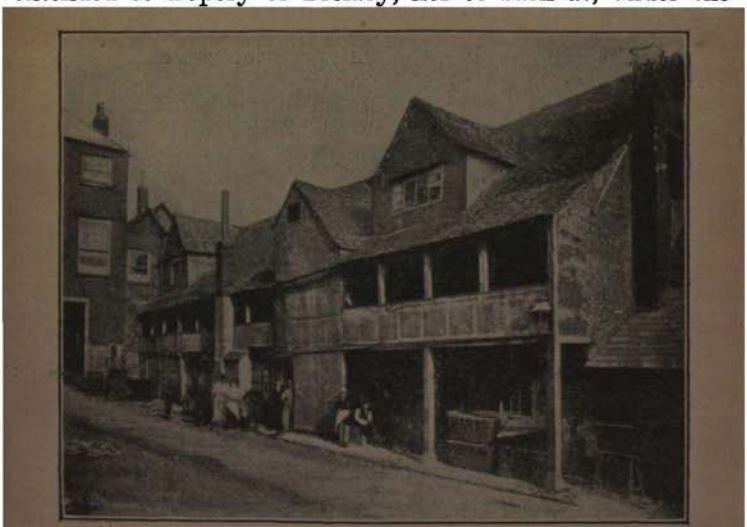
When the war was over, the Irish proprietors who had fought against the Parliament had their lands taken from them. They themselves were driven to live beyond the Shannon in Connaught, and their estates were given to English soldiers and other Puritan settlers.

The task of the Commonwealth. The wars were now, for a time, ended, and the task of the Commonwealth Government was to settle the State upon a permanent basis, according to the principles for which the wars had been fought. Yet seven years more showed that the English preferred the Monarchy, provided they could have it back while keeping the liberties they had won.

In 1653 the old Long Parliament, now reduced to 56 members, was still sitting and voting itself to be perpetual. Accordingly, on April 20, Cromwell entered Westminster Hall and dispersed it. It was an act of sheer force, but the Rump had to submit. A new constitution was drawn up by the chief officers of the army.

The Instrument of Government, 1653. The document which defined the new constitution is called 'The Instrument of Government'. By it Great Britain and Ireland were established as one Commonwealth, 'the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging'. The Government was to consist of one person, called the Lord Protector, and the people assembled, in the persons of their representatives, in Parliament. This Parliament was to have one chamber only, the House of Lords being abolished in 1649. To Parliament there were to be sent 30 members from

Scotland, 30 from Ireland, 375 from England, and 25 from Wales. The Constitution was to be 'rigid': 'the persons elected shall not have power to alter the government as it is hereby settled in one single person and a Parliament' (Article XII). The office of Lord Protector was to be elective, not hereditary (Article XXXII). All forms of the Christian religion were to be tolerated, 'provided this liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as, under the



TRAVEL. Yard at the Star Inn, Oxford, now demolished

profession of Christ, hold forth and practise licentiousness' (Article XXXVII).

Toleration. This Article XXXVII of the Instrument marks a step in the history of religious toleration. John Milton, in 1644, had passionately pleaded for freedom of opinion in his pamphlet, *Areopagitica*. Without liberty of expression, the truth could never be debated and discovered, nor would men's minds and virtues be strengthened by hearing every side of a question, and by seeing what temptation means:

'I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised

and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for not without dust and heat.'

England was reputed abroad to be the home of liberty:

'I could recount what I have seen and heard in other countries: . . . when I have sat among their learned men, for that honour I had, and been counted happy to be born in such a place of philosophic freedom as they supposed England was, while themselves did nothing but bemoan the servile

TRAVEL. A Coach in the Seventeenth Century

condition into which learning amongst them was brought; that this was it which had damped the glory of Italian wits, that nothing had been there written now these many years but flattery and fustian. There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licencers thought. And though I knew that England then was groaning loudest under the prelatical yoke, nevertheless I took it as a pledge of future happiness that other nations were so persuaded of her liberty. . . . Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out

yearly from as far as the mountain borders of Russia and beyond the Hercynian wilderness, not their youth, but their staid men, to learn our language and our theologic arts.' [1]

Had the Rump of the Long Parliament had its way, England would have been subjected to a Presbyterian system as harsh and intolerant as the Anglican system of Laud. Cromwell and his officers took a wider view, and left all branches of the Puritans free to worship as they liked, and English Church clergy and congregations to meet and use their ancient liturgy, so long as they did not have bishops over them. The absence of bishops would in the long run have meant the destruction of the English Church, as, according to Anglican views, only bishops can ordain new clergy; but the Commonwealth did not last long enough for this to happen.

The foreign policy of the Protectorate. The Commonwealth, under Oliver Cromwell, soon re-established the prestige of England upon the Continent, and made its name respected. In 1652–4 a successful naval war, caused by the Navigation Act (see p. 377), had been fought with the Dutch. It was in this wise that Robert Blake, then 53 years old, first went to sea, and became one of England's best admirals. A few years later a blow was struck at the Spanish Empire, to make it permit freedom of worship and freedom of trade. When Cromwell made these two demands from the Spanish Ambassador, in 1655, the latter smartly replied that to ask these was to ask for 'his master's two eyes'. The short war that ensued was waged in alliance with France. The island of Jamaica was taken by Admiral William Penn, and made a British colony. Cromwell even suggested, in a remarkable letter to Blake and Montague, his 'sea-generals', that Gibraltar should be taken and made a base for the British fleet:

'To Generals Blake and Montague, at Sea.

'Whitehall, Ap. 28, 1656.

'What numbers are in and about Cadiz, you best know. We only discourse probabilities: Whether now it might not

[1] Milton's *Areopagitica*.

be worthy to be weighed by you and your council of war, whether this fleet of theirs now in Cadiz might not be burnt or otherwise destroyed? Whether Puntel and the Forts are so considerably stronger as to discourage from such an attempt? Whether Cadiz itself be unattemptable; or the island on which it stands be noways to be separated from relieving the Town by the Bridge, the Island being so narrow in some parts of it? Whether any other place be attemptable; especially that of the Town and Castle of Gibraltar, which if possessed and made tenable by us, would it not be both an advantage to our trade and an annoyance to the Spaniard; and enable us, without keeping so great a fleet on that coast, with six nimble frigates lodged there to do the Spaniard more harm than by a fleet, and ease our own charge.' [1]

Nearly fifty years, however, were to pass before this idea was to take effect and the invaluable possession of Gibraltar to be added to the British Empire.

Under the Protectorate, the fleet grew in number of ships and men, and from this time has a permanent and increasing place in the national history. Robert Blake, a Lieutenant-Colonel of Popham's Regiment, was the greatest 'sea-general' of the Commonwealth. He died in July 1657 at sea after his great victory over the Spanish Fleet off Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe.

On land the Commonwealth was no less successful. Six thousand 'Ironsides', under General Lockhart, assisted the French at the Battle of the Dunes (June 4, 1658). The Spanish army was defeated, Dunkirk captured, and made an English fortress. The French alliance had been used in another fruitful way. France's neighbour, the Duke of Savoy, had been cruelly persecuting his Protestant subjects, the 'Vaudois', in the Pays de Vaud. John Milton, who was 'Latin Secretary' to the Protector, cried out against this in one of his finest sonnets:

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,

[1] T. Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, Letter CCIX.

When all our fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piemontese that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who, having learn'd thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe.[1]

JOHN MILTON AS A BOY

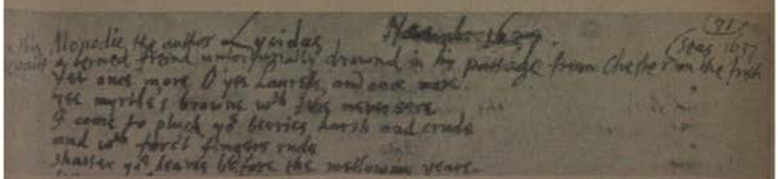
This was written in 1655, when the Anglo-French alliance was being arranged. Cromwell would have withdrawn from the proposed alliance had he not been able to induce the French Government to take action. The Duke of Savoy could not afford to disregard the pressure of France, and the persecution of the Vaudois stopped.

The death of the Protector. At home the task of government was proving almost too difficult, even for the strong-willed, sensible Cromwell. This plain country gentleman, fond of his book, his horse, and his pipe, had become first a brilliant leader of cavalry, next a general, commanding whole armies, pitting himself against some of the foremost strategists of the age; finally he had become ruler of the British Empire. In an age when the spectre of anarchy and destruction stalked through the land he had given peace and order at home, and had secured the freedom of the seas for a thriving English shipping.

He had to rule despotically, like Charles I, though with

[1] Milton, *On the late Massacre in Piemont.*

wiser designs and firmer hand. Yet no man believed more in government by the people, through their chosen representatives: 'I do believe', he told Ludlow, 'in government by consent, but where will you find that consent?' He himself was always looking for it, and tried two Parliaments in succession, but each time Parliament proved unworkable. It took to criticizing the Constitution, a proceeding which Cromwell would not allow; for to change the Constitution at that time would again, he thought, open the door to anarchy. To keep the country in law and order was, he considered, his first duty. 'For truly I have, as before God,' he told Parliament, 1657, 'often thought that I could not tell what my



LYCIDAS, ll. 1–5

From Milton's manuscript at Trinity College, Cambridge

business was, nor what I was in the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good Constable, set to keep the peace of the parish.' Thus he excused his (temporary) setting up even of a kind of martial law in the country under 'Major Generals'. 'They have given us', he said to Parliament, 'one day more of the lengthening out of our tranquillity.' As to the Levellers—the people who wished to do away with the distinctions of class and with property—he could not tolerate them.

'A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman—that is a good interest of the Nation. . . . For the orders and ranks of men, did not that Levelling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality? . . . Which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long.'

(Speech to the First Protectorate Parliament, 1654)

Oliver Cromwell died in Whitehall Palace on September 3, 1658. He was 59 years old. The 3rd of September was the anniversary of his 'crowning mercies', the victories of Dunbar and Worcester.

The end of the Protectorate. A document drawn up by Parliament in 1657, and called the *Humble Petition and Advice*, made two changes in the Constitution as defined by the Instrument of Government. One change added a Second Chamber, of 'Lords', nominated for life by the Protector. The second change gave the Protector the right of naming his successor. As he could name his own son, this change had the effect of making the Protectorate hereditary, and something very like a monarchy. In truth, the people were inclining more and more towards monarchy, but it was that of the old family rather than the new dynasty of Oliver. Oliver had nominated his eldest son Richard to succeed him; but Richard, though quite an honest, sensible man, was not strong enough for the work that had been almost too much for the powerful spirit of his father.

After nine months of troubled rule, Richard resigned his charge, retired to the Continent, and lived at Paris, returning to England about 1680, where he lived the quiet and useful life of a country gentleman, till he died in the reign of Queen Anne, in 1712, at the age of 86.

At the time of Richard's resignation, the Cromwellian army, numbering about 20,000, was still in being. The army chiefs, however, did not know how to govern, and so were compelled to recall the survivors of the Long Parliament, the old Rump, which alone, in spite of all its defects, seemed to have the necessary experience for this most difficult art of governing. But the Rump, as was said of the Bourbons in France after the Revolution, came back, having learned nothing and forgotten nothing. Quarrels between it and the army soon arose. Finally, General George Monk, a strong, level-headed man, who retained his mental balance in every sort of crisis, saw that the nation wanted the old settled government of the monarchy.

He was commander of the Commonwealth soldiers in Scotland. With 7,000 men he set out on the march for England, and crossed the border on January 1, 1660. On February 3 he entered London, after an unimpeded march of 400 miles.

Meanwhile Charles II (he always dated his reign from his father's death in 1649) was watching the course of events from Breda, in the United Netherlands. His experienced counsellor, the historian, Edward Hyde (created Earl of Clarendon in 1661), was with him, and drafted a Declaration to the English people (April 4, 1660):

'Charles R.

'Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

'If the general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare how much we desire to contribute thereunto; and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due, so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that He will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible; nor do we desire more to enjoy what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and deserved.

'And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future, by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration of King, Peers and people to their just, ancient and fundamental rights, we do, by these Presents, declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready, upon demand, to pass under our Great Seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever, who, within forty days after the publishing hereof,

shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, and shall, by any public act, declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament, those only to be excepted. . . .'[1]

The rest of the Declaration promised 'a liberty to tender consciences', and 'all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army'. Those two things, with the promise of a general amnesty, quieted the minds of the people, who on May 25, 1660, welcomed the landing of their King at Dover, with every demonstration of joy.

CHAPTER XIX

THE LAST TWO STUART KINGS

Charles II. The new King was only thirty years old at his accession in 1660. Like most of his family, he was a man of considerable ability, and with him England entered upon a period of settled government that has never since been seriously disturbed. Monk, the resolute quiet soldier, whom Samuel Pepys described as 'a dull heavy man', had been, as was said at the time, *victor sine sanguine*, victor without bloodshed.

Charles was not the man to disturb this bloodless restoration. His portrait, by Sir Peter Lely, shows him as a man with a clever face, though not so handsome as his father. His mouth was rather large, his nose was prominent. Personally he was rather likeable, being always good-humoured, and affable to all his subjects. He became a well-known figure in London, where he might often be seen taking exercise alone, striding along in St. James's Park, accompanied by his spaniels, and throwing crumbs to the ducks in the pond. The English, who were a very difficult people to rule at that time, grew to like him. Under his easy-going, genial exterior, he had great determination. A less good-humoured, less tactful,

[1] Declaration of Breda. Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution.*

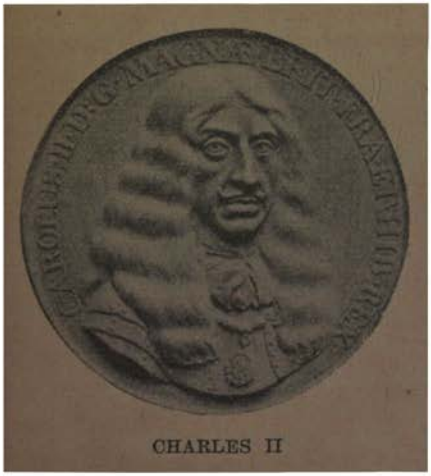
and at the same time, less strong-willed king, would probably have provoked another rebellion. As it was, it was left for Charles's brother James to do this, and, when it came, this second rebellion—the Revolution of 1688—was short and bloodless.

The Earl of Clarendon. Charles, though he kept his eye upon all affairs of State, yet would not apply himself to the details of business; this was entrusted to Edward Hyde. Hyde had been a minister of Charles I, and remained to the end of his life a moderate Constitutional Royalist. Charles II made him Lord Chancellor, and in this position Hyde, henceforward known as Earl of Clarendon, was for seven years the chief minister in legal, ecclesiastical, and State affairs. Under his wise guidance the Restoration Settlement was made almost without friction. Men who have eaten the bread of exile do not as a rule return with kindly feelings to the people that have outlawed them; and there were many Cavaliers who had sacrificed all in the cause of Charles I, and who expected compensation at the expense of their enemies. But an Act of Indemnity (as promised in the Declaration of Breda) was passed, pardoning all, except those who had signed Charles I's death-warrant; and most of these had either fled abroad, or had died before the Restoration. In all thirteen Regicides were executed.

'When the Cavaliers saw they had not that share in places they expected, they complained of it so highly that the Earl of Clarendon, to excuse the King passing them by, was apt to beat down the value they set on their services. This laid the foundation of an implacable hatred in many of them, that was completed by the extent and comprehensiveness of the Act of Indemnity. . . . When the new Parliament was called a year after, in which there was a design to set aside the Act of Indemnity, the King did positively insist on his adhering to the Act. The Earl of Clarendon owned that it was his counsel. Acts or promises of indemnity, he thought, ought to be held sacred. He often said it was the making of those promises that brought the King home, and it was the keeping of them must keep him at home. The angry men that were thus

disappointed of all their hopes, made a jest of the title of it; an Act of oblivion and of indemnity; and said the King had passed an Act of oblivion for his friends and of indemnity for his enemies.' (Burnet, *History of His Own Time.*)

The growth of Nonconformity. It was Church and King, or rather Church and State (the King being head and part of both), that Clarendon stood for. And it was necessary, in his view, in order to have a strong and united people, that Church and State should be one. There was, if possible, to be no dissent. The Church of England was to be made wide enough to include all.



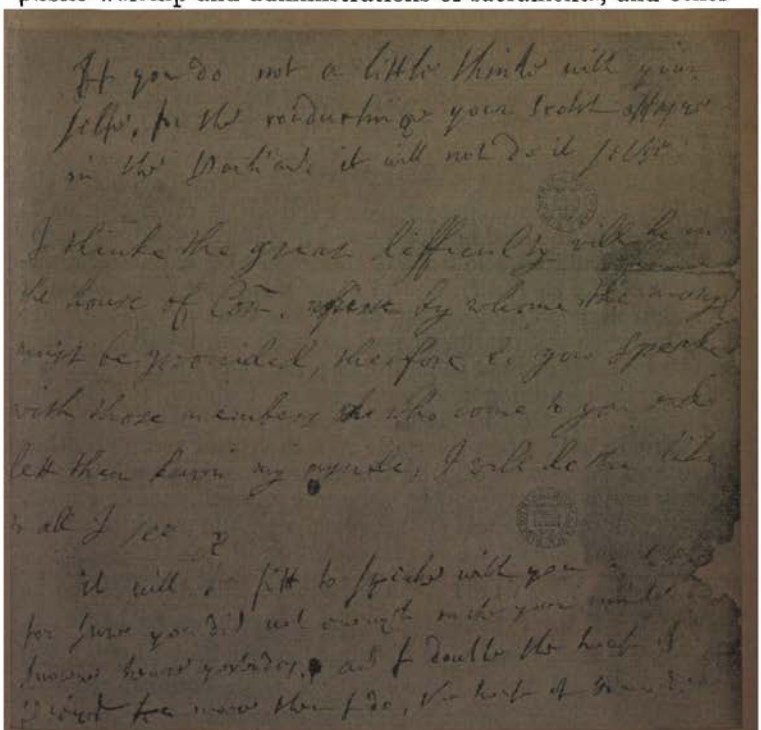
CHARLES II

In 1661, a conference of Church of England and Presbyterian divines was held at the Savoy Palace. It came to nothing, however, as the bishops insisted that definite rules were necessary for conducting public worship; while the Presbyterians thought that no fixed rule should be adopted for things that are not matters of doctrine. In the question, for instance, whether people should kneel when receiving the Holy Communion, the Presbyterians desired some latitude and freedom of choice. This is a part of the ancient and still-living controversy between those who stand for order and uniformity, and those who, on the other hand, feel a certain repugnance to set forms and ritual.

In 1662, the Parliament, which in the enthusiasm of the Revolution had been elected on a strong 'Church and State basis', passed an Act of Uniformity:

'Now in regard that nothing conduced more to the settling of the peace of this nation (which is desired of all good men)

nor to the honour of our religion, and the propagation thereof, than an universal agreement in the public worship of Almighty God; and to the intent that every person within this realm may certainly know the rule to which he is to conform in public worship and administrations of sacraments, and other



HANDWRITING OF CLARENDON AND CHARLES II, 1661[1]

[1] [*Clarendon State Papers*, III. xlix. 1661.]

[*Chan.*] If you do not a little thinke with yourselfe, for the conductinge your Scotsh affayre in the Parliam[t], it will not do it selfe:

[*King*] I thinke the great difficulty will be in the house of Com̃ [whence *struck out*] by whome the mony must be prouided, therfore do you speake with those members who come to you and lett them know my mynde, I will do the like to all I see.

[*Chan.*] it will be fitt to speake with you a little, for sure you did not enough make your minde knowne heare yesterday, and I doubte the house of Peeres more then I do, the house of Comons.

rites and ceremonies in the Church of England, and the manner how and by whom bishops, priests and deacons are and ought to be made, ordained, and consecrated; be it enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by the advice and with the consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and of the commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That all and singular ministers in any cathedral, collegiate or parish church or chapel or other place of public worship within this realm of England, dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed shall be bound to say and use the Morning Prayer, Evening Prayer, celebration and administration of both the sacraments, and all other the public and common prayers, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book annexed and joined to this present act and intitulated, the Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Church of England; together with the psalter or psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sang or said in churches; and the form or manner of making, ordaining and consecrating bishops, priests and deacons: And that the morning and evening prayers therein contained shall, upon every Lord's day, and upon all other days and occasions, and at the times therein appointed, be openly and solemnly read by all and every minister or curate, in every church, chapel or other place of public worship, within this realm of England and places aforesaid.'

All clergy who would not conform to this Act were to be deprived of their benefices. The contemporary historian, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, says that about 2,000 clergy resigned their livings rather than conform to this Act. From this moment the Nonconformists, many of whom had up till then believed themselves still part of the Church of England, were forced into a sectarian attitude, and that unity, which might have been the glory of the English Church, was destroyed.

The Clarendon Code. The Act of Uniformity was followed by a series of Acts, which made it still more difficult for any one who would not conform exactly to the Book of Common Prayer to remain within the Church of England. These Acts, having been passed while Lord Clarendon was Chan-

cellor, have been called the 'Clarendon Code', though Burnet says he had little sympathy with religious coercion. The *Corporation Act* (1661) had commanded that all mayors and magistrates of corporate towns should take the following oath:

'I, A. B., do declare and believe, That it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the King; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him: So help me God.'

The *Licensing Act* (1662) provided that no book should be printed except with the authority of the Government.

Thus every one was to promise never to resist the King's authority; no books could be printed if the Government disliked the ideas expressed in them; no religious meeting (except a Church of England meeting) of more than five persons could take place (*Conventicle Act*, 1664); finally, the *Five Mile Act* (1665) ordered that all men who preached at any religious meeting that was not strictly according to the Church of England should be excluded from every corporate town (that is, a town that sent members to Parliament); in fact, they were not to be allowed to come within five miles of such a town 'unless only in passing upon the road'.

England was put into shackles. Yet the people, as a whole not greatly concerned with religious differences, remained happily enough under the Restoration system, and thought themselves the freest people upon earth.

Intellectual freedom. In spite of religious intolerance, there was a high degree of intellectual freedom in England under Charles II. Among many philosophers, Thomas Hobbes was pre-eminent. He had been for a time mathematical tutor to the King (when Prince of Wales), and was the friend of all the great thinkers of the day, at home and abroad. His best-known work now is the *Leviathan* (first issued in 1651), a treatise on political science. In this work

Hobbes discourses with great wisdom on the origin of the State and on the nature of Law and Sovereignty. Although his theory of the 'Social Contract' is no longer held to be correct, his work is of great importance in the history of English political thought.

THE CONTINENTAL BEGGAR OF THE PERIOD

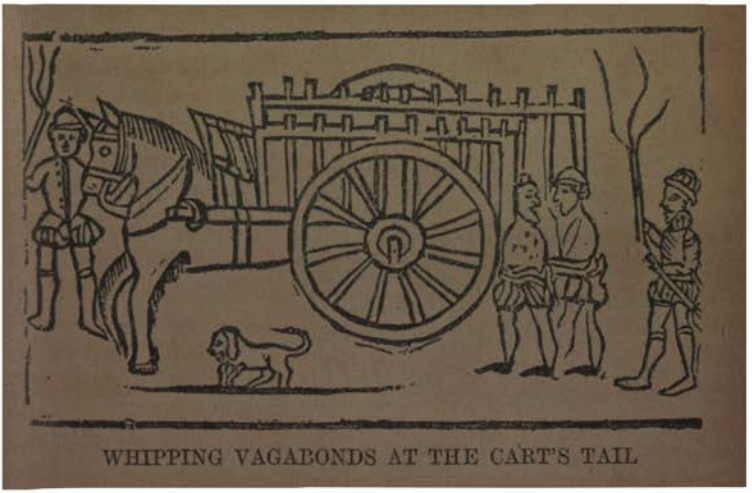
Vagrancy and the Poor Law. In the Tudor period an evil, which had not been absent from the Middle Ages, had become more prominent than ever. This evil was vagrancy—the existence of a moving class of idle people, who either would not work or who could not find employment.

The increase of vagrancy was largely due to the breaking-up of feudalism towards the end of the sixteenth century. The nobles were being curbed by the Crown, and had to give up most of their retainers. And even where the retainers were meant really as domestic servants, the rise in prices in the sixteenth century forced many noblemen to dismiss their surplus staff.

'These men [the retainers] as soon as their master is dead, or be sick themselves, be incontinent thrust out of doors. . . . Then in the mean season, they that be thus destitute of service, either starve for hunger, or manfully play the thieves.'
(More's *Utopia*, published 1516.)

Further the change of land from agriculture to pasture brew many men out of their livelihood :

'By one means, therefore, or other, either by hook or rook, they must needs depart away, poor, silly, wretched ouls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, idows, woful mothers, with their young babes, and their hole household small in substance, and much in number, s husbandry requireth many hands. Away they trudge,



WHIPPING VAGABONDS AT THE CART'S TAIL

I say, out of their knowen and accustomed houses, finding no place to rest in. . . . And when they have wandered abroad, till that [their substance] be spent, what can they then els do but steal, and then justly pardy be hanged, or els go about a begging ? And yet then also they be cast in prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not : whom no man will set awork, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto.' (Ibid.)

Finally, while it was becoming more and more difficult for men to find a living on the land, the dissolution of the monasteries destroyed the most charitable of landlords, and so for a considerable time, at least, made things harder than ever for the vagrants.

Queen Elizabeth was the first seriously to tackle the evil. Earlier sovereigns had made laws against vagrancy, but Elizabeth and her advisers knew that mere prohibition and punishment were not enough. So in 1572 a statute was passed to establish *houses of correction* under the authority of justices of the peace; and in these houses all vagabonds were to be put to work. In 1598 the law was strengthened:

'Every person which is by this present Act declared to be a rogue, vagabond, or sturdy beggar, which shall be taken begging, vagrant, or misordering themselves, shall upon their apprehension be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and shall be openly whipped until his or her body be bloody, and shall be forthwith sent from parish to parish, the next straight way to the parish where he was born . . . there to put himself to labour as a true subject ought to do.'
(Statute 30 and 40 Elizabeth, Cap. IV.)

This Act, however, did little to mend matters; for while it did good by supplying some means of work for the vagrants, it did harm by insisting on their being sent back to their original parish. For by this the labourer, instead of being mobile, and able to go wherever employment was plentiful, was really settled and fixed to his parish; so that some parishes had many labourers and little work, while some had much work to be done but few labourers. And in spite of all the penalties of the law, vagrancy continued.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, the disturbance caused to trade and industry by the Civil War for a time made vagrancy worse than ever, and in 1662 the Government of Charles II re-enacted, in a more stringent form, the 'settlement' policy of Elizabeth's statute: on the complaint of the churchwardens or overseers of the poor, the justices of the peace had power to remove any person from the parish where he had settled to his original home. This only made matters worse than ever. But fortunately, at the same time, trade and industry were growing; and in spite of the Settlement Acts, the economic prosperity of the country steadily

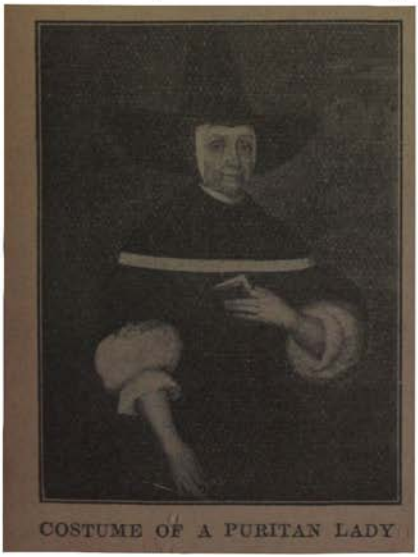
revived, until in the eighteenth century the surplus of unemployed people nearly disappeared.

The Dutch Wars. Under Charles II England prospered. The furs, the sugar, the tobacco, the coffee of the New World were freely carried across the sea to England, and life assumed a more cheerful aspect. Great gains were made in commerce; the East India Company, which had been established (1600) towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, at last began to earn good profits. But when our traders began to push their way to more distant parts, they found the Dutch already established. This hardy, frugal people had won their independence from Spain by the year 1609, and from that time their slow, well-filled ships sailed every sea. It was natural to all Dutchmen to save money, so that, although their country was not rich by nature, there was always capital to be found for commercial enterprise. Thus they were able to send ships and traders to the East and to the West, and well-stocked warehouses arose among the swamps and forests of almost unknown rivers, the Hooghly, the Hudson, the Orinoco.

These were the days when commerce was not free; when no nation welcomed the trade of another, or believed that the exchange of goods and services enriched both sides and increased the enjoyment of the world. The Long Parliament had decided that the Dutch should not carry goods to English ports; and so, chiefly for naval reasons, to encourage English shipping, they passed the Navigation Act of 1651. The Act provided that goods should only be brought to England in English ships or the ships of the country which had produced the goods. The Dutch protested against this discrimination being made against their carrying trade, and war ensued, which was terminated, on the whole, in favour of England in 1654. After the Restoration the Navigation Act (1660) was passed again, with the addition that the Colonies must import goods from England only, and that their chief products must be exported only to England or to other English Colonies.

Once more, as in the time of the Protectorate, war broke

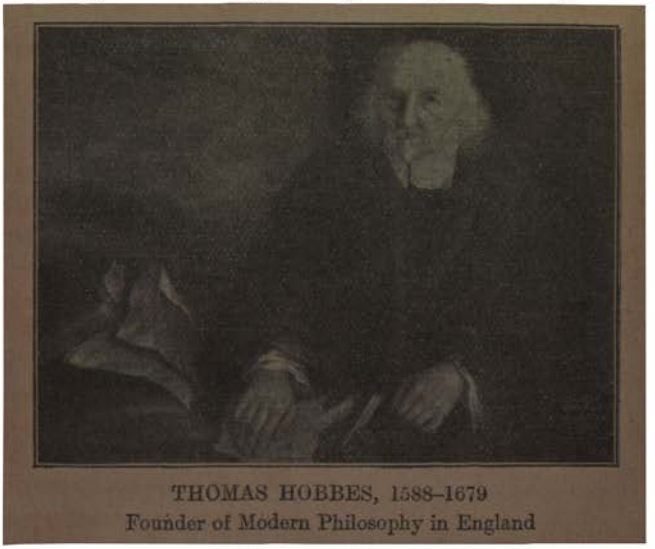
out between the Dutch and English. It was a war for the mastery of the seas, for if the Dutch could not trade with England or the English colonies, they would be cut off from half the New World, and their shipping would decay. On both sides it was a heroic war, for each nation fought as it were upon its natural element, and showed its finest qualities. Soldiers took to the sea, Rupert and Monk on the English side, Opdam, a colonel of cavalry, on the Dutch. The great de Ruyter, however, had always been a sailor, and under him the Dutch seamanship was, on the whole, superior to the English. Each side boldly sought out the other, to meet it in decisive battle. On June 3, 1665, the English fleet under the Duke of York met the Dutch off Lowestoft and gained a great victory; Monk (Duke of Albemarle by this time) met Pepys, who was an Admiralty official, in the Cockpit theatre, and told him the news. The enthusiastic official put it all down in his diary:



COSTUME OF A PURITAN LADY

'June 3, 1665. This day they engaged: the Dutch neglecting greatly the opportunity of the wind they had of us; by which they lost the benefit of their fire-ships. The Earl of Falmouth, Muskerry, and Mr. Richard Boyle killed on board the Duke's ship, the Royall Charles, with one shot: their blood and brains flying in the Duke's face; and the head of Mr. Boyle striking down the Duke, as some say. Earl of Marlborough, Portland, Rear Admirall Sansum, to Prince Rupert killed, and Captain Kirby and Ableson. Sir John Lawson wounded on the knee and hath had some bones taken out, and

is likely to be well again. Upon receiving the hurt he sent to the Duke for another to command the Royall Oake The Duke sent Jordan out of the St. George, who did brave things in her. Captain Jeremiah Smith, of the Mary, was second to the Duke, and stepped between him and Captain Seaton of the Urania, 76 guns and 400 men, who had sworn to board the Duke; killed him 200 men and took the ship; himself losing 99 men, and never an officer saved but himself and lieutenant. His master indeed is saved with his leg cut off. Admirall Opdam blown up, Trump killed, and said by Holmes;

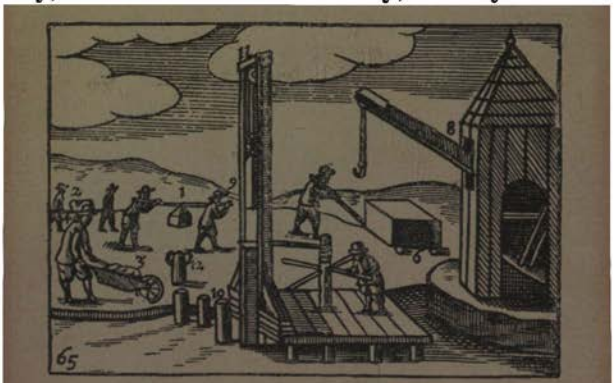


THOMAS HOBBES, 1588–1679
Founder of Modern Philosophy in England

all the rest of their admiralls, as they say, but Everson, whom they dare not trust for his affection to the Prince of Orange, are killed: we have taken and sunk, as is believed, about twenty-four of their best ships; killed and taken near 8 or 10,000 men, and lost we think, not above 700. A greater victory never known in the world. They are all fled; some 43 got into the Texell, and others elsewhere, and we in pursuit of the rest. Thence with my heart full of joy, home: then to my Lady Pen's, where they are all joyed, and not a little puffed up at the good success of their father; and good service indeed is said to have been done by him. Had a great bonfire at the gate; and I, with my Lady Pen's people and others,

to Mrs. Turner's great room, and there down into the street. I did give the boys 4*s.* among them and mighty merry : so home to bed, with my heart at great rest and quiet, saving that the consideration of the victory is too great for me presently to comprehend.'

The Duke of York, brother of Charles II, afterwards King James II, was Lord High Admiral at this time. He was a careful administrator, diligent in his duties, both in the Admiralty offices in Whitehall and on the sea. Sir William Coventry, a Commissioner of the Navy, one day at a meeting



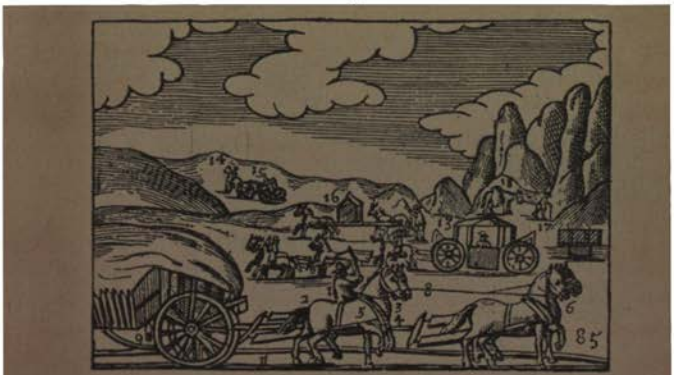
VARIOUS ENGINES IN 1672. For description see List of Illustrations

of the ' Committee of Tangier ', described the Duke's conduct to Pepys, and Pepys, of course, wrote it in his diary :

' He tells me, above all, of the Duke of York, that he is more himself and more of judgment is at hand in him, in the middle of a desperate service than at other times, as appeared in the business of Dunkirke, wherein no man ever did braver things, or was in hotter service in the close of that day, being surrounded with enemies ; and then, contrary to the advice of all about him, his counsel carried himself and the rest through them safe, by advising that he might make his passage with but a dozen with him ; " For," says he, " the enemy cannot move after me so fast with a great body, and with a small one we shall be enough to deal with them " : and

though he is a man naturally martiall to the hottest degree, yet a man that never in his life talks one word of himself or service of his own, but only that he saw such or such a thing, and lays it down for a maxime that a Hector can have no courage.'

The year previous to the battle of Lowestoft, the English Government, according to what has always been its practice during a European War, sent an expedition against the enemy's colonies; New Amsterdam, the old Dutch settlement on the Hudson River was occupied and re-named New York.



VARIOUS METHODS OF TRANSPORT, 1672
For description see List of Illustrations

The condition of the Navy. All did not go so well, however, throughout the whole war. The Navy was brave and enthusiastic, although a large proportion of the officers were landsmen, appointed by Court influence. Pepys deplored the appointment of those unprofessional captains:

'At noon, walked in the garden with Commissioner Pitt, newly come to town, who tells me how infinite the disorders are among the commanders and all officers of the fleete. No discipline: nothing but swearing and cursing, and everybody doing what they please; and the Generals, understanding no better, suffer it, to the reproaching of this Board, or whoever it will be. He himself hath been challenged twice to the field, or something as good, by Sir Edward Spragge and Captain Seamons. He tells me that Captains carry, for all the late

orders, what men they please. So that he fears, and I do no less, that God Almighty cannot bless us while we keep in this disorder that we are in: he observing to me, too, that there is no man of council or advice in the fleete; and, the truth is, that the gentlemen-captains will undo us, for they are not to be kept in order, their friends about the King and Duke, and their own houses, are so free, that it is not for any person but the Duke himself to have any command over them.'

On shore, in the dockyards, things were not much better managed. Parliament voted money for the Fleet, but much of this money was never spent on ships. Some of it Charles spent on his favourites; some was embezzled by the dockyard officials. Pepys, as a most industrious and inquisitive official knew of this corruption, but could not stop it:

'22nd. To Deptford. Coming too soon, I spent an hour in looking round the yard, and putting Mr. Shish [Master Shipwright at Deptford] to measure a piece or two of timber, which he did most cruelly wrong, and to the King's loss 12 or 13*s*. in a piece of 28 feet in contents' [July 1664].

Dockyard officials made money off the timber and stores. Captains made money by drawing pay for seamen who, long since dead, were still borne upon the books of the ship:

'At the Dog Tavern, Captain Philip Holland, with whom I advised how to make some advantage of my Lord's going to sea, told me to have five or six servants entered on board as dead men, and I to give them what wages I pleased, and so their pay to be mine.'

Thus the safety of England was jeopardized. And meanwhile, the sailors who fought so heroically lacked their pay, and their women and children were often in the greatest misery. Pepys was nearly mobbed by them once:

'10th. To the office; the yard being very full of women, I believe above three hundred, coming to get money for their husbands and friends that are prisoners in Holland; and they lay clamouring, and swearing, and cursing us, that my wife and I were afraid to send a venison-pasty that we have for supper tonight to the cook's to be baked, for fear of their offering violence to it: but it went, and no hurt done. To

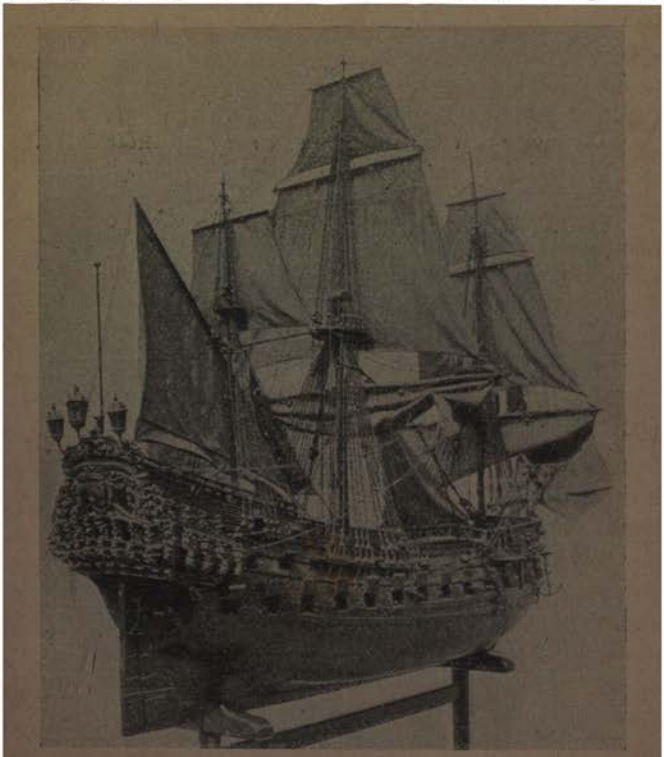
the Tower, to speak with Sir John Robinson about the bad condition of the pressed men for want of clothes' [July 1666].

After the Dutch Wars it was a common sight to see wounded sailors having to beg their bread in the streets of London.

The Dutch in the Medway. If all the money which the nation voted for the Fleet had been honestly spent upon ships, the Navy could have been properly maintained. As things stood, however, supplies ran short. In 1667 the Government decided to pay off many of the sailors, and to lay up their ships. The great Admiral de Ruyter saw his chance. Suddenly appearing off the Thames estuary, he sailed his fleet up to the Medway. The Government was caught unprepared. Orders were given to sink ships in Barking Creek, to stop the Dutch from coming up higher. Pepys hastily sent his father and wife into the country, with all his loose cash, '£1,300 in gold, in their night-bag' (June 13). A few hours later, having gone to the Admiralty at Whitehall, he sent a Government messenger after Mrs. Pepys with another 1,000 pieces, 'under colour of an express to Sir Jeremy Smith', who was commander at Newcastle. 'The charge of an express', adds Pepys, 'is not considerable to the king.' The news got worse: 'Late at night comes Mr. Hudson, the cooper, my neighbour, and tells me that he came from Chatham this evening at 5 o'clock, and saw this afternoon *The Royal James*, *Oake*, and *London* burnt by the enemy with their fire-ships.' The booming of the Dutch guns was heard in London. The capital was blockaded, and the coal ships from Newcastle could not arrive. The wives of the discharged sailors went about saying, 'This comes of your not paying our husbands,' and a special guard had to be kept at the doors of the Admiralty to prevent them forcing their way in.

London did not fall, but the blockade of the Thames was maintained by the Dutch until Commissioners were sent over to Holland, to accelerate the negotiations which were going on. The Peace of Breda (July 31, 1667) was the result. England retained New York, and kept the Navigation Act in force, but

handed back the rich spice-bearing island of Pularoon in the East Indies. The Dutch would not have given such good terms had Louis XIV of France not been at the same time attacking them by land. Charles was acting in league with



MODEL OF A DUTCH WARSHIP

Louis, but the English Parliament was too sensible to stand by and see France overrun both the Spanish Netherlands and Holland. Accordingly, in January 1668, they actually insisted on offering an alliance to the Dutch. This was the famous Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden, which occasioned the withdrawal of Louis from the territory he

had conquered in the Low Countries. The sacrifices which the Dutch had undergone were thus at last rewarded.

The Second Dutch War. King Charles, however seemed bent on destroying the Dutch, and on June 1, 1670, the Secret Treaty of Dover was signed with France. Charles's ministers at this time were the notorious 'Cabal'—Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale. The austere Clarendon had been impeached in 1667, and had to fly to France, where he employed his enforced leisure in completing his great *History of the Rebellion*.

THE ROYAL PRINCE
Captured by the Dutch in the year 1666

The Secret Treaty stipulated that Charles should engage England in war with the Dutch, while Louis attacked them by land. In order that he should be fairly independent of Parliament, Charles was to receive £300,000 from Louis. An additional article, which was only communicated to Clifford and Arlington, arranged that Charles should get an extra £200,000 on condition of his declaring himself publicly to be a Roman Catholic.

In March 1672, Charles, though not declaring himself a Roman Catholic, performed part of his bargain with Louis by issuing an illegal 'Declaration of Indulgence', exempting all Nonconformists (including Roman Catholics), from the penalties of the Act of Uniformity, Corporation Act, and so forth. He then made war upon the Dutch, and managed to get Parliament to vote supplies for it; and on June 7, 1672, an Anglo-French fleet under the Duke of York fought

a great battle with the Dutch fleet under Admiral de Ruyter, off Southwold (or Sole) Bay. The action was broken off at night, and fog prevented it being renewed next day.

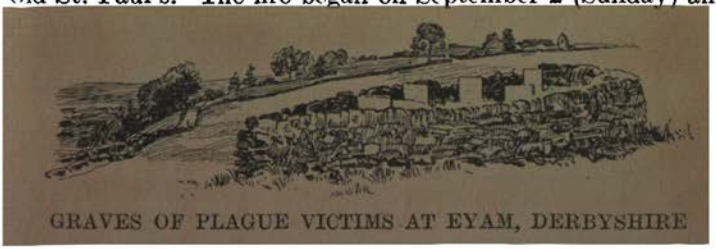
As a concession to the feeling of Parliament, Charles withdrew the Declaration of Indulgence, and assented to the Test Act (1673). According to this Act no one could hold any position, civil or military, under the King, without receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England. The Duke of York at once gave up his position as Lord High Admiral, and every one realized that the heir to the throne (for Charles had no legitimate children) was a Roman Catholic.

The Dutch, although assailed by land with all the armies of France, cut the dikes and flooded their country, and at the same time carried on a not unsuccessful naval war against England. Gradually the public came to realize that France, not Holland, was the danger to England, and that the victory of Louis would mean the restoration of the Pope's authority in the country. In February 1674, Parliament insisted on peace being made with the Dutch, who thus freed from their maritime enemy were able, in alliance with Austria, to deal with the French armies.

Henceforward there was to be no more war for over a hundred years with Holland. The Navigation Act was maintained, and under its protection English shipping increased. On the other hand, owing to the absence of foreign competition, the cost of shipbuilding and of freights was kept high. The expensive wars which the Dutch had fought left them heavily burdened with debt, which, notwithstanding the saving habits of the people, proved a great handicap to their industry.

The Plague and the Great Fire. In August and September 1665, the Plague had visited England, and London especially suffered from this fearful scourge. The streets were narrow and the houses close together. In their little back-gardens, the citizens had their wells of water, which had got contaminated. All who could went out of the town. Charles

went to Salisbury, and afterwards to Oxford, though he was not afraid to come up to the city to see how things were going on. In one parish alone, Pepys says, as many as 40 died in one night. The Admiralty removed to Greenwich, for the Dutch War was still going on, and business must be attended to. Physicians themselves caught the disease and died. Gradually, however, the plague worked itself to extinction; and finally the marks of it were obliterated by the Great Fire, which occurred in September 1666. Large parts of London were destroyed, along with the splendid cathedral, Old St. Paul's. The fire began on September 2 (Sunday) and

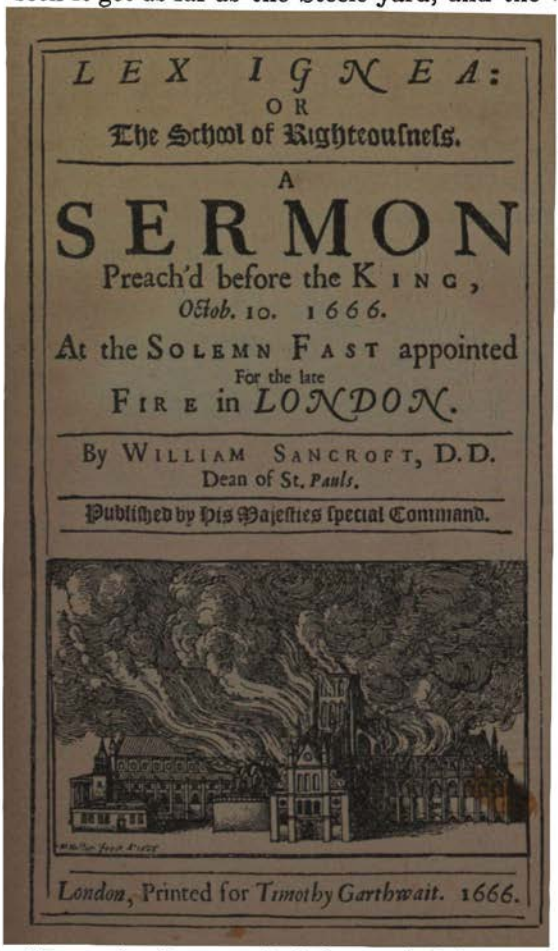


GRAVES OF PLAGUE VICTIMS AT EYAM, DERBYSHIRE

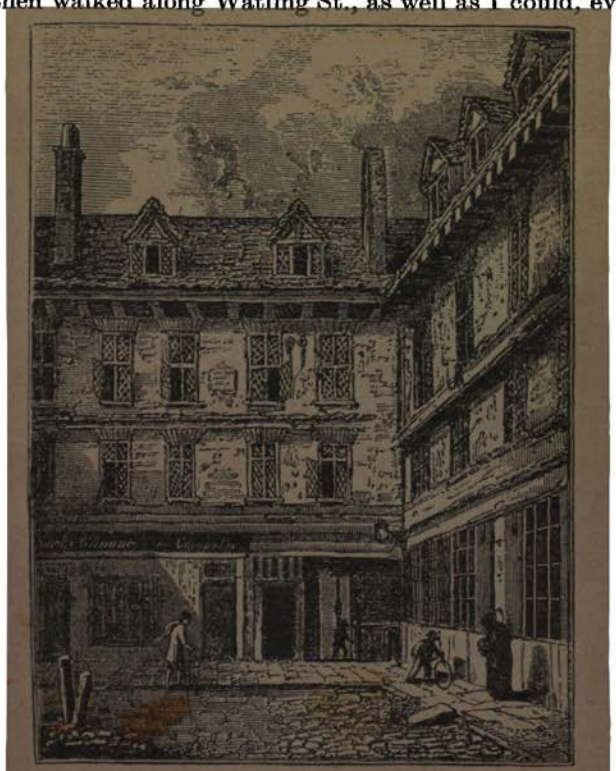
burned till the 6th. Pepys witnessed the state of affairs and describes it in his diary:

'So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it began this morning in the King's baker's house in Pudding Lane, and that it hath burned down St. Magnus's Church and most part of Fish Street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat, and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, as far as the Old Swan, already burned that way, and the fire running further, that, in a very little time, it got as far as the Steele-yard, while I was there. Every body endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river, and bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats or clambering from one pair of stairs, by the water-side, to another. And, among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconys, till they burned their wings, and fell down. Having staid, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every

way; and nobody to my sight endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods and leave all to the fire; and having seen it get as far as the Steele-yard, and the wind mighty high, and driving it into the City; and everything after so long a drought, proving combustible, even the very stones of churches; and among other things the poor steeple, by which pretty Mrs. —— lives, and whereof my old schoolfellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top, and there burned till it fell down; and to White Hall with a gentleman with me, who desired to go off from the Tower to see the fire, in my boat; and then up to the King's closet in the Chapel, where people come about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried in to the King. So I was called for, and did tell the King and Duke of York what I saw; and that, unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down, nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor from him, and command him to spare


LEX IGNEA:
OR
The School of Righteousness.
A
SERMON
Preach'd before the KING,
Octob. 10. 1666.
At the SOLEMN FAST appointed
For the late
FIRE in LONDON.
By WILLIAM SANCROFT, D.D.
Dean of St. Pauls.
Published by His Majesties special Command.
London, Printed for Timothy Garthwait. 1666.

no houses but to pull down before the fire every way. The Duke of York bid me tell him, that if he would have any more soldiers, he shall; and so did my Lord Arlington afterwards as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach which he lent me, and hied with me to Paul's; and then walked along Watling St., as well as I could, every



A typical London Court of the time. Green Arbor Court, off Fleet Street, pulled down about 1829

creature coming away laden with goods to save, and here and there, sick people carried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs. At last met my Lord Mayor in Canning Street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message he cried like a fainting woman, "Lord, what can I do? I am spent: people will

not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it."

The fire ruined many people, and caused great distress among the poor. It is a proof, however, of the real prosperity of the country at this time that the city was rebuilt again so quickly, and in such a substantial way. It was the Great Fire which gave Sir Christopher Wren the opportunity of building the new St. Paul's Cathedral and other splendid City churches which still remain to attest his genius.

Shaftesbury. That part of the Secret Treaty of Dover (p. 385) which engaged Charles to declare himself a Roman Catholic had not been communicated to all five members of the Cabal ministry. The ambitious and daring Ashley—Anthony Ashley Cooper, later made Earl of Shaftesbury—on discovering that he had not been shown the whole treaty, at once raised an opposition party in Parliament to oppose the Court. He is considered as being, to a certain extent, the originator of the system of party politics in England. History, rightly or wrongly, has taken its view of Lord Shaftesbury from Dryden's mordant satire:

Of these the false Achitophel [Shaftesbury] was first;
A name to all succeeding ages curst:
For close designs and crooked counsels fit,
Sagacious, bold and turbulent of wit,
Restless, unfixed in principles and place;
In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace . . .
A daring pilot in extremity;
Pleased with the danger when the waves went high,
He sought the storms; but, for a calm unfit,
Would steer too nigh the sands, to boast his wit.[1]

The Popish Plot. It was the object of Shaftesbury and his 'Country Party', as he called it, to defeat the design, which clearly Charles II held in view, of restoring Roman Catholicism in England. For this it seemed necessary, not merely to take measures with Charles himself, but with the heir presumptive, James, Duke of York, an avowed Catholic. Religious feeling

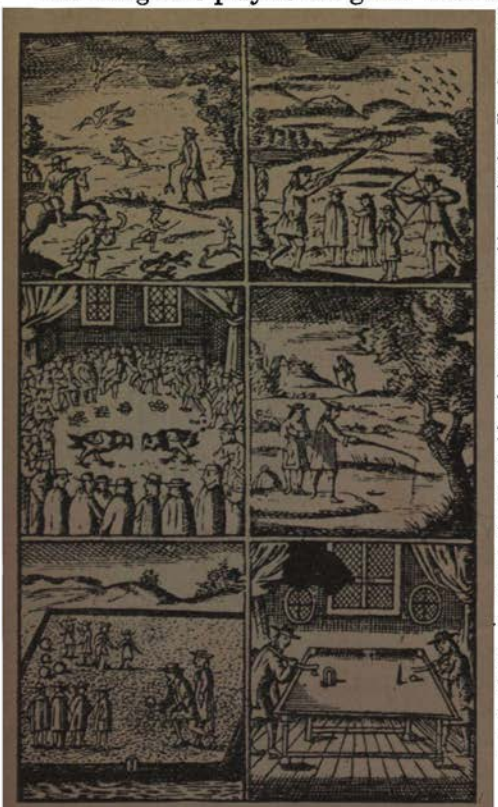
[1] Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, Part I.

ran very high in the country. The wildest stories were believed. It was said that Catholics had made the Great Fire of London. In 1678, Titus Oates, a clergyman of the Church of England, but a man of bad character, came forward with a story of a 'Popish Plot', a 'hideous romance', as Macaulay calls it, 'resembling rather the dream of a sick man than any transaction which ever took place in the real world'. England was to be given up to the Jesuits, the statesmen and chief clergy murdered, the King poisoned. The story was believed for a time, and 'the gaols were filled with Papists'. Shaftesbury took advantage of the excitement to introduce the Exclusion Bill.

The Exclusion Bill. In January 1679, Charles II had dissolved his 'Long Parliament', which had existed for seventeen years The General Election that followed returned members to Parliament ready to take measures against the Catholics. Shaftesbury proposed a Bill to exclude the Duke of York from the throne, and to put in his place the Duke of Monmouth, one of Charles's illegitimate sons. Monmouth was a popular man and a good soldier. The Exclusion Bill passed the House of Commons in 1680, but was rejected in the Lords. The King dissolved Parliament, a General Election was held, and Charles's third and last Parliament was summoned to meet at Oxford. Shaftesbury's 'Country Party', who were then beginning to be called Whigs, came up determined to limit the power of the Crown. The 'Court Party', beginning to be called Tories, were in great numbers too, ready to uphold the sacred rights of the King. Once more the Exclusion Bill was read in the Commons, but Charles appeared in Christ Church Hall, where the

Lords were sitting, and dissolved the Parliament (March 1681).

The King had played his game with all his great ability. He had watched the violent conduct of the Whigs, he had seen a Tory reaction gradually preparing in the country. When the time was ripe, when the Commons were seen to be losing sympathy, Charles dissolved Parliament, and for the rest of his reign ruled alone. The succession of the Duke of York was saved. Shaftesbury meditated revolution, but he was watched. He anticipated arrest by flight to Holland, where he died in 1683.



PASTIMES. Sport and games in the time of Charles II

Death of Charles II. At the age of fifty-five the constitution of Charles showed signs of breaking. Unlike his grave and austere father, Charles was a genial, merry man, and therefore popular with the people. He was careful of his health, taking regular exercise, either by playing tennis in a great covered court, or, in his later years, by walking. He was, on the other hand, sensual and self-indulgent, and his Court was a scandal

throughout Europe. On the evening of February 1 his Court in the great gallery of Whitehall showed no change. The King was talking with ladies ' whose charms ' (says Macaulay) ' were the boast, and whose vices were the disgrace, of three nations '. At the tables, gay, reckless nobles sat in front of piles of gold, playing their games of dice and cards. Charles complained of feeling unwell. That night he had a slight paralytic seizure. He died five days later, February 6, 1685. His wife, Catharine of Braganza, whom he had married in 1662, survived for twenty years, and died in Portugal in 1705.

JAMES II MARY OF MODENA

Among the many things in which King Charles took an interest was the Army. On coming to the throne he had retained about 5,000 of the Commonwealth soldiers, and the British regimental system dates from his time. His regiments were the 1st and 2nd Life Guards, recruited from Cavaliers; the Royal Horse Guards, recruited from Roundheads; the Grenadier Guards (Cavaliers), the Coldstream Guards (Roundheads); the Queen's (Royal West Surrey) Regiment, recruited for Tangier, and the 1st Dragoons (the Tangier Horse). All these troops were well equipped and well paid. The Guards received five shillings a day, but no quarters were provided. They lived in the inns and lodging-houses around Whitehall.

James II. Charles was quietly succeeded on the throne by his brother James, who was not the least competent of his

family. A good administrator, he had shown conscientiousness in his position as Lord High Admiral; and as king he never shunned the labour of the council-table. In all matters of detail, in dealing with the Army or Navy, he was sober, judicious, wise. The diarist, John Evelyn, testifies to his 'infinite industry, sedulity, gravity, great understanding and experience of affairs'.

On the other hand, there was a strain of callousness and cruelty in his character. As Administrator of Scotland (where he succeeded his nephew Monmouth, the victor over the 'Covenanters' at Bothwell Bridge in 1679) he had shown himself very terrible to Presbyterian dissenters. As king, he allowed Dame Alice Lisle, who had given shelter to a rebel, to be beheaded for treason.

DRUM USED BY THE VOLUNTEERS OF ALL SOULS' COLLEGE IN THEIR MARCH AGAINST MONMOUTH IN 1685

In his political views he was autocratic; and in the three years of his reign two distinct designs can be traced: one to rule as an absolute monarch, the other to re-establish the Roman Catholic Church in England. Yet he might have seen that it was impossible for any king to be an absolute monarch in England after the Great Rebellion. And when, in addition to trying to be absolute, he also began to destroy the Protestant Settlement, he roused against his throne even the Tories, who indeed believed in monarchical authority, but whose consciences could not accept the Pope. The Revolution of 1688 was, therefore, the result of a combination of the Whig and Tory parties, each roused for different reasons against the King's policy.

Monmouth's Rebellion. The reign of James was short, and, apart from the Revolution which concluded it, contains little to mark it in the development of the English nation. He had been on the throne only four months, when the Duke of Monmouth started a rebellion in the south-west of England. Monmouth had been in Holland, collecting a small force of refugee dissenters. On June 11 his small squadron appeared off Lyme Regis in Dorset. The Duke landed, was well received by the townspeople, and then marched into Somersetshire. As it went, his force grew till it numbered about 5,000 men. At Taunton he declared himself king, but before he had proceeded much farther he was met by the royal troops on Sedgemoor on July 6, 1685. His force of country people was scattered. Monmouth himself was captured a few days later, and suffered execution for high treason.

SAPPER'S HELMET OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Bloody Assizes. The people as a whole had shown no disposition to support the rebellion; the bulk of the country was loyal. The members of the University of Oxford raised a volunteer regiment, to support the King. If James had used his easy victory with mercy, he might have become a popular and respected monarch. Instead, however, he sent the Chief Justice Jeffreys on a judicial tour of the scene of the rebellion. Jeffreys was known as the most brutal and foul-mouthed lawyer who had ever disgraced an English court. As a result of the courts, 'the Bloody Assizes', which he held at Winchester, Dorchester, Exeter, and elsewhere, 324 people were executed, and 841 sentenced to be sent as slaves to the West Indies. Jeffreys brutally boasted that he

had in this one judicial circuit of the south-western counties hung more traitors than all the judges had done since the Norman Conquest. Those who were deported as slaves were bought by the West Indian planters. The purchase-money went to courtiers, who had received grants of the slaves from the King. After all expenses had been paid, it was calculated that each deported prisoner was worth £10 to £15 each. James's queen, Mary of Modena, had got 100 of the convicted rebels granted to her, and is believed to have made £1,000 in disposing of them.

James's power. James II was now at the height of his power. He had successfully quelled a rebellion. He had secured an income of £1,900,000 from Parliament—a sum greater by £700,000 than Charles II himself had. He had a standing army of about 20,000 men, consisting of six regiments of Dragoons, and nine of Infantry of the Line. His strength seems to have tempted him to go farther, and, being a Catholic himself, to give the Catholics the chief places in the kingdom. The result of this fatal effort was not merely to drive him from the throne, but to penalize the Roman Catholics in England for 140 years.

The unfolding of James's design. To re-establish Catholicism in England, it was necessary to undo the existing laws. So James began to tamper with the judges. He gave a commission in the Army to a Catholic, against the provisions of the Test Act (p. 386). He then arranged that the officer (Colonel Hales) should be prosecuted under the Act (1686). The result was that the judges, under James's influence, decided that the King could except any subject from the restrictions of the Test Act. Having obtained this favourable decision, James proceeded to give commissions in the Army to Catholics.

Having thus, as he thought, secured the Army for the furtherance of his design, James next proceeded to attack the Universities. The head of University College, Oxford, Obadiah Walker, a clergyman of the Church of England, openly avowed himself to be a Roman Catholic. James issued a document,

through the Solicitor-General's office, authorizing Walker to retain his high position. The University, hitherto so loyal in its attachment to the Crown, was horrified. The undergraduate members, more outspoken in their manners, took to calling in the quadrangles :

Old Obadiah
Sings Ave Maria.

Christ Church, Oxford, is not merely a college ; its chapel is the Cathedral. The Head of the college (who is appointed by the Crown) is also Dean of the Cathedral. In 1686 the headship fell vacant. James, by virtue of his ' dispensing power ', appointed John Massey, who was known to be a Roman Catholic. To the Archbishopric of York, which became vacant also, James wished to appoint his confessor, the Jesuit Father Petre. Pope Innocent XI, however, who saw the folly of James's reckless procedure, would not give Father Petre a dispensation (which Jesuits require) to become a bishop. The Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, refused to take action against a clergyman who had preached against the spread of Roman Catholicism. King James had the bishop suspended from officiating in the diocese.

The camp at Hounslow. On Hounslow Heath a camp was formed for James's army ; 14 battalions of infantry, 32 squadrons of horse, in all 13,000 trained men, with 26 pieces of artillery, were assembled to overawe the Londoners. The good-humoured soldiers, however, inspired no terror in the citizens ; and soon the camp became quite a popular resort. On Sunday afternoons the citizens might be seen walking with their family through the lines, pointing out to their children the tall handsomely-dressed guardsmen, or the black-coated priests and monks.

The last acts. In 1687 a series of acts took place, so arbitrary and unjust that even the most staunch of Tories felt that James must go. It was not as if he was taking a stand on any lofty ground of tolerance. His intolerance was

fanatic. Any Protestant who disagreed openly with the King's views was at once put outside the law.

The Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, a House noted for its loyalty to the Stuarts, had to elect a new Head. To do so was, by law and custom, their own affair, subject to no external interference. James sent a Royal Letter ordering the election of Anthony Farmer, a papist. The Fellows refused, pleading that such an election was contrary to the statutes of the College, and against the oath which they had all taken on becoming Fellows. Force was then resorted to by the King: 'the new President was turned out. And because he would not deliver the keys of his house, the doors were broken open.' The Fellows 'still pleaded their oath: and were all turned out, except two that submitted' (Burnet, *History of his Own Time*). This vile attack upon religion, learning, and teaching in England brought a speedy judgement upon the King. The spell which Oxford has cast over the whole of England could not be rudely broken; the clergy and gentry resented the treatment of the University with which they had so many associations, while the people as a whole resented the contempt shown for their ancient seat of learning.

In April 1687, James, without any reference to Parliament, had issued a 'Declaration of Indulgence', relieving all who did not conform to the Church of England from the penalties of the law. In April 1688, a second Declaration of Indulgence was issued, and ordered to be read in all the churches. Seven bishops, headed by Dr. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, drew up a petition to the King, asking that the clergy might be excused from reading the Declaration (which was quite illegal) in public. James, whose tyranny now looked like madness, actually had the bishops tried in Westminster Hall, on the plea that their petition was seditious and inciting to rebellion:

'The solicitor for the bishops sate up all night with a body of servants on the stairs leading to the room where the jury was consulting. It was absolutely necessary to watch the

officers who watched the doors; for those officers were supposed to be in the interest of the crown, and might, if not carefully observed, have furnished a courtly juryman with food which would have enabled him to starve out the other eleven. Strict guard was therefore kept. Not even a candle to light a pipe was permitted to enter. Some basons of water for washing were suffered to pass at about four in the morning. The jurymen raging with thirst soon lapped up the whole. Great numbers of people walked the neighbouring streets till dawn. Every hour a messenger came from Whitehall to know what was passing. Voices, high in altercation, were repeatedly heard within the room: but nothing certain was known.

At first nine were for acquitting and three for convicting. Two of the minority soon gave way: but Arnold was obstinate. . . . It was six in the morning before Arnold yielded. . . . At ten the court again met. The crowd was greater than ever. The jury appeared in their box; and there was a breathless stillness.

Sir Samuel Astry spoke. "Do you find the defendants or any of them, guilty of the misdemeanor whereof they are impeached, or not guilty?" Sir Roger Langley answered, "Not guilty." As the words passed his lips Halifax sprang up and waved his hat. At that signal, benches and galleries raised a shout. In a moment ten thousand persons, who crowded the great hall, replied with a still louder shout, which made the old oaken roof crack; and in another moment the innumerable throng without set up a third huzza, which was heard at Temple Bar.' [1]

The birth of the Prince. James's first wife, Anne Hyde (daughter of the Earl of Clarendon), had died in 1671, leaving two daughters, Mary, who married William III of Orange (1677), and Anne, who married George, Prince of Denmark (1683). James's second wife was Mary of Modena, whom he married in 1673. He had five children by her who died in infancy. James had thus no son, and both his daughters were Protestant. The whole country undoubtedly detested his rule, but were willing to wait till he died, when Mary, the elder daughter, would succeed him. On June 10, 1688, however, the nation was startled to know that a son had been

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, ii. 385.

born to King James and his queen. There was now no longer any chance of a peaceful Protestant succession. When William of Orange heard of the event, he exclaimed, 'Aut nunc aut nunquam'—now or never; he must act, or for ever be excluded from England.

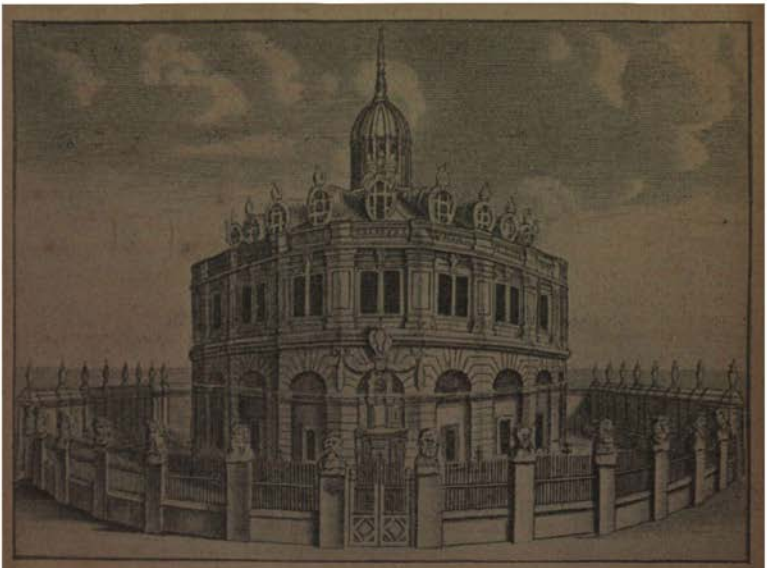
The invitation from England. At the same time, seven English gentlemen took upon themselves the responsibility of sending an invitation to William of Orange and his wife Mary. These seven were: Admiral Edward Russell, Henry Sidney, Earl of Romney, William Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, Charles Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, Baron Lumley, and Dr. Compton, Bishop of London. The invitation was expressed in the most cautious terms, but it was sufficient for William.

SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN
1632–1723

'The people are so generally dissatisfied with the present conduct of the government, in relation to their religion, liberties and properties (all which have been greatly invaded) and they are in such expectation of their prospects being daily worse, that your Highness may be assured, there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom, who are desirous of a change; and who we believe would willingly contribute to it, if they had such a protection to countenance their rising, as would secure them from being destroyed, before they could get to be in a posture able to defend themselves; it is no less certain that much the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are as much dissatisfied, although it be not safe to speak to many of them before hand, and there is no doubt but that some of the most considerable

of them would venture themselves with your Highness at your first landing, whose interests would be able to draw great numbers to them. . . .' [1]

Admiral Herbert, disguised as a common sailor, carried the letter over to Holland, and gave it to him. On November 2, 1688, William, with a small Dutch fleet, set sail from Helvet-



THE SHELDONIAN THEATRE, OXFORD
Designed by Sir Christopher Wren, completed 1668 and at first used as the printing house of the CLARENDON PRESS

sluys, at the mouth of the Maas. On November 5 he landed at Torbay. Gilbert Burnet came with him from Holland, and describes the whole journey. William marched to Exeter, and from there to Crewkerne. At Crewkerne, Dr. Finch, the Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, came on a deputation to say that the University would support the Prince of Orange. More important at the moment was the support of the soldiers, who were coming over to William's side. James had marched

[1] Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. ii.

with his troops to Salisbury, but there most of his army melted away. Among others, his chief officer, Lieutenant-General Churchill (afterwards Duke of Marlborough) went over to the Prince of Orange. The Prince proceeded to Salisbury, and from there to London, where he arrived on December 19. King James had been captured a few days previously, but William had no desire to keep him. He was allowed on December 23 to escape to France, where he spent the rest of his life. A Parliament called the Convention (because it was not summoned by a king) met on January 22, 1689. The House of Lords voted that:

'King James II having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of this kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government and that the throne is thereby vacant.' [1]

On February 13 William and his wife Mary were declared sovereigns.

Growth of the Empire. Before leaving the Stuart period, it is necessary to pay a tribute to the unfailing interest of the Kings in colonial affairs. All the English colonies of the seventeenth century were founded and became flourishing through private enterprise, but for the greater number (though not for all) the patronage of the Crown was of great account. In 1607, as already noticed (p. 310), Virginia was founded by Royal Charter. In 1620 the colony of Massachusetts began (see p. 310); but here the Crown could claim none of the credit. In 1633 Charles I gave a grant of land in the southern half of North America to Lord Baltimore; this colony became known as Maryland. Next year, 1634, Connecticut was founded by some of the inhabitants of Massachusetts, and two years later the colony of Rhode Island was started, in the same manner; and in 1641 came the foundation of New Hampshire (from Massachusetts).

[1] Hallam, iii. 94.

The contribution of the Commonwealth to the British Colonial Empire was Jamaica, in 1655 (see p. 362). Carolina was founded by charter from Charles II in 1663 (it was not divided into two colonies—North and South Carolina—till sixty-six years later). The First Dutch War brought three more American colonies under the English flag—Delaware, New York, and New Jersey, all in the year 1664. In 1670 Prince Rupert founded the Hudson's Bay Company, which ruled a large province in Canada. Finally in 1682 the Quaker, William Penn, son of the Admiral, obtained a grant of land in North America from Charles II, and went out there himself and founded Pennsylvania. Thus all the North American colonies, except Georgia (1732), were established under the Stuarts.

CHAPTER XX

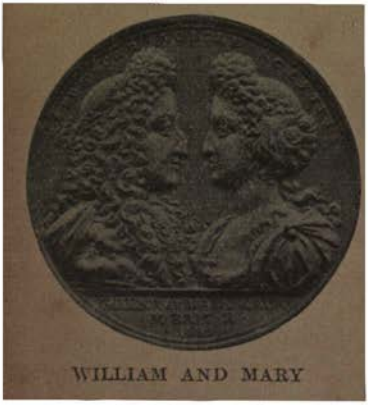
WILLIAM AND MARY; QUEEN ANNE

Foreign policy after 1688. The statesman Disraeli, in his interesting novel *Sybil*, says that the Revolution of 1688 gave England 'French wars and Dutch finance'—that is to say, it began a long period of war against France, which left England, it is true, a powerful widely-spread empire, but with a national debt so large as to hamper the industry of the nation.

Disraeli's statement is true. Charles II and James II had been under the influence of France. Had the foreign policy of the last two Stuart kings been continued, the French power would have been extended over Belgium and Holland, and England would have lost command of the seas, and with it the means of her existence. William of Orange, who held the position of Stadtholder (chief magistrate of the United Netherlands), was determined to save Holland from France, and he employed the whole power of England in the struggle. Gradually the greater number of Englishmen also adopted the King's view. They came to believe that the free existence

of England depended upon keeping France out of the great ports of Antwerp and Rotterdam. Therefore the reigns of William III and Anne in foreign policy are the story of a struggle to defeat the designs of Louis XIV against the Dutch.

Constitutional progress. Internally, the history of the country is a chronicle of solid progress in every direction. The Reformation Settlement, which was begun by Henry VIII, completed by Elizabeth, and shaken by James II, was finally confirmed by the Revolution. The Bill of Rights, passed in 1689, declared that the sovereign must be a member of the Church of England. The Coronation Oath Act (1689) reinforced this, by providing that the King must swear to be faithful to the 'Protestant Reformed Religion established by law'. The Act of Settlement, 1701, contained the same condition; the Act of 1910 changed the form of the declaration into one less offensive to the Roman Catholic citizens of the Empire, but reaffirmed the King's position as a 'faithful Protestant'.


WILLIAM AND MARY

Proper measures were taken to ensure the discipline of the Army. Under Charles II and James II there were no military courts for soldiers, and all disciplinary offences had to come before the civil magistrates. As this process involved too much time and labour, the soldiers were in William's reign placed under special military discipline, enforced through military courts; this was done by the Mutiny Act (1689), which was thereafter passed annually through Parliament. It is now merged in the annual Army Act.

William of Orange had been invited to become King of England to save the country from absolute government, both

in Church and State. It was, therefore, natural that a certain increase of freedom should be the result. In particular; absolute government by the King was prevented by the ministers and Parliament being guaranteed a greater share in the government of the country than had been allowed under the Stuart system. In 1694 a Triennial Act was passed

CIVIL COSTUME OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

limiting the duration of any one Parliament to three years, at the end of which time a General Election must be held. Thus there was no longer the possibility of a king's keeping the same Parliament in being for seventeen years, as Charles II did. In 1716 the possible duration of each Parliament was extended to a period of seven years (Septennial Act), and in 1911 it was again reduced to five years (Parliament Act). But in the Great War a British Parliament, which was due to dissolve in 1915, was continued in existence by special Acts till the end of the year 1918. The Triennial Act of 1694 did not merely ensure that no Parliament should last longer than

three years; it stipulated, too (as did the Triennial Act of 1641), that a Parliament should be held at least once in three years. Owing to the growth of national expenditure, and the necessity of getting annual grants of money to meet this, there has been no difficulty in securing that Parliament should meet every three years. It has met every year.

The principle of constitutional government is that those who are qualified to vote elect the members of Parliament, and that the ministers of the King are chosen out of these members. Thus a certain correspondence is maintained between Crown, Ministry, Parliament, and the electors. As a rule, since 1688 at least, the bulk of the members of Parliament have taken sides, and arranged themselves in two parties, called Whig or Tory, Liberal or Conservative. This system is admirable for an assembly which exists for the thorough discussion of public affairs. But it would not do for a Ministry, or a 'Cabinet', as the Ministry has come to be called. If the Cabinet, like the Parliament, consisted of two parties, one party would always check the other, and united action would be impossible. It is therefore necessary that the Cabinet should consist of ministers who are members of the same party. In this way the ministers of the day can quickly agree what to do; and if they command a majority in Parliament, they can get their measures agreed to there.

If they have not a majority in Parliament, they must 'go to the country'—that is to say, the Parliament of the day must be dissolved, and a general election held, to see what the country really wants. Thus the correspondence between Ministry, Parliament, and country, is maintained.

This system, known as 'Cabinet Government', was beginning under William III; it grew further under Queen Anne, and became definitely established under George I. William, indeed, began by choosing his ministers from both Whig and Tory parties, hoping thus to secure support from every side. He found, however, that such a Ministry did not work harmoniously. So in 1694, acting on the advice of the sagacious

Earl of Sunderland, he appointed a Ministry who were all Whigs, at a time when the Whigs had a majority in Parliament. Cabinet government had begun.

Scotland and Ireland. In Scotland and Ireland the Revolution Settlement was seriously resisted. John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, raised a body of Highlanders to support the cause of James, but he was killed in battle with William's soldiers at the Pass of Killiecrankie in Perthshire (July 1689). At the same time the Irish had refused to join in the English Revolution; James II went over from France to Ireland to put himself at the head of the Catholic Irish. In the north the towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen were held by Protestant Irish, and after a long siege were relieved by William's forces. The relief of Londonderry (July 30, 1689) is described by Lord Macaulay in a classic passage:

'It was the 30th of July. The sun had just set: the evening sermon in the Cathedral was over; and the heartbroken congregation had separated, when the sentinels on the tower saw the sails of three vessels coming up the Foyle. Soon there was a stir in the Irish camp. The besiegers were on the alert for miles along both shores. The ships were in extreme peril: for the river was low; and the only navigable channel ran very near to the left bank, where the head quarters of the enemy had been fixed and where the batteries were most numerous. Leake performed his duty with a skill and spirit worthy of his noble profession, exposed his frigate to cover the merchantmen, and used his guns with great effect. At length the little squadron came to the place of peril. Then the *Mountjoy* took the lead and went right at the boom. The huge barricade cracked and gave way: but the shock was such that the *Mountjoy* rebounded, and stuck in the mud. A yell of triumph rose from the banks: the Irish rushed to their boats and were preparing to board; but the *Dartmouth* poured on them a well directed broadside, which threw them into disorder. Just then the *Phœnix* dashed at the breach which the *Mountjoy* had made and was in a moment within the fence. Meantime the tide was rising fast. The *Mountjoy* began to move, and soon passed through the broken stakes and floating spars. But her brave master was no more.

A shot from one of the batteries had struck him; and he died by the most enviable of all deaths, in sight of the city which was his birth-place, which was his home, and which had just been saved by his courage and self devotion from the most frightful form of destruction. The night had closed in before the conflict at the boom began; but the flash of the guns was seen and the noise heard, by the lean and ghastly multitude which covered the walls of the city. . . . Even after the barricade had been passed there was a terrible half-hour of suspense. It was ten o'clock before the ships arrived at the quay: the whole population was there to welcome them. A screen made of casks filled with earth was hastily thrown up to protect the landing place from the batteries on the other side of the river; and then the work of unloading began. First were rolled on shore barrels containing six thousand bushels of meal. Then came great cheeses, casks of beef, flitches of bacon, kegs of butter, sacks of pease and biscuits, ankers of brandy. Not many hours before, half a pound of tallow and three quarters of a pound of salted hide had been weighed out with niggardly care to every fighting man. . . . The bonfires shone bright along the whole circuit of the ramparts. The Irish guns continued to roar all night; and all night the bells of the rescued city made answer to the Irish guns with a peal of joyous defiance. Through the whole of the 31st of July the batteries of the enemy continued to play. But soon after the sun had again gone down, flames were seen arising from the camp; and when the first of August dawned, a line of smoking ruins marked the site lately occupied by the huts of the besiegers; and the citizens saw afar off

LOUIS XIV

the long column of pikes and standards retreating up the left bank of the Foyle towards Strabane.' [1]

Aided by the French, the Irish maintained the struggle for two years more. On July 1 (1690) William signally defeated James's army at the Battle of the Boyne, near Drogheda. On October 3, 1691, Limerick capitulated to General Ginkel, one of William's Dutchmen. The Irish soldiers of the garrison

were allowed to go to France, to enlist under the French Crown.[2]

The French Wars. When William became King of England, Holland (where he held the position of Stadtholder) and the Empire were engaged in war against Louis XIV of France. Louis was aiming at the annexation of Strasburg in Alsace, so that France should have the famous 'Rhine frontier' which has been so often fought for. The Empire was

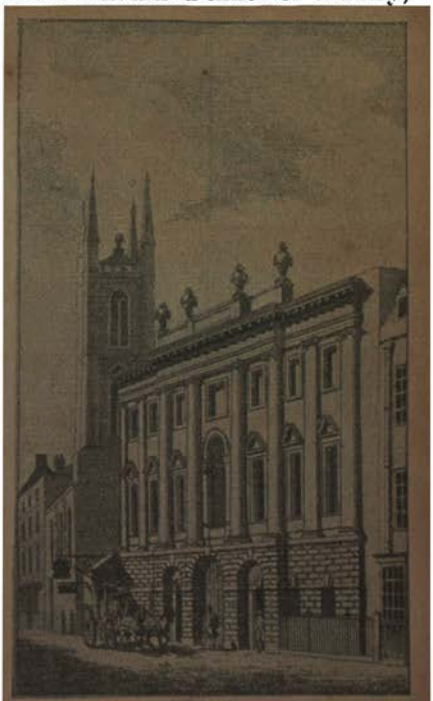
[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, iii. 235–7.
[2] For further particulars on Irish history, see ch. xxvii, pp 598–615.

the confederation of the German States under an elected head, who for more than 200 years had been chosen from the rulers of Austria. The Emperor, Leopold I, fought strenuously against losing Strasburg. Holland, on the other hand, was chiefly interested in the 'Spanish Netherlands'. These consisted of the provinces which now make up the kingdom of Belgium. In the seventeenth century they were still under Spain, who had once held Holland too, though she lost that country by the year 1609. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the Spanish power had become very slight, and when Louis XIV set out to annex part of the Spanish Netherlands, Spain could not resist. Holland, however, and, under William III, England made common cause against France. Antwerp was the port of the Spanish Netherlands. It was believed that if a great naval and military Power like France held Antwerp, England and Holland would never for a moment be safe. Certainly if Louis XIV had defeated William III, the Revolution Settlement would have been undone, and James II would have been restored. Therefore this war has been called *the War of the English Succession*.

The campaign. From 1689 till 1697 England, along with Holland and the Empire, was fighting France. For the most part it was a continental war, fought upon the land, in Europe, and not upon the sea or in the New World. The Low Countries —Belgium—were the scene of the fighting, for it was the grand object of William to expel the French thence. The King personally commanded the British army abroad, for indeed he was the only man in England who was whole-heartedly for the war. The people did not realize how important for them was the question of Belgium and the port of Antwerp.

Of King William it may be said that he never won a battle and never lost an army. In those days armies were small, and it was impossible for them to entrench themselves along the whole extent of a country. The longest line that an army of 20,000 or 30,000 could dig could always be circumvented. In the most modern times, when the soldiers of armies are

numbered by the million, warfare has become siege warfare. Trenches are dug and held almost from sea to sea, and can only be captured after prolonged siege operations. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries warfare was open. Incapable of entrenching across a hundred miles of country, each army sought out the other, to destroy it. The number of armies which any nation could put in the field was strictly limited. Therefore if, for instance, Louis XIV's army had destroyed William's, the war would have been at an end.



BANK OF ENGLAND
The early building

The skill of William III as a general lay in meeting his opponent, making a good fight, and getting away with the bulk of his army intact. Of such a kind was the battle of Steinkirk (1692), near Namur, and Landen (1693), both to be counted as victories for the French. Yet William, by saving his armies, prevented the war at least from being brought to a decisive conclusion. So it dragged on till finally every one felt that 'the last écu d'or', as Louis XIV said, would decide it. Yet though France was getting exhausted, England was feeling the strain too. The Bank of England was established, with a royal charter, in 1694, to attract money for financing the war. The English, however, grew impatient, for it takes a long time for a country to bleed to death; at the

end of eight years of warfare France was still fighting vigorously, while the national debt of England was growing ever higher. William himself felt that peace must be made, though he only meant to get ready for the next conflict with France, which he felt was coming. In 1697 the Peace of Ryswick was concluded,

each side restoring its conquests, except Strasburg, which was retained by France. The Spanish Netherlands were saved, and Antwerp remained outside French power. Thus England could breathe again. Yet no final settlement was reached, for France was still in a position to stretch out her hand and take Antwerp again. The spectre of another and greater war to come lay over Europe.

Death of William III. William died on March 8, 1702. About three weeks before, when riding at Hampton Court, his horse had stepped on a mole-hill, and thrown him down, so that his collar-bone was broken. His health was always bad, and his constitution did not survive the shock. He was a silent, dry Dutchman, deep in policy, heroic in his courage. His life was one long struggle against scheming politicians at home, and his great enemy, Louis XIV, abroad. He gave his whole time to affairs of State, taking part in no amusements whatever, except hunting, to which he was passionately addicted. He gave civil freedom to England, and, for a time at least, secured her safety from abroad. For these gifts England must thank this great statesman, who died unloved but respected by his people.

ANNE

The reign of Queen Anne. Anne was the daughter of James II and of Anne Hyde, his first wife. She had been brought up as a member of the Church of England, to which she remained a devoted adherent all her life. She had accepted the Revolution Settlement, and had lived since 1689 with William and Mary, who had no children. On the death of William she succeeded him, and, although herself a Stuart, was quite naturally accepted as a constitutional ruler. Under her the sovereign began to take less part in the Council of ministers, which came more and more to assume the character of the modern Cabinet.

Her reign presents one of the most brilliant periods of English history. It was, indeed, never free from war except in the last year, but the armies, as was customary at that time, absorbed only a tiny fraction of the male population, while the business of supplying them with munitions of war was not very great. The campaigns were fought in

the summer; the rest of the year was spent in garrison towns, among the allies abroad. Outside the campaigning season, officers could get leave for months at a time, to return to their homes in England—a system described by Thackeray in his novel of *Henry Esmond*.

Thus the war scarcely interrupted the fruitful works of peace. The ships of the East India Company, the fast-sailing 'East Indiamen', built at Deptford, sailed regularly to Bombay and Calcutta. Sugar, tobacco, and rice were brought from the southern colonies of America, furs from the country round Hudson Bay. England became expansive, imperial. In the coffee-houses, which began in the reign of Charles II, people met to talk as they do now in the clubs of Pall Mall and Piccadilly; printed news sheets were handed round, and the affairs of the world discussed. Men began to know something of the great lands overseas. The Army remained the fashionable service for gentlemen, but the Navy became the pride of the land, and the career of Cloudesley Shovell, who rose from being cabin-boy to admiral, was known to every one.

The love of letters increased and literature flourished. Twice or thrice a week in the *Spectator* men could read at breakfast time the melodious sentences of Addison and absorb his genial wisdom. Pope, brilliant in intellect as weak in body, wrote the *Essay on Criticism*, full of wit, in perfectly formed verses. It was not till the next reign that Defoe wrote his great novel *Robinson Crusoe*, but his wonderful political pamphlets were supplying food for thought for the now eminently political Englishmen. Swift's satires were stinging the Whig Government to fury, though *Gulliver* was not to come till the reign of George I. The polished elegance of Bolingbroke swayed the Parliament; while the witty Congreve was still delighting with his comedies great audiences, whose minds were not revolted by the licentiousness that has since removed these plays from the stage. Englishmen learned to love letters, and every one took

to writing sensibly and smoothly. A moderate prosperity was over the country. Dutch methods had resulted in draining the land; new crops, roots especially, were being cultivated. The history of the Poor Law shows a decline in pauperism; learning, literature, agriculture, trade, pursued with moderation in a not too ambitious age, flourished together. The men of the early eighteenth century were satisfied with themselves. They were singularly free from mental and spiritual unrest. They accepted the world as they found it, and enjoyed it to the full.

The cause of the Spanish Succession War. The cause of the great war which lasted from 1702 to 1713 was the will of the King of Spain, Charles II. Charles was the last of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg House. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries marriage alliances and blood relationship sometimes caused the transfer of a country from one Power to another. Charles II of Spain had no children; one sister had married Louis XIV, another had married the Emperor Leopold, the ruler of Austria. Both these monarchs claimed Spain as an inheritance from their brother-in-law.

The question of the Spanish Succession involved much more than the Spanish peninsula. The Empire of Spain included Milan, Naples, and Sicily in Italy, the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium), and the greater part of South America. William III had done all in his power to bring about an amicable settlement of the succession by arranging a division of the great Spanish inheritance among the chief claimants. The Second Partition Treaty[1] (1700) arranged that the Emperor's second son Charles should be King of Spain, with the Spanish colonial dominions under him; while France should get the Italian dominions of Spain—Milan, Naples, and Sicily.

[1] The *First* Partition Treaty came to nothing. It was concluded in October 1698 at the Hague between England, Holland, and France, and it arranged that the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should have Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies, Austria should have the Milanese, and France should have Naples and Guipuscoa (province on Bay of Biscay). But the Electoral Prince died next year (1699).

This division, it was believed, would leave France and the House of Austria vastly increased in power, but yet equal to one another—a careful 'balance of power' being considered necessary to preserve peace in Europe. England in the Partition Treaty asked nothing for herself; she was only interested in securing such a division of the Spanish dominions between Spain and the Empire as would prevent any one of them from becoming lord of all Europe.

Shortly after the signature of the Second Partition Treaty Charles II of Spain died, when it was found he had made a will leaving his inheritance (that is to say, Spain and the whole of her Empire) to Philip of Anjou, the second grandson of Louis XIV. Louis at once accepted the splendid gift for his grandson. France and Spain would now be ruled by members of the same house. 'The Pyrenees', he said to the envoy who was to carry his letter of acceptance to Madrid, 'no longer exist.'

The interest of England in the Spanish Succession. The Spanish Succession affected the European balance of power; and in England interest in maintaining the balance was very real. If a French prince should acquire the whole Spanish Empire, England might, at some time or other, lie at France's mercy. All Europe would then be dominated by that Power, so that no other country would be able to settle its own affairs without the leave of France. Such a high position was almost attained by Napoleon at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was nearly attained by Germany in the war of 1914. Such a European domination would have prevented the free action of any smaller State. England, for instance, after 1700, if France had been supreme in Europe, would not have been allowed to develop along her own lines of constitutional government. The Stuart family would have been restored to the throne. The Protestant Settlement would have been overturned. So much did England depend upon a balance of power in Europe.

In addition, however, to her vital interest in the balance of

power in Europe, England had a particular interest in the Spanish Netherlands (or Belgium). If these, with their great port of Antwerp, had fallen into the power of a great naval and military State like France, England, as already explained (p. 403), would never have been safe. When William III died on March 8, 1702, he had arranged a Grand Alliance between England, the Dutch, and the Empire, to prevent the aggrandizement of France. The object of the Alliance was to make the Emperor's second son Charles King of Spain, with such a division of the Spanish Empire as would not unduly increase the power of any one country. Article VIII of the Grand Alliance (September 7, 1701) runs as follows:

'It shall not be permitted to either Party when the War is once begun, to treat of Peace with the Enemy, unless jointly and with the common advices of the other Partys; and no Peace shall be made unless an equitable and reasonable satisfaction for his Imperial Majesty, and the particular Security of the Kingdoms, Provinces, Dominions, Navigations and Commerce, for his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and the States General, be first obtained; and unless care be taken by fitting security that the Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain* shall never come to be united under the same Government, nor that one and the same Person shall be King of both Kingdoms; and particularly that the French shall never get into the Possession of the Spanish Indies, neither shall they be permitted to sail thither on the account of Traffic directly or indirectly on any pretence whatsoever: and lastly, unless full liberty be granted unto the Subjects of the King of *Great Britain* and the States General, to exercise and enjoy all the same Privileges, Rights, Immunitys and Franchises of Commerce by Sea and Land, in *Spain*, the *Mediterranean*, and all Lands and Places which the King of Spain last deceas'd did possess at the time of his Death, as well in Europe as elsewhere, which they us'd and enjoy'd, or which the Subjects of both or either of them by any Right acquir'd by Treatys, Agreements, Customs or any other way whatsoever, might have us'd and enjoy'd before the Death of the late King of Spain.'[1]

The campaigns. As far as England was concerned, the War of the Spanish Succession was fought in three 'theatres'.

[1] *A General Collection of Treaties* (1732), i. 419.

The first was in the Low Countries (with an extension in 1704 into Bavaria); the second was in Spain; the third was on the sea. The hero of the Low Countries war was the Duke of Marlborough, ably assisted by the great Imperialist general, Prince Eugène of Savoy. The hero of the Spanish war was the brilliant, though less solid, Earl of Peterborough. The heroes of the war at sea were Rooke and Shovell.

The Duke of Marlborough. John Churchill was one of the greatest and the weakest of mankind. A magnificent general, careful of his soldiers' lives, careful of the dignity of his country and the interests of his allies, he could yet stoop to deceit in order to make money, and would intrigue against an able fellow general, for fear of finding in him a rival. The character of this great man is described in *Henry Esmond*—his heroic qualities, his small jealousies, his secret intrigues with the exiled Stuarts.

John Churchill was born in 1650 at Ashe in Devonshire. His father was Sir Winston Churchill, belonging to an old Dorsetshire family. John went to St. Paul's School in the City of London, and was educated in Latin and Greek. He was never able to spell properly in English. On leaving school he became a page to James, Duke of York (James II), and at the age of 17 became an ensign—a subaltern—in the Foot Guards. He served in the garrison at Tangier, which had come into English possession as part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza (it was abandoned in 1685). In 1672 he served with the English contingent which was helping the French in the war against the Dutch. The great Marshal Turenne mentioned him for gallantry. He was a most handsome young man and made friends easily. The Duchess of Cleveland, who liked his looks and sprightly conversation, gave him £5,000. Young Churchill at once bought an annuity of £500 a year, and so became a gentleman of independent means. After this he served with the forces in Scotland, when the Duke of York was governor, and was rewarded with a Scottish peerage. When the Duke became King James II, he sent

Churchill on a diplomatic mission, to get, if possible, an increase in the subsidy which Louis XIV was paying to the English Crown. The soldier carried out this delicate mission with the same skill as he showed in military affairs. At the battle of Sedgemoor (p. 395) he commanded under the Earl of Feversham. When William of Orange came over to England in 1688, Churchill went over to his side, and from this time his career was made. He held high positions under William III, and after the death of General Talmash in the expedition against Brest in 1694 there was no one to compare with him in the British Army. Throughout this time he maintained a correspondence with the exiled James II. Such was the man who on the opening of the Spanish Succession War was appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces. Yet never had England a finer soldier, or one more strenuous in face of the enemy.

The Earl of Peterborough. Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough, was one of the most brilliant men of a brilliant age. Born of a noble family in 1658, he was educated at Eton, and at Christ Church, which he entered at the age of 16. Next year (1675) he went to sea as a volunteer on H.M.S. *Cambridge*, which was commanded by his kinsman, Captain Arthur Herbert, later known as Admiral Lord Torrington. Although a young gallant of wealth and influence, he did not, like so many other favourites of fortune in the reign of Charles II, quit the sea; he served in one ship after another for five years. In 1680 he volunteered for land service at Tangier against the Moors. The period of James II's reign was passed by him mainly in political life (for he was a most active member of the House of Lords); in 1687 he commanded a squadron in the West Indies. In 1688 he went to Holland, and along with his intriguing friend Major Wildman (whom Disraeli in *Sybil* calls 'the soul of English politics in the most eventful period of this kingdom and one most interesting to this age, from 1640–1688') he took part in the negotiations for bringing over William of Orange. He became a close friend of William, and received a number of posts, including

a colonelcy of horse and the office of water-bailiff of the Severn river. He remained in political life throughout William's reign and was one of the leading men. He patronized men of letters, debated on philosophy with his eminent friend John Locke, went out continually into the fashionable world, dined in company, was known as a great wit, an eloquent speaker, and a delightful writer of letters. He looked like neither a sailor nor a soldier, for he was small and thin, elegant and well mannered, without any appearance of strength or vigour. Yet no man was so fertile in resource, or dashing in fight. In 1705 he was appointed to joint command with Cloudesley Shovell of a fleet which was sailing to Spain. It was not on the sea, however, that his fresh laurels were to be won: it was in arduous and wonderful campaigns on land.

Rooke. Sir George Rooke, Admiral of the Fleet, was born in 1650. In the seventeenth century there was no permanent naval service. Officers and men were engaged for a particular voyage or period, and at the end of their time were paid off. They then retired into private life, or entered the Army, or did what they pleased (often living in poverty and distress) till the King asked for sailors again.

The officers in the last half of the seventeenth century were of two kinds—gentlemen and 'tarpaulins'. The gentlemen sailors were men of good family, who obtained command of a ship by Court favour without having any particular experience:

'Any lad of noble birth, any dissolute courtier for whom one of the King's mistresses would speak a word, might hope that a ship of the line, and with it the honour of the country and the lives of hundreds of brave men, would be committed to his care. It mattered not that he had never in his life taken a voyage except on the Thames, that he could not keep his feet in a breeze, that he did not know the difference between latitude and longitude. No previous training was thought necessary; or, at most, he was sent to make a short trip in a man of war, where he was subjected to no discipline, where he was treated with marked respect, and where he lived in a round of revels and amusements. If, in the intervals of feasting, drinking and gambling, he succeeded in learning the

meaning of a few technical phrases and the names of the points of the compass, he was fully qualified to take charge of a three-decker. This is no imaginary description.' [1]

Such sea-captains were of little use, and the occasional disasters of Charles II's Dutch wars were largely due to them. It must be remembered, however, that there were some of these amateur sailors who did magnificently. Blake himself had only been a colonel of horse; Prince Rupert and Monk and Pepys's chief, the Earl of Sandwich, were all landsmen, yet made splendid admirals.

The tarpaulins were real seamen, who started as cabin-boys or men before the mast, never left the sea, engaged on every ship that offered, and, when paid off, remained round the Admiralty or the dockyards till they got another 'berth'. The Navy was their father and mother, and they knew about ships and the sea, if they knew nothing else. Owing to the unfashionableness of the Navy, and the 'casualness' of its employment, the upper classes did not take to the sea in sufficient numbers to absorb all the high positions, and therefore common seamen not infrequently rose to high command.

It was not till the eighteenth century that service in the Navy became something like permanent and men of good family and education took to it for their career. When this happened, gentlemen and tarpaulins were combined, and the modern type of well-mannered, trained, efficient, widely interested naval officer was developed.

Rooke was one of the first of this type, born almost, as it were, before his time. He came of a good family—his father was Sir William Rooke, a Sheriff of Kent—and he took to the sea as a young man, volunteering for the second Dutch War (1672). He never left the sea; no sooner was one ship paid off than another was offered him; for there were few sailor-gentlemen like him, who never refused a commission. In succession he commanded the *Royal Prince*, the *Nonsuch*, the *Hampshire*, and ships with names still to be found in the Navy List. In 1690 he fought in the disastrous battle off

[1] Macaulay, *History of England*, i. 301.

Beachy Head against the French, and afterwards at the court-martial of his admiral (Earl of Torrington) stood up for him loyally and helped to secure his deserved acquittal. In 1691 he was vice-admiral of the Blue Squadron (the squadrons of the English Navy were then known by the colour of their admiral's ensign). In 1702 he was made commander-in-chief of the English fleet off Spain and in the Mediterranean.

Sir Cloudesley Shovell. Cloudesley Shovell was a tarpaulin. He did not come of poor parents, but from a respectable family hailing originally from Norwich. He went to sea as cabin-boy to Admiral Sir Christopher Myngs, and later sailed with Admiral Sir John Narborough. In a fight during the first Dutch War (1665–7) he swam from one ship to another, under fire, carrying dispatches. In 1673 he was made a second lieutenant. For the next thirteen years he saw much active service in the Mediterranean against the pirates of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. He was speedily promoted to be a captain. In 1690 William III made him rear-admiral of the Blue. In the battle of La Hogue against the French (1692) he was second in command under Admiral Russell and 'broke the line' of the enemy's fleet. In 1702, at the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession, he held the chief command under Rooke.

Shovell was drowned off the Scilly Islands in October 1707, on the way home after his successful operations in the Mediterranean. There is a fine portrait of him in the Painted Hall at Greenwich Naval College. He was a man who knew the sea perfectly, fought his ships with the highest skill and the utmost courage; and led them to victory in some of the hardest fights in our country's history.

Marlborough's campaigns. The great object entrusted to Marlborough was to secure the Spanish Netherlands, which had been easily occupied by France. English and Dutch troops were employed under him in 1702 and 1703 in operations on the line of the Meuse (Maas). In this quarter they were fairly successful, capturing Liége, Venloo, and other strong places. Most of the German States, including Brandenburg

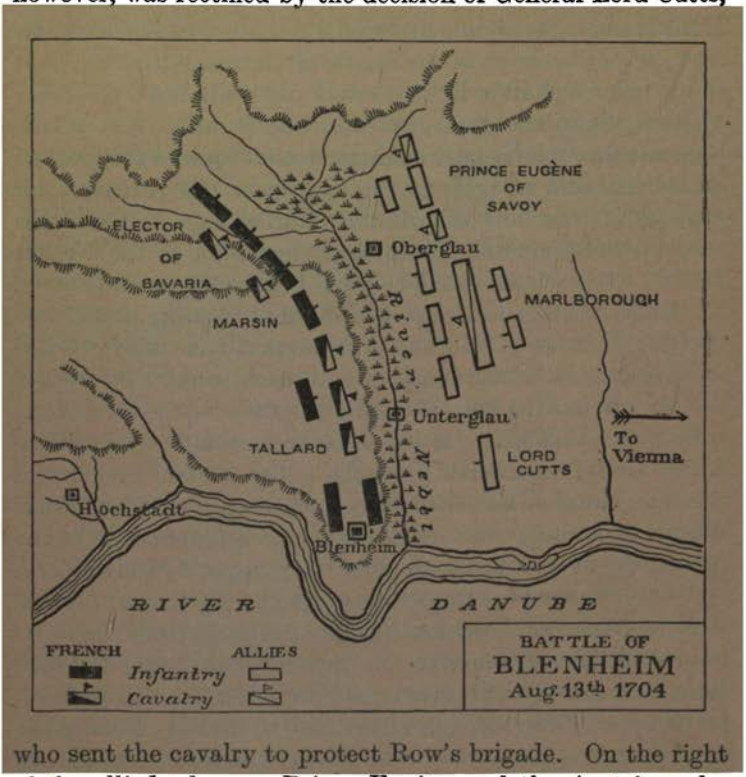
and Hanover, joined the Grand Alliance. Bavaria, however, sided with France, and opened the way for a French army advancing from Alsace towards Vienna. At the same time the Hungarians revolted against Habsburg rule, and the Austrian State, as has often happened since, was on the verge of ruin.

Blenheim. Marlborough formed a heroic resolution. He resolved to march into the south of Germany, and to meet the French in battle in the valley of the Danube. In May 1704 he began the great march up the Rhine. Most of the way was through friendly country, yet it required the greatest organizing skill to keep his army intact, and to ensure his supplies of food and munitions. Marlborough followed the road up the Rhine to Mainz, and then took to the Neckar valley. Near Mondelheim he met Prince Eugène of Savoy, the Imperialist general; it was the first meeting of the two greatest generals of the age. From that time they worked in close concert and friendship with each other. By way of the Neckar and the Pass of Geislingen, they reached the broad valley, or rather plain, of the Danube near Ulm. One sharp battle near Donauwerth gave the Allies control of most of Bavaria; as the Elector of Bavaria refused the Allies' terms, the whole country was, according to the brutal custom of the time, given over by Marlborough to be ravaged by the soldiery.

A French army of 25,000 men, joined by a considerable force of Bavarians, was meanwhile advancing from the west. Near the village of Blenheim, on the north bank of the Danube, Marshal Tallard fixed his lines, and prepared a strong position for defence. Marlborough either had to attack under great disadvantages, or retreat with every prospect of being cut off by the active French general.

The famous battle took place on August 13, 1704. The Grenadier Guards, the 10th Foot (now Lincolnshire Regiment), the 21st Foot (Royal Scots Fusiliers), the 23rd Foot (Royal Welsh Fusiliers), and the 24th Foot (South Wales Borderers) marched steadily to within thirty paces of the village of Blenheim; although received by a withering fire from the

French at this distance, they still advanced, without stopping to fire a shot, with their Brigadier, Row, on foot leading them, till they had scaled the palisades of the village. Their leader was mortally wounded, and the attack failed. This set-back, however, was rectified by the decision of General Lord Cutts,



who sent the cavalry to protect Row's brigade. On the right of the allied advance, Prince Eugène and the Austrians, by hard fighting, just held their own. Gradually Marlborough worked out his plan; the grand attack on Blenheim was delivered about three o'clock in the afternoon; the village was carried, and the French army routed:

'The first thing that meets my imagination is, the French army broken, routed, flying over the plains of Blenheim, and

choosing rather to throw themselves headlong into the Danube than face about upon their conqueror.'[1]

The gentle genius of Addison was roused to describe the greatness of the victory:

The rout begins, the Gallic squadrons run,
Compelled in crowds to meet the fate they shun.
Thousands of fiery steeds with wounds transfixed,
Floating in gore with their dead masters mixt,
With heaps of spears and standards driven around,
Lie in the Danube's bloody whirlpools drown'd.
Troops of bold youths born on the distant Soane,
Or sounding borders of the rapid Rhone,
Or where the Seine her flowery fields divides,
Or where the Loire through winding vineyards glides:
In heaps the rolling billows sweep away,
And into Scythian seas their bloated corps convey.[2]

DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH

The result of Blenheim. The dull peasants of the harassed country, even the townspeople who saw the armies passing by on their return, had little conception of the causes of all this fighting, this marching and counter-marching, this perpetual menace of armed men, this continual violent interference with their peaceful pursuits. Their point of view is clearly put by Southey in his well-known poem:

'And everybody praised the Duke
Who this great fight did win.'
'But what good came of it at last?'
Quoth little Peterkin:—
'Why, that I cannot tell,' said he,
'But 'twas a famous victory.'[3]

[1] Steele, *Crisis*, 1714. [2] Addison, *The Campaign*.
[3] Southey, 'After Blenheim'.

Yet the truth lies deeper. The Spanish Succession War was not a mere struggle of selfish Governments. The battle of Blenheim had prevented Louis from realizing his plan of controlling Western Europe. If this plan had been successful, Austria would have been partitioned, Holland annexed, and the overseas empire of Britain would not have existed.

The wars in the Low Countries. The rest of Marlborough's campaigns were fought in the Spanish Netherlands, on which the French, after the battle of Blenheim had saved Austria from them, retained a firm hold. In 1706 the Allied army met the French under Marshal Villeroi at Ramillies, and almost completely destroyed it. Brussels, Ghent, and Bruges then opened their gates to the great Marlborough. The victory of Oudenarde (1708) was followed by the invasion of France itself, and the capture by Marlborough of the great fortress of Lille, which Marshal Vauban had made so strong. The campaign of 1709 was memorable for the battle of Malplaquet, so bloody that neither side could claim a complete victory, although the French withdrew, and Marlborough accordingly captured Mons. The year 1710 was partly occupied by negotiations. In 1711 a change of government at home (see p. 430) caused the recall of Marlborough. In 1712 the English troops were nearly all withdrawn, so that the French, suddenly attacking Eugène, cleverly snatched a victory at Denain (July 1712).

The war in Spain. Marlborough's campaigns at least saved the Spanish Netherlands from coming into the hands of France. The campaigns in Spain were meant to expel French power from there, but, opening brilliantly, they ended in disaster.

In 1705 the Earl of Peterborough (p. 419), with about 5,000 men (including the Archduke Charles), having sailed by Lisbon and the Straits of Gibraltar, appeared off Barcelona in Catalonia. Then began a series of the most astonishing operations. A landing was effected; siege was laid to the city, which was defended by French and Spanish troops:

'At length, after three weeks of inaction, Peterborough announced his fixed determination to raise the siege. The heavy cannon were sent on board. Preparations were made for re-embarking the troops. Charles and the Prince of Hesse were furious, but most of the officers blamed their general for having delayed so long the measure which he had at last found it necessary to take. On the twelfth of September there were rejoicings and public entertainments in Barcelona for this great deliverance. On the following morning the English flag was flying on the ramparts of Monjuich. The genius and energy of one man had supplied the place of forty battalions.'[1]

Monjuich was the great fortress just outside, and commanded Barcelona. Peterborough had tempted the garrison out to a fight, rushed upon them, scattered them, and entered the gates with the fugitives. Skill, luck, and daring had given him Barcelona.

After this great success, Catalonia, the great eastern province of Spain, declared for the Allies. The rest of the kingdom had chosen the French side, and acknowledged Louis XIV's grandson Philip as king.

In 1706 Peterborough had to deal with a French force of 20,000 men, who came to retake Barcelona. He himself had only 3,000 regular troops, but with the help of some irregular levies, and of the small English fleet (of which he, too, held command), he foiled the French and compelled them to raise the siege. The rest of Peterborough's career, however, was less successful. He was fanciful, perverse, and essentially difficult to work with. There was an Allied army operating on the Portuguese frontier under Lord Galway. This force was enabled, through Peterborough's success in Catalonia, to advance towards Madrid. Peterborough would not co-operate. He was accordingly recalled by the home Government.

[1] Macaulay's *Essays, the War of the Succession in Spain.* Macaulay's narrative is drawn largely from the *Military Memoirs* of Captain George Carleton, published in 1728. These *Memoirs* have sometimes been attributed to Swift or to Defoe, but they are now believed to be genuine. Carleton was a volunteer in the English Fleet in the Dutch War of 1672; next he served under the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries, and in 1705 he served under Peterborough in Spain.

The value of Peterborough's work lay in raising Catalonia, the important and populous maritime province of Spain, and in drawing the bulk of the Franco-Spanish troops to that region. Galway was therefore able to occupy Madrid. He found then, however, what Napoleon was to find later, that to conquer the Spanish capital is not to conquer Spain. The people as a whole had adopted the French side, and looked upon Philip of Anjou—Philip V—as their national king. A 'guerrilla' warfare, a war of local bands, began in the provinces, and the Allies were to experience the truth of what the French king, Henry IV, had once said: 'If you invade Spain with a large army, you are starved; if with a small army, you are beaten.'

The loss of Spain. Marlborough had arranged that in 1707 a grand triple invasion of France should take place. He himself would invade it from the Low Countries. An imperial army was to come from Italy and besiege Toulon (as actually happened). Galway was to invade France from Spain. Galway, however, was defeated by the French under the Duke of Berwick (a son of James II) at Almanza (April 1707). This, and also the failure at Toulon, spoiled Marlborough's plan of a triple invasion of France. In 1710 the Allies were again in Madrid, but were forced to retreat towards Catalonia. On the way, General Stanhope was brought to battle at Brihuega (in Guadalajara) by the best French general, the Duke of Vendôme, and defeated. Barcelona, under its brave Catalans, held out till September 1714, but Spain had been irretrievably lost for the Allies.

The Navy. The most striking operation of the Navy was carried out by Rooke and Shovell in 1704. The fleet appeared off Gibraltar. The garrison, with incredible negligence, did not guard the walls. 'A few English sailors climbed the rock', and the impregnable fortress passed under the English flag. The possession of this lonely rock on the coast of Spain is a great source of English strength. Since the cutting of the Suez Canal it is on the ocean-highway to India, and it

secures our entrance to the Mediterranean. The sieges which it has since stood are among the finest episodes in the heroic traditions of the British Army.

The great work of the Navy was to transport men and supplies to the Low Countries and to Spain, in spite of the formidable sea-power of France. Commerce, too, had to be protected against the most active privateering war which the French ships maintained. The English merchant-ships were taken in groups along the main sea-lanes, convoyed by frigates of the Royal Navy.

In the waters around the West Indies there was much fighting, without marked advantage to the English. The commander-in-chief there was Admiral Benbow, the son of a Shrewsbury tanner. In August 1702 he fought an action off Santa Marta against the French. His captains disobeyed him. Benbow's right leg was shot off, but he kept to his quarter-deck, and fought his ship successfully out of the action. He died of his wounds in Jamaica, two months later. The heroic admiral has become a famous, almost a legendary, figure in the traditions of the Royal Navy—a type of those hard-fighting, generous, loyal sailors who 'courted war like a mistress'.[1]

Peace Negotiations. The war had gone, on the whole, well for the Allies. The French were not beaten, but were suffering terribly. The land of France was still safe, but its economic condition was most serious, its supplies of men greatly diminished. The Allies, however, had missed the tide. In 1707 Louis XIV had offered to give up the claim of his house on Spain, if his grandson could get Milan and Naples (the Spanish possessions in Italy) as a kingdom. The Emperor and the British Government refused. Yet in 1713 the Government was glad to accept worse terms. For by that time it had been clearly shown that Spain could never be conquered, and that France could not be overrun.

The Peace of Utrecht. A Whig Government was carrying

[1] See R. L. Stevenson, 'The English Admirals' (in *Virginibus puerisque*).

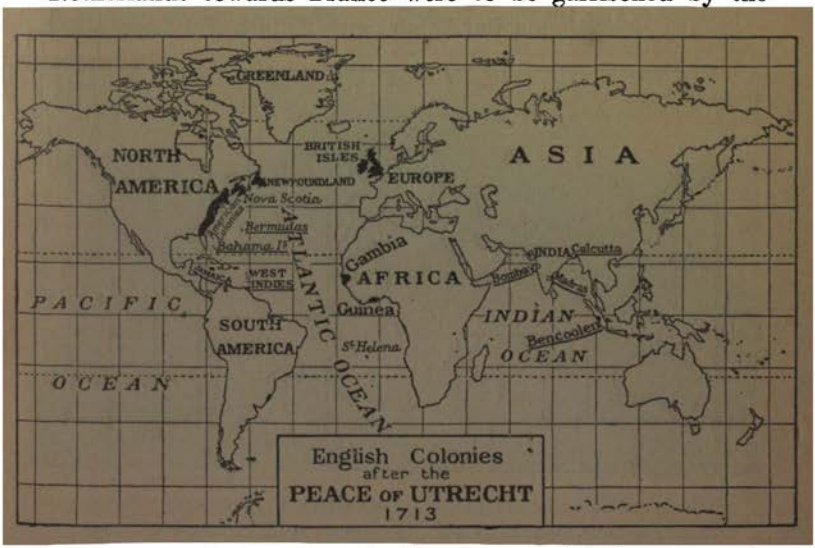
on the war. In 1710 Dr. Henry Sacheverell preached a sermon in St. Paul's, upholding the old Tory principle of non-resistance —that is, the principle of perfect obedience to the Crown. The Whig Government then took the amazing step of impeaching him for attacking the 'Revolution Settlement'. The anger of the country at this most tyrannous and futile procedure of the 'party of liberty' showed Queen Anne that the Whigs had lost their hold on the country. She dissolved Parliament, and the Tories gained a large majority at the general election. They had never been enthusiastic for the war, as may be judged from Dean Swift's famous Tory pamphlet, *The Conduct of the Allies* (1712).

'. . . Against all manner of prudence or common reason, we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries. Secondly—we spent all our vigour in pursuing that part of the war, which could least answer the end we proposed by beginning it; and made no efforts at all, where we could have most weakened the common enemy, and at the same time enriched ourselves. Lastly—we suffered each of our allies to break every article in those treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burden upon us.'

The Tory Government, in which the two chief men were Harley and St. John, now resolved to make peace. In this they were right. They were in a good military position, and could get all necessary cessions and guarantees from the French, provided Philip of Anjou was left King of Spain; and the history of the war since 1707 showed that the Allies could not prevent this. The fault to be found with the Tory peace is that it was made behind the back of the Emperor, our ally. Article VIII of the Grand Alliance (p. 417) had obliged all the allies to negotiate for peace only in concert. Knowing, however, that the Emperor was determined to fight on, Harley and St. John started separate negotiations with the French, in which the Dutch Government also joined.

The Treaties concluded at Utrecht in 1713 guaranteed that though Philip of Anjou should remain King of Spain, that

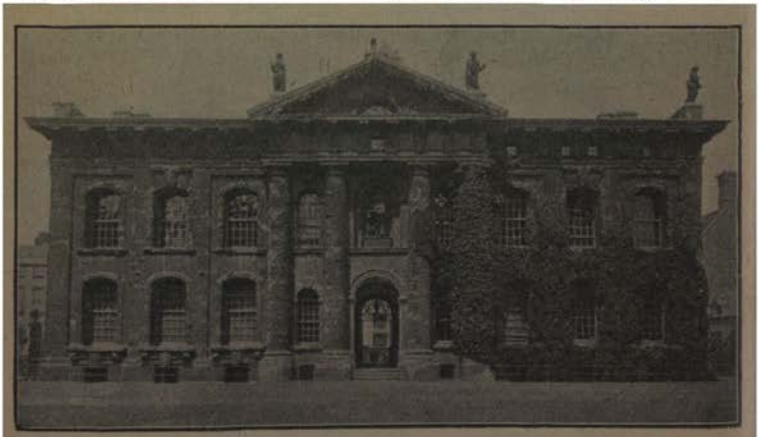
country should never be united under the same monarch with France. Moreover, it separated the Spanish Netherlands and Milan from the Spanish Empire, and gave them to Austria. The Emperor would not recognize the satisfaction thus offered to him, until another year of ineffective fighting convinced him that he could not fight on alone. The fortresses on the frontier of the Spanish (renamed the 'Austrian') Netherlands towards France were to be garrisoned by the



Dutch, as a pledge that this 'barrier' should be respected. France ceded to England Newfoundland, Acadie (Nova Scotia), and the French settlements round Hudson Bay. Gibraltar was retained from Spain, along with the island of Minorca. An *Assiento* or contract included in the Utrecht arrangements gave to Great Britain the exclusive right of supplying negro slaves to the Spanish-American colonies. Great Britain also acquired the privilege of sending one trading-ship each year to Portobello on the Isthmus of Panama.

The war cannot be said to have been a failure. If the

succession of a French prince to the throne of Spain had not been prevented, at any rate French power in the Low Countries had been destroyed. There was no longer any chance of a French fleet threatening the peace and safety of England from Antwerp; the Dutch were safe too, for now the Austrian Netherlands intervened between them and France. Austria, though not treated frankly by the Allies in the peace negotiations, had not been neglected in her material interests; the Spanish Netherlands and Milan (with Naples and Sicily added



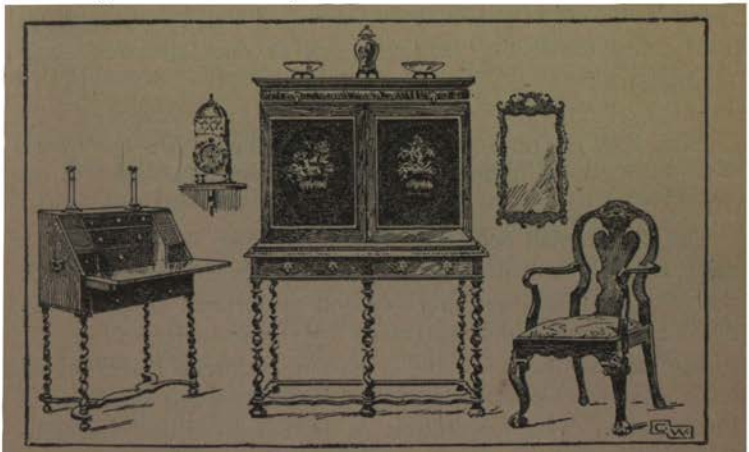
THE CLARENDON BUILDING, OXFORD, 1713–1830 the Printing-house of the Clarendon Press. Designed by SIR JOHN VANBRUGH

'Lie heavy on him earth, for he
Laid many a heavy load on thee.

soon after) formed a splendid prize. England might have gained more, but put forward only moderate claims. Newfoundland and Nova Scotia were great possessions, but the French Empire on the St. Lawrence and Mississippi was still intact.

The death of Anne. The Queen's health was failing. The Act of Settlement, 1701, had fixed the succession, in the event of Anne dying without children, in the line of the Electress Sophia of Hanover. Sophia was a daughter of the Princess Elizabeth, and granddaughter of King James I. She was, like her

mother, a firm upholder of the Reformed Church in Germany; her son George had distinguished himself as a general in the Imperial Army in the War of the Spanish Succession. Queen Anne, however, was known to sympathize with the exiled House of Stuart, of which she was a member. The chief ministers were in correspondence with the 'Old Pretender',[1] the son of James II. The people as a whole did not like the idea of a German prince, who could not even speak English, becoming their sovereign. The minds of the ministers,



QUEEN ANNE FURNITURE

however, were not quite made up. They knew the English would not easily acquiesce in a Roman Catholic king; and yet the Pretender would not promise to give up his religion. Harley (created Earl of Oxford in 1711) and St. John (created Viscount Bolingbroke in 1712) may have meant to proceed cautiously, to bring over George as king, on such terms as would safeguard the Tory party and their own power; or to bring over the Pretender, on such terms as would safeguard the Church of England. Most of the evidence seems to point

[1] The word Pretender applied to James III and his son is an English rendering, or rather mis-rendering, of the French word *prétendant*, a claimant.

to the conclusion that Bolingbroke at any rate was working to restore the House of Stuart. On July 27 he brought about the dismissal of Harley. Anne's death, however, took him by surprise. On July 30 she had a fit of apoplexy. Her final decline was rapid. The party in the Government which favoured the Protestant Succession of the House of Hanover, led by the Duke of Shrewsbury, suddenly asserted themselves. They obtained the admission of two powerful Whigs, the Duke of Argyll and the Duke of Somerset, to the special meeting of Privy Councillors. Anne died next day (August 1, 1714), and George of Hanover was at once declared King of England:

'DEAR DEAN,
'The Earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday: the queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us.' (St. John to Dean Swift.)

The Union with Scotland (1707). During the late Queen's reign a most notable act of peace had been accomplished. Scotland and England were united under one Government. Although joined under one crown, by the accession of James I to the English throne in 1603, the two countries had retained their separate Governments—each had its own Council and Parliament. The Revolution of 1688 established constitutional monarchy in each country; and, although the same sovereign ruled over both, he might have to accept one kind of advice from the Government in England and another from the Government in Scotland. In the later years of William III and in the early years of Anne's reign, a great deal of friction took place between the English and Scottish Governments. In 1698 the attempt of the Scots to found a colony on the Isthmus of Darien proved a disastrous failure, which was ascribed to lack of sympathy on the part of the English Government. The English Navigation Acts bore very hard upon the trade of the Scots, who were treated as belonging to a foreign country. In 1703 feeling ran so high that the Scottish Parliament passed an 'Act of Security'. This

authorized the Parliament, on the death of Anne, to choose a successor other than the one chosen in England. Anne, as a constitutional monarch, had to assent to the Act of Security, although it seemed to foreshadow the break-up of her inheritance. It was clear, in fact, that either closer union must come, or entire separation.

The English Government faced the situation boldly, and in a generous spirit proposed a complete union between the two countries. The terms were arranged as a treaty between Scotland and England. Commissioners from either side met in London, and the terms were freely debated, and discussed at full length. Finally, a treaty was drawn up, and adopted, after considerable opposition in each Parliament. This Treaty, or Act of Union, agreed that the Scottish Council and Parliament should cease to exist, and that there should henceforth be only one Government for the two countries. The Scots were to retain their own established Presbyterian Church, and their own legal system with its venerable 'College of Justice' in Edinburgh. Trade between the two countries was to be free, and no legal difference was to be recognized between Scotsmen and Englishmen throughout the British Empire. The United Kingdom was henceforth to be known as Great Britain (March 6, 1707).

Success of the Union. Although carried through for reasons of State, without any enthusiasm for it anywhere, the Union has proved a striking success. Admitted on free and equal terms to participate in England and England's Empire, the Scots speedily made their way, and rose to high positions in trade and finance, at the Universities and in the Government, in the Navy, Army, and Imperial affairs. The Union, being arranged as a free treaty between the two peoples, left no trace of grievance behind it, no feeling of compulsion; and each country has enormously gained by it—the Scots by the great opportunities opened up to them outside their own small country, the English by the work accomplished by this forceful people in every corner of the Empire.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FIRST TWO GEORGES

The character of George I. On the death of Queen Anne, George, the son of the Electress Sophia of Hanover, quietly succeeded to the throne. He was fifty-four years of age, honest, well-meaning, and attentive to business. He was unable to speak English, and in any case had very little to say. He knew little about the English people, and had no particular sympathy with them. He tried to do his duty,

GEORGE I.
Medal struck to commemorate naval action off Cape Passaro, 1718

however, and loyally carried out the understanding on which he had come to the throne—namely, that being really a foreigner he should not interfere too much in English affairs. He therefore did not regularly attend the meetings of ministers, and was the less tempted to do so owing to his inability to understand the language.

The Cabinet. 'Cabinet' Government, which had already taken form under Anne, was further developed. The Cabinet is a governing committee of ministers, meeting under the control of the chief or 'prime' minister, and responsible

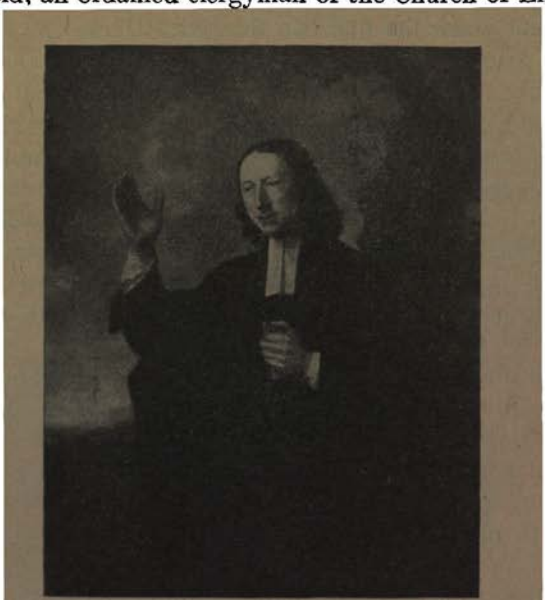
for its actions to Parliament. The term 'prime minister' was scarcely used in the first half of the eighteenth century, but from 1721 Robert Walpole did in effect occupy this position.

England under the first two Georges. Under the first two Georges England was happy, prosperous, and, on the whole, progressive. In each of the chief forms of national activity some real distinction was achieved.

In politics the period is distinguished by its comparative peacefulness. Between 1714 and 1739 there occurred a Jacobite Rebellion (1715) and a brief naval war with Spain (1718). England was respected abroad. At home the country was well governed, orderly, and free. The laws against Nonconformity remained on the Statute book, but were not pressed by the Administration. The press was free, and maintained a keen interest in politics throughout the country. The level of ability in Parliament was high. Party discipline, however, was in a poor state. Men grouped themselves for the most part in one or other of the two historic parties of Whigs or Tories; the Government was always Whig, and tended to retain its supporters by a distribution of offices and pensions, and this was held, even in those easygoing times, to be something of a public scandal. Walpole, though personally incorruptible, had little scruple in dispensing this kind of bribe to his supporters, and must be held responsible to some extent for passing on a tradition which has not completely disappeared from public life.

The Church of England was not in its most earnest condition. The bishops, being appointed by the Government, were mainly Whig; the lower clergy, being generally appointed by country squires who owned the 'livings', were generally Tory. The lack of preferment depressed the lower clergy, while the higher dignitaries were rather worldly and political. Yet the clergy, both high and low, were a respectable body of men, well educated, not neglecting their duties, although less strenuous than became their calling. A revival

of religious feeling, which left a permanent effect in England and in America, was begun by the brothers Wesley about the year 1730. With Wesley at first was associated George Whitefield, an ordained clergyman of the Church of England,

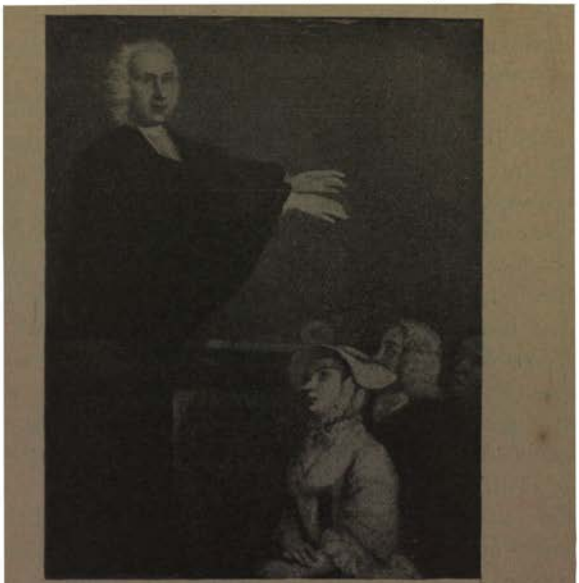


JOHN WESLEY, 1703–91
Founder of Methodism

whose preaching attained extraordinary popularity with the masses in the period of Walpole and Chatham. Whitefield broke with the Church and spent the latter part of his life in clerical and philanthropic work in America.

In learning and literature the age was famous. Sir Isaac Newton, the greatest of English mathematicians, whose long life lasted from 1642 to 1727, was Master of the Mint. George Berkeley, one of the most beautiful characters of this or any age, takes a high place as a philosopher and as a writer of English, in a century which was one of the greatest both for thought and for prose style. From 1734 till his death in 1753,

he was Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland. The last year of his life was spent in Oxford, where he died. His library is in Yale University in the United States. Daniel Defoe published his best-known works in the reign of George I; it was in



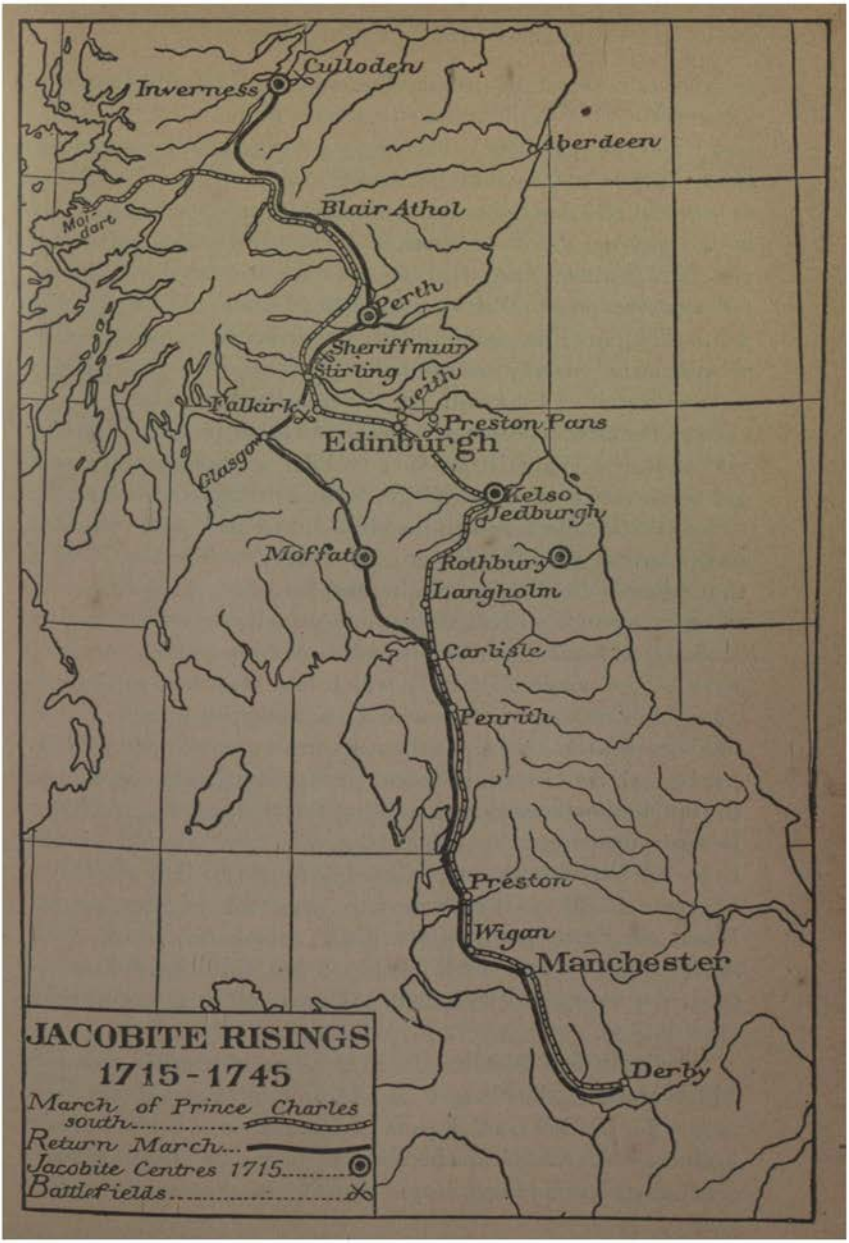
GEORGE WHITEFIELD
1714–70

1719 that *Robinson Crusoe* appeared, to charm every British boy since that time, to widen his interests, extend his outlook, and to give him the enthusiasm of adventure and romance. In 1726 Swift published *Gulliver*; Pope's brilliant and incisive poem, the *Essay on Man*, appeared in 1733; his friend, St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, produced the momentous political pamphlet, the *Idea of a Patriot King*, in 1738. At the University of Cambridge one of the very greatest of classical scholars kept up England's position in the world of learning. This was Richard Bentley, Master of Trinity, who died in 1742. His editions of Terence and Horace

were used in the learned societies of Europe for the rest of the century.

The Rebellion of 1715. George I gave his confidence to Whig ministers from the first. When he had been on the throne of England just a year, the adherents of James, the 'Old Pretender', raised a rebellion in the Highlands and in the south of Scotland, and in the north of England (September 1715). The rising was badly organized, as risings are bound to be when the Government is reasonably efficient and watchful. The Earl of Mar and his Highlanders were checked on Sheriffmuir in Perthshire (November 13, 1715), and on the same day the insurgents of Lancashire had to capitulate at Preston. When the Old Pretender landed at Peterhead, in January 1716, he found the rising practically over, and had to get back to France as best he could. James was a brave man, but with little else to recommend him, and was not fit for the leadership of a desperate rebellion. The chief result of the Rebellion of 1715 was to make George determined never to trust a Tory Government, for he looked upon all Tories, with their romantic attachment to hereditary kingship, as being simply Jacobites. The apprehension of revolution made the greater part of the country agree with him, so that for fifty years the majority of members returned to Parliament were Whig. When the Rebellion of 1715 was dying out, it was considered unwise to risk a General Election, and accordingly the life of Parliament was prolonged from three to seven years (*supra*, p. 405) by the Septennial Act (April 1716), which remained on the Statute Book till 1911.

The Peerage Bill. The Peace of Utrecht (p. 431), though approved in a Tory House of Commons, had only been passed through the House of Lords by the help of the twelve new Tory peers who had been created in 1711. To prevent the use of the Royal Prerogative for party purposes in the future, a Bill was introduced by the Whig Government (which was then led by Earls Stanhope and Sunderland) in 1719, enacting


Culloden
Inverness
Aberdeen
Blair Athol
Perth
Sheriffmuir
Stirling
Leith
Falkirk
Preston Pans
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Kelso
Jedburgh
Moffat
Rothbury
Langholm
Carlisle
Penrith
Preston
Wigan
Manchester
Derby
JACOBITE RISINGS
1715-1745
March of Prince Charles south
Return March
Jacobite Centres 1715
Battlefields

that the number of peers should never at any time be increased by the King by more than six. The number of hereditary peers in 1719 was 178. The measure would have closed the House of Lords to new blood, and would have made it a ruling caste, like the families whose names were inscribed in 1298 in the Golden Book of Venice. Walpole spoke against the Bill, and induced the House of Commons to reject it. A different fate met a Bill to repeal the Occasional Conformity Act. This Act, passed in 1711, debarred from public office all men who merely occasionally conformed to the worship of the Church of England. It was repealed in 1719.

Cape Passaro. Only one battle disturbed the pacific foreign policy of the Whigs from 1714 to 1739 (although a state of war, without any decisive action being fought, existed between Great Britain and Spain in 1726–7). This battle was the naval battle off Cape Passaro in Sicily. After the War of the Spanish Succession Spain had undergone a process of reorganization, and had shown some small revival of vitality. A plan was formed by the Spanish Government for recovering some of the portions of Italy which had been lost in the late war. Advantage was taken of the war which Austria was waging with the Turks. A Spanish army was landed in Sicily. An English fleet, under Admiral George Byng, was dispatched to the Mediterranean, and meeting the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro destroyed it. Thus the settlement made at the Peace of Utrecht was maintained through British sea-power (August 1718). Next year two Spanish frigates landed Lords Seaforth and Tullibardine, exiled Jacobites, with 300 Spanish soldiers, in Ross-shire ; but this expedition was easily defeated, and the leaders and men captured at Glenshiel (June 1719).

The South Sea Bubble. In 1720 a financial crisis occurred which showed the danger of abandoning the old cautious methods. In 1711 a Company of Merchants of Great Britain trading to the South Seas had been formed. The capital of the Company, that is to say, its permanent funds, amounted to the

large sum of £10,000,000, all of which was lent to the Government. For this the Company received 8 per cent. interest.

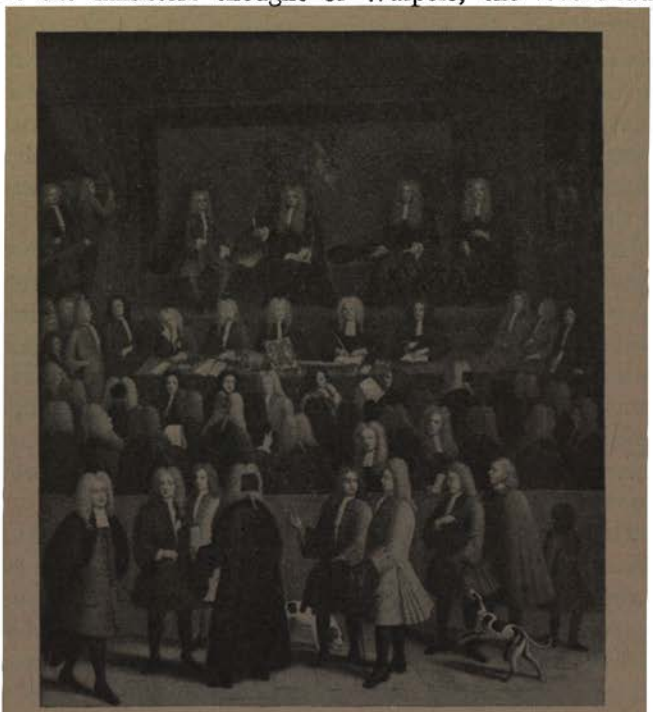
From one point of view, therefore, the Company might be called a 'Trust Company', with its funds invested in Government Stock. It had, however, another side to its activities: it was a trading company. Under one of the treaties drawn up at the Peace of Utrecht (1713) Great Britain had the right to send one ship a year to the Spanish colonies for general trade, and also to supply negroes from Africa for slave-labour. These privileges the Government handed over to the South Sea Company.

In 1720 the ideas of the Company directors had grown too big. They offered to take over about £32,000,000 of the National Debt: that is to say, this Company was to become the debtor of the public who had subscribed the Debt. The Government was to be relieved of its responsibilities for the various loans it had issued, and instead was to owe the whole combined Debt to the Company, at a fixed rate of interest, namely 5 per cent., instead of the 6 to 8 per cent. paid on the previous loans.

The Company hoped to induce all the private holders of Government debt to exchange their stock for shares in the Company. The transaction was quite honest and successful up to a point. The Government stock-holders exchanged their holdings into shares of the Company, and received dividends on those shares. The misfortunes came when people, bidding for these shares, forced the price up, from £100 for one share to £1,000. A share of £100 was worth £100 when the dividend was 5 per cent.; but the same share was only worth £1,000 if the dividend was 50 per cent. As the dividend of the South Sea Company was only 7 or 8 per cent., the people who bought at £1,000 were ruined.

Walpole in power. The Company itself was quite sound. Its holding of Government Stock, and its trade to the South Seas, brought in a respectable revenue. It was the people who had put their all into buying shares at an absurd price who suffered.

So many people were involved that the crisis was nothing less than a national calamity: there was a panic in all commercial circles, and widespread ruin threatened the country. Then the ministers thought of Walpole, the level-headed



THE COURT OF CHANCERY, held in Westminster Hall during the reign of George I. For Costume

Norfolk squire, who in Parliament had warned the public of the dangers of the scheme, after making a fortune out of it for himself. George I was advised to offer him the chief post in the Ministry, and so Walpole became First Lord of the Treasury (the position which the Prime Minister has usually since held) in April 1721. He took what means could be adopted to relieve the distress; where the directors of the

Company were found to have misled the public (and there had been a good deal of bribery between the directors and certain courtiers), they were prosecuted, and their property was used to relieve the distress caused by the panic.

The Government took back part of its National Debt obligations, and the Company, with a reduced capital, went on with its legitimate functions in overseas trade. All through

ROBERT WALPOLE (seated). First Lord of the Treasury 1721–42

the crisis its £100 shares had not fallen below £175, which shows its essential soundness. The slave trade, fortunately, does not figure much in its annals. As an exporting and importing firm it continued to carry on a small trade with South America till the year 1748. The saddest thing about the crisis had been the undoubted fact that English Ministers had themselves been dealing in the stocks, and using their knowledge to make money from the credulity of the public.

Walpole. Robert Walpole was born in 1676. His father,

the squire of Houghton, in Norfolk, had nineteen children, and Robert, the fifth, was the eldest who survived. He went to school at Eton, as a Colleger maintained by the foundation; his portrait is to be seen in Eton College Hall. From Eton he went to King's College, Cambridge. When he was 24 years old he married, and when he was 25 his father died. Walpole thus became a country gentleman of independent means, his income from Houghton estate being £2,000 a year. The small borough of Castle Rising on the estate returned a member to Parliament; the squire himself became the member.

Walpole was always a Whig, and the Whigs were the most influential party for most of Queen Anne's reign. The chiefs of the party soon noticed his sterling sense, his industry. After showing his sound qualities in subordinate office, he was made Secretary-at-War in 1708. In 1712, after the Whigs had been displaced from office, he was impeached on a charge of corruptly receiving money while Secretary-at-War. He was sentenced to a short term of confinement in the Tower of London. There is no doubt, however, that he was personally quite honest, and that he never received any money from the country beyond his salary.

On the accession of George I the Whigs came into office, and remained there for nearly fifty years; the Tories being considered Jacobites, and therefore unfit to be in the confidence of either king or country. Walpole became Chancellor of the Exchequer. As Chancellor he had great difficulty in preventing the Hanoverian favourites of the King from getting corrupt grants of public money. In 1717 George I wished to declare war upon Russia. Walpole and his brother-in-law, Townshend, protested, and retired from the ministry. George I had a great belief in Walpole, and besought him, without effect, with tears in his eyes, to remain. He returned, at an almost unanimous call from the country, in 1721, and was Prime Minister, although he never called himself so, for the next twenty years.

The policy of Walpole. Walpole was a splendid administra-

tor. His policy was peace abroad and prosperity at home: it is the policy which every statesman pursues, but which few have been able to achieve. How Walpole managed, no one can quite say. He was always genial, always sensible. Every one criticized him—one man wanted him to be more vigorous abroad, another wished him to enforce the penal laws against dissent at home. The contemporary verses are filled with outspoken remarks against him:

How happy a state did *Britain* once enjoy,
When no threats from foreign nations our peace could annoy;
Then *Spain* dared not invade
Our *English* merchants trade;
For we by law kept them in awe;
But now we are afraid
To speak for ourselves;
The times are grown so bad,
'Tis my belief that no relief
From peace is to be had;
Consider this my Friends,
If Spain *shou'd gain their ends,*
What will become of us at home,
Since all on Bob *depends?* [1]

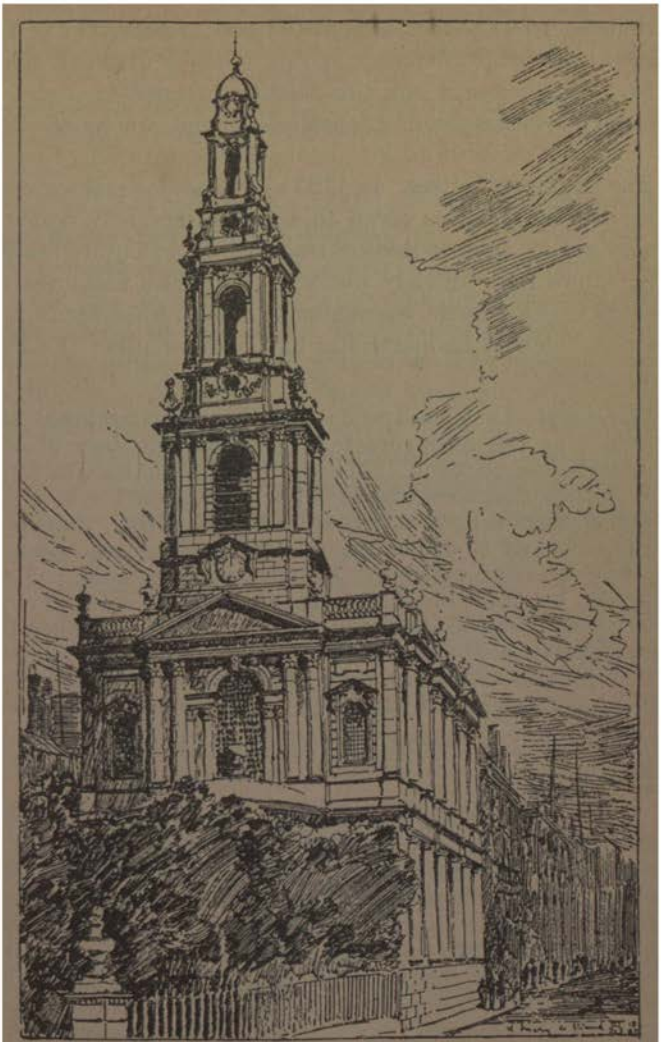
Yet, though continually criticized, he was kept in office by the country for twenty years. Had the constituencies wished to get rid of him, they could have done so, as they had displaced the Whigs in 1710 (p. 430), or as they did after 1760. It was not altogether by corruption that Walpole kept his party together; the committee of his opponents, who, after his retirement, examined his administration, could prove nothing against him. No one could deny the good results of his administration. Taxes were low, the Press and the dissenters were left free, the National Debt was diminished, and the colonies carefully and sympathetically managed or, rather, left alone. The Prime Minister's straightforward, good-humoured speeches always appealed to the sense of the House. His affectation—for it was really such—of lack of sentiment was considered truly English. He had, indeed,

[1] *Walpole Ballads*, No. XLVI (edited by M. Percival, Oxford, 1916).

a real faith in his country, and a strong sense of duty. Yet he concealed this under a laughing face, and often under a rather coarse manner of speaking. But it is not fair to ascribe to him the lack of earnestness which then prevailed in England. It was a period of easy circumstances; the preachers and teachers of the day succumbed to a general apathy, which the troubled times prevailing in Europe since Walpole's death have successfully dispelled.

Opposition to Walpole. The great minister was never free from opposition in Parliament. In 1714 Bolingbroke (St. John) had fled to France and taken service under the Pretender, and most actively forwarded the Jacobite cause. The Jacobites were still dangerous. In 1722 a serious conspiracy to bring in Spanish troops was organized by Francis Atterbury, a former Dean of Christ Church, and at this time Bishop of Rochester, one of the most splendid and eloquent divines of the period. The conspiracy was discovered and suppressed. Atterbury died in exile. In 1723 Bolingbroke was allowed to return to England, but not to take his seat in the House of Lords. He therefore devoted his great talents to upholding Tory principles with his pen, and particularly to attacking Walpole in a number of brilliantly written works. The description which he gives of Walpole's administration in the preface to the *Patriot King* is an example of the way in which the great minister was censured; if the history of his administration, writes Bolingbroke, ever came down 'to blacken our annals', it would be laid as the greatest charge against Walpole that he did not pay off the National Debt. In point of fact Walpole reduced the debt from £50,000,000 in 1721 to £43,000,000 in 1741.

It was not, however, the Tories only who formed an opposition. There was a schism in Walpole's own party, the Whigs. One party held by William III's views, and advocated a vigorous policy on the continent of Europe. These 'Old Whigs' thought France still dangerous, and to be combated. Men with such views could not long remain in Walpole's



ST. MARY-LE-STRAND, LONDON. Designed by Gibbs, 1714–17

Cabinet. In 1724 the eminent Carteret, a Secretary of State whose knowledge of foreign politics was unrivalled, had to retire. Walpole got him the position of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but Carteret is thenceforth found among the Whig opposition.

The Drapier's Letters. In 1723 a contract for making copper coins for Ireland was given to an Englishman, Wood. The outcry got up against this contract, which was quite business-like, shows how unfairly many of Walpole's measures were treated. Dean Swift, cherishing at Dublin his spleen against mankind, vented his particular bad humour upon the Prime Minister:

'In short, these halfpence are like "the accursed thing which", as the Scripture tells us, "the children of Israel were forbidden to touch". They will run about like the plague, and destroy everyone who lays his hand upon them. I have heard scholars talk of a man who told the king, that he had invented a way to torment people by putting them into a bull of brass with fire under it: but the prince put the projector first into his brazen bull, to make the experiment. This very much resembles the project of Mr. Wood; and the like of this may possibly be Mr. Wood's fate; that the brass he contrived to torment this kingdom with, may prove his own torment, and his destruction at last.' [1]

Swift gives a satirical account of the way the English regarded Ireland:

'There is a vein of industry and parsimony, that runs through the whole people of England, which, added to the easiness of their rents, makes them rich and sturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico: farther than that it is a country subject to the king of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Irish Papists, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops sent from thence: and their general opinion is, that it were better for England if this whole island were sunk into the sea; for they have a tradition that every forty years there must be a rebellion in Ireland. I have seen the grossest suppositions passed upon them: "that the wild Irish were taken in toils; but that in some time they would

[1] Swift, *The Drapier's Letters*, I.

grow so tame as to eat out of your hands ". I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours your tenants of Pepperharrow, " whether I had come from Ireland by sea ? " and, upon the arrival of an Irishman to a country town, I have known crowds coming about him and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.' [1]

The obnoxious coinage was withdrawn by the Government.

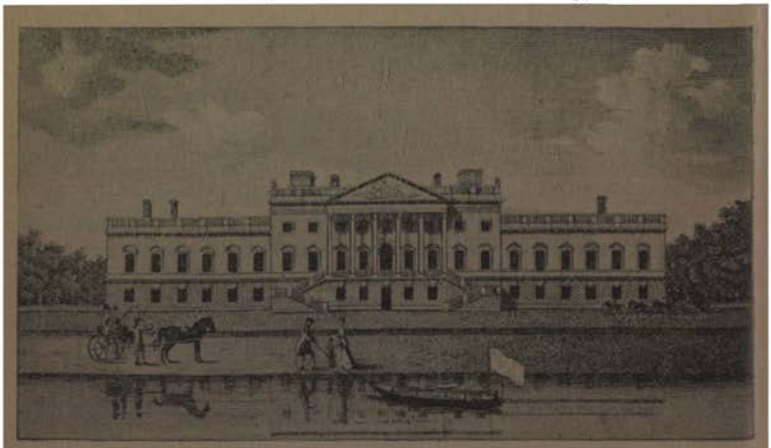
The Excise Bill, 1733. Walpole, the most powerful of English premiers, passed comparatively few measures. Certain acts, like an annual indemnity Bill for Nonconformists, he was careful to see through the House. Others, good in themselves, he withdrew, rather than see the country plunged into agitation. Such was the fate of his Excise Bill. Excise is taxation levied *inside* the country upon various commodities. For instance, beer made in England pays excise. Customs are dues levied on goods coming into the country from abroad. In Great Britain, wine and tobacco, being imported from abroad, have always been subject to customs dues. Walpole proposed to change the customs dues, levied on wine and tobacco at their entrance into the country, into excise dues levied when they were taken out of bond. The object of this proposal was to defer the payment of the dues ; tobacco and wine, shipped to England in order to be exported again to Europe, would not pay duty at all, and trade would be much facilitated. The Excise Bill, if carried into effect, would have lessened, at any rate, the mean and dishonest practice of smuggling, which cheated the revenue of so much money. Under Walpole's proposed system all goods could come freely into the ports, but every shop would have to satisfy the revenue officers concerning the excisable goods which it sold.

Against this Bill the opposition raised such a feeling among the people that Walpole withdrew it. There was, indeed, one great objection to the Bill. It would have involved the examination of shops by Government inspectors ; and as it was often difficult to distinguish between a man's shop and

[1] Ibid., VI.

his private house, the Government inspectors would soon have been searching his private dwelling. Against the compulsory entry of officials into their private dwellings the English citizens have always shown the strongest objection.

Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, under the word 'Excise', takes the opportunity of making a hit at the great Whig, although long since dead: 'A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid.'[1]



DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE. Wanstead House, Essex, about 1720

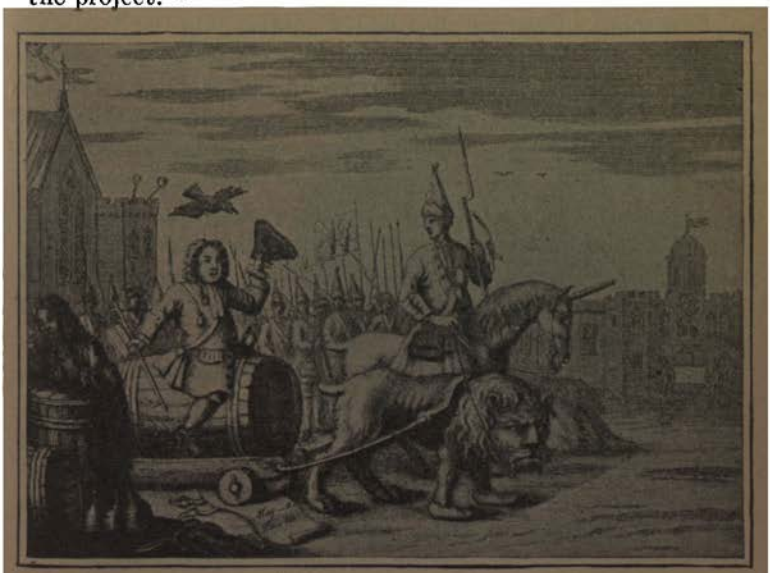
Adam Smith, one of the earliest, and with his disciple, John Stuart Mill, the greatest of English economists, take a juster view:

'It was the object of the famous excise scheme of Sir Robert Walpole, to establish, with regard to wine and tobacco, a system not very unlike that which is here proposed.[2] But though the bill which was then brought into Parliament

[1] Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755).

[2] Adam Smith proposed (1776) that taxable goods coming from abroad should be kept in a 'bonded warehouse', and should pay no duty until they were taken out of the warehouse to be sold. This plan was put into effect by William Pitt, the younger.

comprehended those two commodities only, it was generally supposed to be meant as an introduction to a more extensive scheme of the same kind. Faction, combined with the interest of smuggling merchants, raised so violent though so unjust a clamour, against the bill, that the minister thought proper to drop it, and, from a dread of exciting a clamour of the same kind, none of his successors have dared to resume the project.' [1]



HATRED OF EXCISE. Cartoon showing the Lion and the Unicorn yoked to a beer-barrel

Colonial policy. With regard to the Colonies Walpole was an almost ideal minister. For he could not be accused of indifference; yet he never interfered too much. His industrious habits made it possible for him to attend to all sides of Government business, and to study the needs of those dependencies about which English statesmen in the eighteenth century often knew very little. The North American Colonies were left to rule themselves under the governors appointed

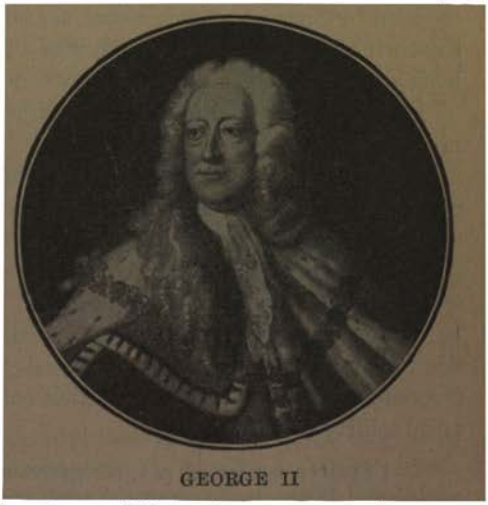
[1] Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Book V, ch. ii, art. iv.

from home. A 'Rice Act' gave freedom to them to ship rice (a great crop of Carolina), without touching at England, to any ports south of Cape Finisterre (1729). A similar privilege was given in respect of sugar under an Act of 1733. Thus a salutary amount of freedom was allowed from the restrictions of the Navigation Acts, which compelled the Colonies to ship directly to British ports.

New reign. George I died in 1727 on his way to Osnabrück in Hanover. His son, George II, like his father, a sensible, good-natured man, made no change in the ministry. He had one great advantage over his father: he could speak English quite fluently. Nevertheless, he was not quite an Englishman: he was too stiff and punctilious, 'so that I have often seen him put so much out of humour at his private levee, by a mistake or blunder of a valet de chambre, that the gaping crowd admitted to his public levee have from his looks and silence concluded that he had just received some dreadful news' (Lord Chesterfield).

He was a brave man, and, when the country went to war, quite naturally went with the army, and, sword in hand, led the troops in the attack. He had, too, what the English like, a sense of justice, and was fair to every one. He did not greatly like Walpole (whose exterior was not prim enough for 'dapper George'), but always gave the great minister fair treatment and his confidence. He had a good eye for ability, and was more shrewd than people thought. When some one told him once that Wolfe, whom he was trusting with such high command, was *mad*, George replied: 'I wish he would bite some of my other generals'. He was fortunate in having a very handsome and amiable wife in Queen Caroline, a firm supporter of the minister. Had it not been for her help, Walpole would have found it hard to keep the peace in 1733. The French and Spanish monarchies had signed a 'Family Compact' to support each other, and Walpole knew of its existence, and knew that it meant a danger to England. In 1733 the War of the Polish Succession broke out, France and

Spain taking opposite sides to Austria. A large party in England desired to support Austria. Actually, so short is men's memory of the horrors of war, the people seemed tired of peace. Walpole was, as usual, calm and sensible. England had no interest in the struggle : neither side was fighting for any principle, except to gain power. Walpole's firmness carried the country through the crisis, and it was with some real pride that he could tell his friend, Queen Caroline, that though fifty thousand men had been killed in one year in Europe, not one of them was an Englishman.


GEORGE II

The war of Jenkins's Ear. The end of Walpole's happy administration came in consequence of the war which broke out in 1739. During the peace British commerce had flourished exceedingly, and British ships were sailing on every sea. London and Bristol were among the most thriving ports in Western Europe. Yet the moribund Spanish Empire still stood in the way, shutting out English commerce from half the New World. Spain could neither develop her empire herself nor endure the thought of any one else doing so. Her *guarda costas* kept a watch in the waters round the Spanish Colonies, and prevented trading. Under one of the treaties made at the Peace of Utrecht, the South Sea Company exercised the right of sending one ship of five hundred tons burden each year to the South Seas (see p. 431) ; this ship on each voyage was met and restocked several times by other ships dispatched for the purpose—a practice of which the

Spanish Government bitterly complained, although the Spanish colonists, who could get goods in no other way, welcomed it. The English, on their side, were just as jealous of their own rights in the English Colonies, and, if the Spaniards had been in a position to trade with them, would have been equally resentful.

One Jenkins, the master of a sloop which traded from Jamaica, came forward in 1738 with a tale of having been stopped by Spanish *guarda costas*, searched, and having had his ear torn off. Whether the man was a fraud or not has never been quite proved. Anyhow, the war party made great use of him, and the British Lion was roused by the story of his woe.

Walpole had no sympathy with the agitation. If there were grievances, he said, let them be adjusted peacefully. He arranged a convention (called the Convention of the Pardo): the claims of England and Spain for damages were to be set off one against the other, and the balance, £95,000, to be handed over to the English Government (1739). Walpole thought he had weathered the storm once more. He defended his conduct in Parliament with his usual vigour and lucidity:

'It requires no great art, no great abilities in a minister,' exclaimed Walpole, 'to pursue such measures as might make a war unavoidable. That is a very easy matter; but, Sir, how many ministers have you had, who knew the art of avoiding war, by making a safe and honourable peace?'[1]

The Opposition, however, roused the country against him. In the Opposition was a fiery, eloquent young man, William Pitt, 'this terrible cornet of horse',[2] as Walpole called him. His speech on the Spanish Convention, in the session of Parliament of 1739, expressed the temper of the nation:

'Is this', he cried, 'any longer a nation, or what is an Eng-

[1] Mahon, *History of England*, ch. xx.

[2] Pitt had been a cornet in Lord Cobham's regiment of horse, but was dismissed from the Army for a speech made in Parliament in 1736.

lish Parliament, if with more ships in your harbours than in all the navies of Europe, with above two millions of people in your American colonies, you will bear to hear of the expediency of receiving from Spain an insecure, unsatisfactory, and dishonourable convention? Sir, I call it no more than it has been proved in this debate. It carries fallacy or downright subjection in almost every line; it has been laid open or exposed in so many strong and glaring lights that I cannot pretend to add anything to the conviction and indignation it has raised.'[1]

It was one of Pitt's great merits that he thought of the Empire as a whole, and not of England only, and his speech on this occasion, if not wise in all respects, at least shows his wide outlook. Yet the Opposition in this instance cannot be acquitted of using the war-cry in order to drive Walpole from the Government:

'Some years after,' wrote Burke, 'it was my fortune to converse with many of the principal actors against that minister, and with those who principally excited that clamour. None of them, no, not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct. They condemned it as freely as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding in history in which they were totally unconcerned.'[2]

Unfortunately for his reputation, Walpole did not allow himself to be driven from office. A minister who cannot conscientiously approve of a policy should not consent to carry it out. Yet Walpole tried to do this. 'They may ring the bells now; before long they will be wringing their hands.' He probably thought the people would get over their madness, and be glad of his policy of common sense again. Unfortunately, war has a way of spreading. The war over 'Jenkins's Ear' soon involved not Spain and England only, but France, Austria, Prussia and Bavaria, likewise.

Condition of the Navy. England and Spain were maritime empires, and the war was conducted at sea. It was the South American trade that the merchants were interested in, and accordingly it was to South America that the fleets were

[1] Mahon, *History of England.* [2] Ibid.

sent. One expedition went against the Atlantic coast, another against the Pacific coast. The novelist Smollett was a surgeon's mate in the expedition to Cartagena, and in *Roderick Random* he describes the conditions of life on His Majesty's ships in the middle of the eighteenth century:

'After dinner Thomson led me round the ship, showed me the different parts, described their uses, and, as far as he could, made me acquainted with the particulars of the discipline and economy practised on board. He then demanded of the boatswain an hammock for me, which was slung in a very neat manner by my friend Jack Rattlin; and as I had no bed-clothes, procured credit for me, with the purser, for a mattress and two blankets. At seven o'clock in the evening, Morgan visited the sick, and having ordered what was proper for each, I assisted Thomson in making up his prescriptions; but when I followed him with the medicines into the sick berth or hospital, and observed the situations of the patients, I was much less surprised that people should die on board than that any sick person should recover. Here I saw about fifty miserable distempered wretches, suspended in rows, so huddled one upon another, that not more than fourteen inches space was allotted for each with his bed and bedding; and deprived of the light of day, as well as of fresh air, breathing nothing but a noisome atmosphere of the morbid steams exhaling from their own excrements and diseased bodies, devoured with vermin hatched in the filth that surrounded them and destitute of every convenience necessary for people in that helpless condition.'[1]

Anson's Voyage. Commodore George Anson was born in 1697, and had entered the Navy at the age of 13. Without either wealth or influence, he had risen to the position of captain, through strict attention to his profession. He was a man of few words, but nobody knew more about ships and sailors. He was cool, courageous, and careful to carry out instructions—one of the steadiest sailors in a service distinguished for good sense and judgement.

The squadron which went out with him in 1740 consisted

[1] Smollett, *Roderick Random*, ch. xxv.

of the *Centurion*, 60 guns and 400 men, the *Gloucester* and the *Severn* (each 50 guns and 300 men), the *Pearl*, 40 guns, the *Wager*, 28 guns, and the sloop *Trial*—a mere cockle-shell—8 guns. They left Portsmouth in September, and sailed across the Atlantic to Brazil; then south towards Patagonia and the Straits of Magellan. Off Tierra del Fuego the squadron was scattered by a storm. The Commodore's flagship, the *Centurion*, went on its way alone. By the beginning of summer, 1741, it had sailed round South America to the quiet waters of the Pacific. Horrid ailments attacked the crew—scurvy, jaundice, ulcers, rheumatism—due to the lack of proper nourishment. Two hundred of the crew died. At last they reached Juan Fernandez, Robinson Crusoe's island, where Alexander Selkirk, the Scottish sailor, had lived alone between 1704 and 1709. The island was uninhabited; the sailors joyfully roamed over it, refreshing themselves with wild fruit and herbs, and the flesh of goats that they killed. The first goat shot was an aged animal with 'an exceeding majestic beard, and most venerable aspect', a survivor, they thought, of Alexander Selkirk's little herd.

At Juan Fernandez the *Centurion* was joined by the little sloop *Trial*. The *Pearl* and *Severn* had been compelled to put back to Brazil. The *Wager* had been wrecked off Chile; the officers and men were saved, but the crew had mutinied and gone off in the long-boat. This long-boat, wonderful to relate, had succeeded in weathering the Straits of Magellan and in sailing back to Brazil. The captain, the lieutenant, surgeon, and two midshipmen, left alone on an island off Chile, made their way, helped by kindly Indians, to the Spanish settlements. Although England was at war with Spain, and the English fleet had come to plunder the Spanish colonies, the officers were treated with the greatest courtesy. In Castro they were lodged in the Jesuit College, on the chance of being converted, but no force was put upon them. They were left at liberty, on parole, until arrangements were made for their exchange. One of the midshipmen, the Honourable John Byron, became

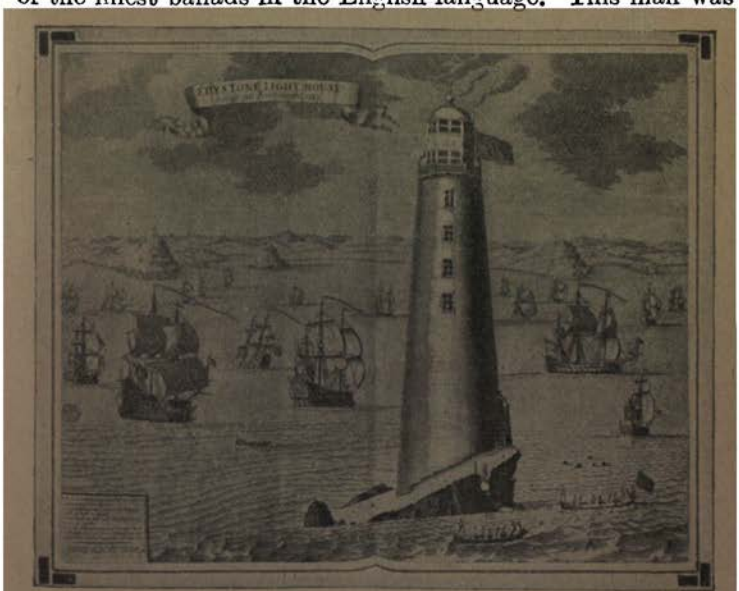
grandfather of the poet Byron, and left a narrative of his adventures.

In September 1741 Anson, with the *Centurion* and the *Trial*, left Juan Fernandez. Between Valparaiso and Callao they took a Spanish merchantman, with a cargo of sugar, silver, and cloth—each useful in its own way. The Spaniards captured on board complimented the Commodore on his energy in building the *Trial* on Juan Fernandez—they never dreamed such a tiny ship could have sailed from England. Anson's next objective was the town of Paita. Lieutenant Brett, with 58 sailors in the *Centurion's* boats, landed and captured the whole town. £30,000 was taken, and the town was set on fire. All prisoners, however, were treated with kindness and civility.

Off Peru, Anson hoped to capture the 'Manilla Galleon', a great ship which came twice a year from the Philippines to exchange its merchandise for Peruvian silver. He missed it, however, and so sailed across the Pacific towards China. At the Portuguese settlement of Macao he was able to refit, and then put out again (April 1743). On June 20 the Commodore fell in with the Manilla Galleon returning with silver ore from Peru. A sharp action ensued; the British gunfire proved much superior, and the Galleon with its rich cargo was captured.

The great voyage was completed by a journey round the Cape of Good Hope. In June 1744 the Commodore cast his anchor in Spithead after an absence of three years nine months. He had shown the power of Britain on the sea, having sailed through the Spanish waters and hit hard at the Spanish power. His chaplain has left a narrative of the great voyage, which is also admirably described in Lord Mahon's splendid *History of England.* Anson continued to serve with distinction in the Navy, and was later raised to the peerage. As First Sea Lord he did much for the efficient administration of the service. Unfortunately he died, like Nelson, without leaving any son to follow in his steps.

The attack on Porto Bello (1740). 'A fleet also went out under Admiral Vernon, and attacked and took Porto Bello. This was the expedition in which the novelist Smollett served, and from which he got his material for depicting life on board H.M.S. *Galloper*. Porto Bello was captured, and the event inspired an otherwise undistinguished writer to produce one of the finest ballads in the English language. This man was



RUDYERD'S EDDYSTONE LIGHTHOUSE, built in 1708

Richard Glover, a public-spirited London merchant, with the tastes of a scholar and man of letters. In 1726, when there was friction between the Governments of England and Spain, Admiral Hosier, a stalwart sailor of the type of Benbow, had been sent to blockade the Spanish ports in the West Indies and South America. His orders, however, forbade him to fight. Cruising off unhealthy coasts the ships' companies suffered terribly from fever and scurvy. Inaction and the sight of his gallant men dying broke the Admiral's heart.

When Vernon took Porto Bello in 1740, Glover imagined Hosier and his ghostly crews coming up from the waves to congratulate the lucky victor :

As near Porto-Bello lying
On the gently swelling flood,
At midnight with streamers flying
Our triumphant navy rode ;
There while Vernon sate all-glorious
From the Spaniards' late defeat ;
And his crews, with shouts victorious,
Drank success to England's fleet :

On a sudden shrilly sounding,
Hideous yells and shrieks were heard ;
Then each heart with fear confounding,
A sad troop of ghosts appear'd,
All in dreary hammocks shrouded,
Which for winding sheets they wore,
And with looks by sorrow clouded
Frowning on that hostile shore.

On them gleamed the moon's wan lustre,
When the shade of Hosier brave
His pale bands were seen to muster
Rising from their watry grave.
O'er the glimmering wave he hy'd him,
Where the *Burford*[1] rear'd her sail,
With three thousand ghosts beside him
And in groans did Vernon hail.

Heed, oh heed our fatal story,
I am Hosier's injur'd ghost ;
You who now have purchas'd glory
At this place where I was lost !
Tho' in Porto-Bello's ruin
You now triumph free from fears,
When you think on our undoing
You will mix your joy with tears.

See these mournful spectres sweeping
Ghastly o'er this hated wave,
Whose wan cheeks are stain'd with weeping ;
These were English captains brave.

[1] Admiral Vernon's ship.

Mark those numbers pale and horrid,
Those were once my sailors bold:
Lo, each hangs his drooping forehead
While his dismal tale is told.

I, by twenty sail attended,
Did this Spanish town affright;
Nothing then its wealth defended
But my orders not to fight.
Oh! that in this rolling ocean
I had cast them with disdain
And obey'd my heart's warm motion
To have quell'd the pride of Spain!

For resistance I could fear none,
But with twenty ships had done
What thou, brave and happy Vernon,
Hast achiev'd with six alone.
Then the bastimentos never
Had our foul dishonour seen,
Nor the sea the sad receiver
Of this gallant train had been.

Hence with all my train attending
From their oozy tombs below,
Thro' the hoary foam ascending,
Here I feed my constant woe.
Here the bastimentos viewing,
We recall our shameful doom,
And our plaintive cries renewing
Wander thro' the midnight gloom.

O'er these waves for ever mourning
Shall we roam deprived of rest,
If to Britain's shores returning
You neglect my just request;
After the proud foe subduing,
When your patriot friends you see,
Think on vengeance for my ruin,
And for England sham'd in me.[1]

End of Walpole's ministry. After Porto Bello, Cartagena was attacked by Vernon, without success; and so the

[1] *The Percy Reliques*, XXV, 'Admiral Hosier's Ghost'

expedition was half a failure. The Opposition in the House of Commons grew stronger. In those days, when an election was disputed for having been conducted with some legal informality or with bribery, the case was not tried before judges, as at the present day. It was argued out on the floor of the House of Commons, and was decided by a party vote. The Opposition disputed the validity of the election of a Government candidate for the borough of Chippenham. They outvoted the Government on this point (January 28, 1742), and Walpole resigned. This was the most critical act of his life. All his time in office he had been a *peace-minister*. At the last he had been compelled to undertake a war against Spain, but it was a limited, naval war only. When he found the struggle spreading, and involving the great military Powers of the Continent of Europe, he had to choose once and for all—to become definitely a war-minister at the head of a great war-Government, or to resign. He choose the latter course. Only George II, who had learned to value the great minister, showed any sorrow. In February Walpole was raised to the peerage as Earl of Orford.

He took his defeat philosophically, was gratified with his peerage and pension of £4,000 a year, kept up a lively interest in politics, and went on with his magnificent collection of old pictures at Houghton. The greater part of this collection is now to be seen, not at Houghton, but in the Hermitage Gallery at Petrograd.

The War of the Austrian Succession. The predictions of the great minister were all coming true. The war was dragging on, wasting England's resources equally with Spain's. Taxation was bound to increase, and, with taxation, discontent with the Hanoverian rule was sure to arise. The Jacobite party, so long laid low, could raise its head, and avail itself of this feeling of dissatisfaction to attempt a revolution. Moreover, the war abroad had spread farther. In October 1740 the Emperor Charles VI, the head of the Germanic Confederation, died. He left his Austrian dominions to his

daughter, the proud and spirited Maria Theresa. France, Prussia, and Great Britain had agreed to the law which Charles had made (called the Pragmatic Sanction), leaving all his territories undivided to his daughter. Among the territories was the fine province of Silesia, through which flow the upper waters of the river Oder. Frederick II of Prussia, although his State had, under his father, been one of the guarantors of the Pragmatic Sanction, invaded Silesia (December 1740), to seize it from Austria. This act produced the War of the Austrian Succession. The war ultimately resulted in the annexation of Silesia to Prussia. France took the side of Prussia, England adhered to the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, and honoured the memory of the defunct Charles VI, who as the 'Archduke Charles' had been the Allied candidate for the throne of Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession. Spain, in the present war, was under the 'Family Compact' (p. 454) on the same side as France. Thus Prussia, Spain, and France were arrayed against Holland, Austria, and England. It was the second time (the first time was 1702–13) that England went to war in the eighteenth century in defence of a treaty. The 'War of Jenkins's Ear', with its issues left unsettled, merged into the War of the Austrian Succession. A conflagration abroad, with rebellion at home, was what Walpole's successors in office had to face.

The operations of the Austrian Succession War. Although George II concluded a treaty of neutrality for one year for his German Electorate, Hanover (which was exposed to the danger of a French invasion), he himself was ardent in his desire to help Austria. In this he was supported by the leader of the new Government, Lord Carteret, a man of brilliant parts but convivial habits, who (according to Horace Walpole) boasted that it was not his affair to make judges and bishops; 'it is my business', he said, 'to make Kings and Emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe'.

The British Fleet was employed to secure the neutrality of Naples, at that time under Don Carlos, a son of the King of

Spain. Commodore Martin brought his ships into the Bay of Naples. Negotiations between the Neapolitan ministers and the English sailor were conducted in the flagship. The ministers began to make difficulties. Commodore Martin laid his watch upon the cabin table, and gave the Neapolitans one hour in which to make up their minds, before the bombardment should begin. This method of sea diplomacy proved effective. The Government of Naples signed a convention of neutrality (1742).

Dettingen. Up to the end of 1742 the war on the Continent had gone against Austria. Frederick of Prussia overran Silesia, and then threw over his alliance with the French, and made peace (annexing Silesia) with the Austrians (June 1742). In the summer of 1743 an army of about 40,000 British and hired Hanoverian troops entered Germany, to drive the French out of the Rhineland. They were at first under Lord Stair, but when they reached Dettingen, on the river Main (June 1743), George II joined them, and took over the command. On June 27 the British met the French army, which was in considerably superior numbers. King George, who was then in his sixtieth year, dismounted from his horse, and marched at the head of his troops to the attack. He waved his sword, and called, 'Now, boys, now for the honour of England; fire and behave bravely, and the French will soon run'; and so he advanced against the French. His younger son, the Duke of Cumberland, commanding the left, likewise led the attack in person, and exposed himself where the fighting was hottest. The King and his men reached the French lines and broke them. Fighting fiercely, the French were forced to retreat, and, before the day was over, the retreat had been turned into a rout.

Fontenoy (May 11, 1745). The French were cleared out of South Germany, but in 1745 they invaded the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium), and threatened to invade England. The young Duke of Cumberland led an Anglo-Dutch army against the French forces, which were under Marshal Saxe.

Cumberland was a good soldier, keen in his profession, hard-working, courageous. The Duke, however, was not the equal of the experienced Marshal Saxe, who had, indeed, something of a genius for warfare. The two armies met at Fontenoy, the French being strongly posted, with only a small gap offering an opening between the village and the wood of Barré on their left. The attack of the Dutch troops failed. The Duke, to retrieve the day, led a solid column of 10,000 men against the gap. This attack is finely described by the historian of the British army:

Forward tramped the ranks of scarlet, silent and stately as if on parade. Full half a mile of ground was to be traversed before they could close with the invisible enemy that awaited them in the entrenchments over the crest of the slope, and the way was marked clearly by the red flashes and puffs of white smoke that leaped from Fontenoy and the Redoubt d'Eu on either flank. The shot plunged fiercely and more fiercely into the serried lines as they advanced into that murderous cross-fire, but the gaping ranks were quietly closed, the perfect order was never lost, the stately step was never hurried. Only the Hanoverians in the second line, finding that they were cramped for space, dropped back quietly and decorously, and marched on in third line behind the British. Silent and inexorable the scarlet lines strode on. They came abreast of village and redoubt, and the shot which had hitherto swept away files now swept away ranks. Then the first line passed beyond redoubt and village and the French cannon took it in reverse. The gaps grew wider and more frequent, the front grew narrower as the men closed up; but still the proud battalions advanced, strewing the sward behind them with scarlet, like some mass of red blossom that floats down a lazy stream and sheds its petals as it goes.'[1]

The heroic advance of the British column had all but won the day. An advance by the Dutch would have completed the success. But the Dutch, though at hand and in good condition, remained immobile. Marshal Saxe made his last effort; he launched the Irish Brigade (Irish regiments in the French service) against the flank of the decimated British column, and

[1] Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, Bk. VII, ch. v.

brought up more artillery against its front. Exhausted, unsupported—shattered by artillery fire, assailed by the impetuous Irish—the column stopped and wavered; then steadily wheeled and, protected by rear-guards, marched slowly out of range.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Further warfare on land was almost completely stopped, so far as England was concerned, by a new Jacobite Rebellion, which occurred in the same year as the battle of Fontenoy. At sea, in a large number of minor actions, the British Navy gained a complete ascendancy. Louisbourg in Cape Breton Island was captured, and Canada itself could have been invaded. In India, however, the French had taken Madras from the British; on the Continent of Europe they held most of the Austrian Netherlands. With matters so nicely balanced, further warfare seemed useless. In October 1748 the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded. France and England restored what they had taken from each other. The Austrian Netherlands were returned to Austria, but Frederick II of Prussia retained Silesia. The commercial relations of England and Spain were put upon the same footing as they had stood before 1739.

Thus the treaty at the end of the war merely restored the same unsatisfactory state of affairs that had caused the war. Nothing was really settled. England still objected to the Spanish trading restrictions; Austria desired to get back Silesia, the colonial question between France and England had been brought forward, and then ignored. If the war was worth fighting at all, it was worth finishing off with a settlement more likely to prove durable. As matters stood after 1748, the peace only proved to be a breathing-space before the renewal of the contest on a more momentous scale.

The Young Pretender. Prince Charles Edward Stuart, born at Rome in 1720, was the son of James the Old Pretender and his wife, the Princess Clementina Sobieski. He received a rather desultory education, but he grew up a cultivated young man, knowing French and Italian, and with a taste for music

and the fine arts. He saw a little soldiering too, and served with credit in the Spanish forces. When the War of the Austrian Succession broke out, the Jacobites saw their chance, and plans were formed for raising a rebellion against the House of Hanover in England. Charles went from Rome to France to get help. Sir Horace Mann, the British Minister to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the well-known correspondent of Horace Walpole, saw Charles as the Prince was passing through Florence. 'The young man', he reported, 'is above the middle height and very thin.' He had a long, pale face, and large blue eyes. There was certainly something very striking about him, as there was about all the Stuarts. He was courageous and dignified, inspiring respect and interest in all who met him.

Charles's design was to get a French fleet and army, and to make a descent upon the shores of Britain. The French Government, however, knew the impossibility of such an enterprise in face of the British fleet; so in 1745 Charles had to set forth practically unsupported. On July 13, with a few friends, he set sail from the island of Belleisle, near the mouth of the Loire, in the *Doutelle* (also called the *Du Teillay*), a small ship which he had secretly hired. On July 23, having evaded the British naval patrols, he landed in the Hebrides. From here Charles proceeded to Moidart, in the country of the Macdonalds, on the west coast of Inverness-shire. The raising of the Standard took place on August 19, 1745, at Glenfinnan.

The Highland chiefs were by no means enthusiastic for the enterprise. The Hanoverian Government was strong, and, although it interfered little in the Highlands, Marshal Wade had made some good military roads, which laid the country open to the red-coats, if necessary. The fact that the Hanoverian Government had left the Highland chiefs so much to themselves made them unwilling to upset such a satisfactory state of affairs. Nevertheless, they rallied to the call of the House of Stuart. They had never forgotten how the

great Marquis of Montrose (p. 355) had trained Highlanders to meet and overcome the disciplined soldiers of the south. The great chiefs, Macdonell of Glengarry, Cameron of Lochiel, and others, brought their clansmen to join Charles's host. All told, this host was only a few thousands strong, yet Charles never hesitated to pursue his great venture.

On September 4 he entered Perth. From there the march to Edinburgh was unopposed, except by a few companies of dragoons, whom the Highlanders easily put to flight, outside the city. Edinburgh itself was entered, although the castle held out for King George. Charles held a court at Holyrood Palace. The sojourn of the chiefs and clansmen in Edinburgh is described with splendid humour and imagination in Scott's novel *Waverley*.

The bulk of the British regular forces were in Flanders with the Duke of Cumberland, and had to be brought back in haste. At Prestonpans, east of Edinburgh, the regular forces under Sir John Cope were met and defeated. Charles, however, did not follow up his victory, but delayed at Edinburgh for another month. Before recommencing his march south, Charles, in the name of his father, 'James III', issued a proclamation in Edinburgh (October 1745), dealing with the old difficulty of religion, for both his father and himself were Papists:

'Do not the pulpits and congregations of the clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threat of Popery, Slavery, Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you by the formidable powers of France and Spain? Is not my Royal father represented as a blood-thirsty tyrant breathing out nothing but destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious religion? Or have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth. I with my own money hired a vessel, ill provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrived in Scotland attended by seven persons; I publish the King my Father's declaration and proclaim his title with pardon in one hand and in the other liberty of conscience, and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free Parliament shall

propose for the happiness of the people. . . . The fears of the nation from the powers of France and Spain appear still more vain and groundless. My expedition was undertaken unsupported by either. But indeed, when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me, and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover's allies being called over to protect his government against the King's subjects, is it not high time for the King my Father to accept also of assistance ? Who has the better chance to be independent of foreign powers—he who, with the aid of his own subjects can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder, or he who cannot, without assistance from abroad, support his government, though established by all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force, against the undisciplined part of those he has ruled over for so many years? Let him if he pleases try the experiment : let him send off his foreign hirelings, and put all upon the issue of a battle, and I will trust only to the King my father's subjects.' [1]

It was quite true, as Charles said, that the cause of George II, like his wars abroad, required Dutch, German, and other mercenaries. The English people did not personally wish to fight against Charles ; but they certainly did not wish to fight for him. And this is true of the Scots also, of whom there were seldom more than 6,000 found at any time in his army. It was really only a ' raid ' into a torpid country that Charles led, and it had no chance of success.

The Highland host marched south by Kelso, and by way of Liddesdale entered Cumberland (November 8, 1745). The town of Carlisle surrendered, almost without a blow. Then the march proceeded. At first Charles drove in a carriage, but as the hardships increased, and supplies became more difficult to procure, he insisted upon sharing the privations of his followers. Clad in plaid and kilt, bearing his claymore and target, he marched at the head of the army, and showed the same endurance as the hardy clansmen. Rising at four in the morning, he marched all day without stopping for a regular meal. In the evening he ate a hearty supper, and then lay down in his clothes.

[1] Mahon, *History of England*, ch. xxviii.

Preston, Wigan, and Manchester were next reached in turn. On December 4 (1745) Derby was reached. When the news reached London, on December 6, 'Black Friday', despair for a time seemed to possess the people. The Government was still largely unprepared; the troops ordered to Finchley Common had not been mobilized. The shops were shut; the Bank of England had to pay over the counter in sixpences, to avoid being 'broken'.

Nevertheless, on the same day, December 6, Charles began his retreat. Lord Mahon, the eminent historian of the eighteenth century, states as his solemn belief that 'had Charles marched onward from Derby, he would have gained the British throne'. He adds, however, that Charles would not long have held it. The second statement is certainly true, the first is doubtful. Charles himself was anxious to go on. His councillors dissuaded him. The great march had shown that, heroic as his qualities were, his cause excited no enthusiasm. Six or seven thousand men, with little ammunition, no money, no supplies, could not long avoid destruction from the armies of Marshal Wade and the Duke of Cumberland, which were converging upon them. As the Highlanders advanced, they must have taken more and more to plunder; and this would have raised the whole country against them. A 'raid' like Charles's was only justified as a practical scheme if it met with a ready response among the people to whom it came. No such response was elicited by the Highland host in 1745. Its retreat was inevitable, and, with its retreat, its destruction.

In the long march back to the Highlands, ruin was only deferred by the skill of Lord George Murray, Charles's most able officer. Glasgow, Stirling, and Falkirk were on the route followed. At Falkirk on January 17, 1746, the Highlanders dispersed the forces (about 8,000 men) of the brutal soldier, General Hawley. The end was only postponed, however. It is difficult to see why, once in the Highlands, the host was kept together at all. Quarrels were now common among

the chiefs, and each blamed the other for the hopeless result. On April 16, 1746, Charles and his small army met the Duke of Cumberland with the red-coats on Culloden Moor, near Inverness. The heroism of the Highlanders could not prevent the destruction of their force.

The cruel treatment of the vanquished has stained the Duke of Cumberland's name. Inverness-shire and the Western Highlands were given over to be ravaged by the soldiery. Luckily, the wildness and inaccessibility of the country saved many of the people. Charles wandered from April till September among the faithful clansmen, although the British Government offered £30,000 for his capture. It was a greater sum of money than had ever been seen in the Highlands. He was tracked to the small island of South Uist, and was only saved by Miss Flora Macdonald, who took him to Skye in a small boat, disguised as her female attendant. Miss Macdonald was arrested later, but after a year obtained release, and married Alan Macdonald of Kingsburgh.

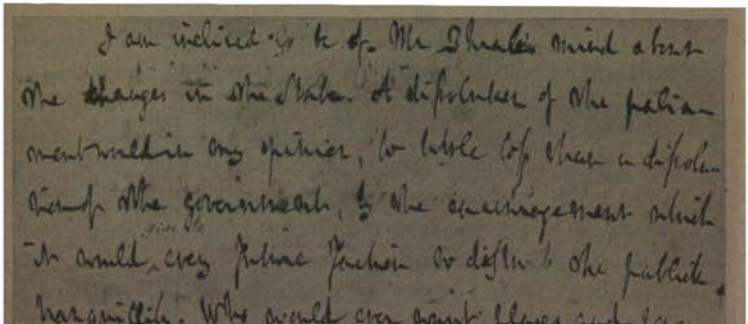
Dr. Johnson visited her at Kingsburgh in 1773. The meeting is described by Boswell in the *Tour to the Hebrides*.

'I was highly pleased to see Dr. Johnson safely arrived at Kingsburgh, and received by the hospitable Mr. Macdonald, who, with a most respectful attention, supported him into the house. Kingsburgh was completely the figure of a gallant Highlander,—exhibiting "the graceful mien and manly looks", which our popular Scotch song has justly attributed to that character. He had his Tartan plaid thrown about him, a large blue bonnet with a knot of black ribband like a cockade, a brown short coat of a kind of duffil, a Tartan waistcoat with gold buttons and gold button-holes, a bluish philibeg, and Tartan hose. He had jet black hair tied behind, and was a large stately man, with a steady sensible countenance.

'There was a comfortable parlour with a good fire, and a dram went round. By and by supper was served, at which there appeared the lady of the house, the celebrated Miss Flora Macdonald. She is a little woman, of a genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well-bred. To see Dr. Samuel Johnson, the great champion of the English Tories, salute Miss Flora Macdonald in the isle of Skye, was a striking sight;

for though somewhat congenial in their notions, it was very improbable they should meet here.'[1]

Macdonald and Flora went to North Carolina in 1773, and settled there. He fought for King George in the American War of Independence. At the end of the war they returned to Scotland. Flora Macdonald died in 1790. She had five sons and two daughters. Two of the sons became naval officers, and died at sea. Another became a distinguished soldier and man of science.



LETTER OF DR. JOHNSON TO MRS. THRALE, July 6, 1775[2]

Prince Charles, after escaping to France, lived first at Avignon, then secretly in Paris, for the French Government could not officially support him. The fine young man who had borne every misfortune cheerfully in his great adventure became a hopeless drunkard in exile. After the death of his father in 1766, he resided in Rome. In 1772 he married Louisa, Princess of Stolberg, but the union was unhappy. They had no children, and separated five years later. Charles's brother Henry was a Catholic priest, and is known in history

[1] Boswell, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 184 (ed. Birkbeck Hill).

[2] 'I am inclined to be of Mr. Thrale's mind about the changes in the State. A dissolution of the Parliament would in my opinion, be little less than a dissolution of the Government, by the encouragement which it would give to every future faction to disturb the publick tranquillity. Who would ever want places and power. . . .'

as the Cardinal of York. He was a man of good sense and judgement. The last years of Charles's life were mostly spent at Florence, where his illegitimate daughter kept house for him. He died at Rome on January 31, 1788, and is buried in St. Peter's, where a beautiful monument by Canova commemorates 'James III, Charles III, and Henry IX'. The monument and inscription are both due to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. His father had for years paid a pension to the Cardinal of York. When the Hanoverians

FACSIMILE of lines 73–84 of the MS. of Gray's *Elegy* at Pembroke College, Cambridge

could be so generous to their rivals, it was clear that the Jacobite party was dead.

CHAPTER XXII

CHATHAM

Early career. William Pitt was born on November 15, 1708, in the city of Westminster. His father was Robert Pitt of Boconnoc in Cornwall; his grandfather was Thomas Pitt, at one time an East India merchant, and subsequently Governor of Madras. Governor Pitt bought a diamond in India for £20,000. In 1717 he sold it to the Duke of Orleans for £125,000, and it became one of the famous heirlooms of the French royal family. William Pitt, the grandson, was only the younger son of a man of small landed property. He was

educated at Eton and Trinity College, Oxford, and acquired a wide knowledge of the classics, if nothing else. From his boyhood he had a tendency to gout, and this may have inclined him to study, rather than to the more active pursuits of youth. He was a great reader of Demosthenes and Bolingbroke, and modelled his style of oratory on their works.

His choice of profession was the Army. In 1731 he became a cornet in the Blues, Lord Cobham's Regiment, now known as the Royal Horse Guards. A cornet was standard-bearer

WHITEHALL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

in a troop of horse. The young officer's private means were £100 a year. With the military life he soon combined the parliamentary, as officers resident in London are still able to do. In 1735 he was returned to the House of Commons as burgess for Old Sarum, a borough which Governor Pitt had purchased, and which had been in the family ever since. William Pitt at once sided with the opposition to Walpole, and soon showed his power of speaking. 'We must muzzle this terrible cornet of horse,' said Walpole. The King was offended by Pitt's attitude towards the royal family at this time; accordingly, the young M.P. was relieved of his commission in the Army. He obtained a position in the household of

Frederick, Prince of Wales, who always supported the opposition against his father the King. In 1739 Pitt made a great speech (*supra*, p. 456) in the House of Commons against the Convention of the Pardo, by which Walpole hoped to avoid war with Spain.

During the War of the Austrian Succession Pitt was not in office. He made himself conspicuous by denouncing the policy of subsidizing foreign States for military purposes. He objected especially to English money being used to pay Hanoverian troops. Great Britain, he said, was being considered 'only as a province to a despicable electorate' (1742). George II naturally resented this attitude. Pitt, however, was rapidly becoming one of the most popular men in the country; therefore, at last, in 1746, the King was obliged to yield, and to allow him to become Vice-Treasurer of Ireland in the ministry of which Henry Pelham, the younger brother of the Duke of Newcastle, was Premier. Pitt whole-heartedly supported the policy of the Government, Hanoverian subsidies and all. He held minor office till 1756, sitting in the House of Commons for Seaford, and then for the 'pocket' borough of Aldeburgh.

WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

When Henry Pelham died in 1754, the Duke of Newcastle became Premier. In 1755 Pitt was dismissed from office for once again denouncing the subsidies given to Hanover. War between France and Great Britain was now going on. Pitt supported the Government in their policy of strengthening the Navy and Army but criticized them for their mistakes—like

the loss of Minorca, or the defeat of Braddock—most unmercifully. In 1756 his popularity in the country was higher than ever. The war was going badly. The Government seemed not to know what to do. The Duke of Newcastle persuaded the King to pocket his pride and to offer the position of Secretary of State to Pitt. Pitt accepted it, and became virtually Prime Minister (December 1756). On April 9, 1757, the King dismissed him again, and for eleven weeks there was no Ministry at all; the administration of the country was carried on by the permanent civil servants. In June the King had to invite Pitt to come back to office. He became Secretary of State on the understanding that he should direct foreign affairs and the war. The Duke of Newcastle was First Lord of the Treasury. This was an excellent combination. Pitt had the genius for carrying the nation through a crisis, for rousing enthusiasm, for conceiving great plans. Newcastle, on the other hand, was a party politician, an unsurpassed manager of the House of Commons. Newcastle was a better man than he has been painted. He was shrewd and disinterested; if he gave pensions and sinecures to men to secure their support, he made nothing for himself, and left office in 1762 poorer than he had entered upon it.

The outbreak of the Seven Years' War. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (p. 468) had satisfied few of the States which made it. Austria wanted to get back Silesia; the English people felt they had made little headway in the New World, and in the Indies. The splendid empire which Champlain and La Salle had founded for France in the early seventeenth century was steadily expanding and closing round the British settlements in New England. In Louisiana and Canada—on the Mississippi, the Ohio, the St. Lawrence—French power was supreme; the New England Colonies could not expand westward of the Alleghany Mountains; indeed they might not be able to maintain their independence against the French. In India, where the French and English had commercial 'factories' and forts, collisions were frequent between the

representatives of the two nations. Thus both in the Eastern and Western Hemispheres little was needed to start a general conflagration[1].

In 1756 occurred the well-known 'Diplomatic Revolution'. Austria and France, enemies for the last 250 years, agreed to become allies. Austria's object was to recover Silesia from Frederick II of Prussia; France's object was to gain a strong military ally, who could help to check England and her allies in any operations in Europe. The English Government (this was just before Pitt joined it as Secretary of State) had already concluded a treaty of alliance with Prussia (Treaty of Westminster, January 16, 1756). The news of this was sufficient to bring the hesitating French and Austrian Governments together, and on May 1, 1756, they concluded the Treaty of Versailles. Thus the Diplomatic Revolution was completed. Austria and France, enemies in the War of the Austrian Succession, were allies; so were England and Prussia.

British Defeats. In July 1755 General Braddock was ambushed and defeated on an expedition against Fort Duquesne, the French fort on the Ohio river in North America (see p. 494). In May 1756 a French fleet from Toulon landed 16,000 men in the island of Minorca, which had been in British possession since the Treaty of Utrecht. The design of the French had been known for some time in England, and the Government sent Admiral John Byng, with ten warships, to the Mediterranean. John Byng was a son of Admiral George Byng, who had won the battle of Cape Passaro (p. 442). When he arrived off Port Mahon, in Minorca, he found the French already landed and their fleet at anchor. After fighting an indecisive action, Byng resolved to leave Minorca to its fate. His ships were about equal in number to the French, but somewhat lighter in guns. His retirement made the capitulation of the Governor of Minorca inevitable. On

[1] See pp. 491–507 and pp. 623–630 for more detailed descriptions of Canadian and Indian affairs.

his return, Byng was tried by court-martial at Portsmouth, and convicted under the Article of War concerning officers guilty of 'cowardice, negligence, or disaffection'. From the first and last offences—cowardice and disaffection—the court explicitly exonerated the Admiral; of negligence they could not acquit him. The penalty prescribed under this Article was death. The Admiral, who showed perfect calmness and dignity, was shot on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque*, on March 14, 1757

The influence of Pitt. The war was clearly going badly when the great period of Pitt commenced, in June 1757—the famous coalition with the Duke of Newcastle. Braddock had been killed, and his expedition ruined; Minorca had been lost; the French in India had roused the Nabob of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, against the British. Surajah Dowlah had captured Calcutta and perpetrated the crime associated with the name 'Black Hole' (June 1756). Finally, on July 26, 1757, the Duke of Cumberland, who was charged with the duty of protecting Hanover, was beaten at Hastenbeck, though not seriously.

Pitt had begun his coalition ministry with the Duke of Newcastle less than a month previously (June 29, 1757). Some little time was required for him to make his influence felt. 'I am sure that I can save this country, and nobody else can,' he is reported (by Horace Walpole) to have said. Every one yielded to the magic of his enthusiasm. He came to power over a dispirited, unsuccessful people. He did not point out their defects and enlarge upon their difficulties; he spoke always as if the English were the greatest and happiest nation in the world, and he made them act as such. No one, it was said, ever left his room without feeling a braver man than when he entered it. He had a genius for choosing the right men; he inspired confidence in all. Thus Frederick II of Prussia, one of the greatest generals of the age, trusted him. The Navy and Army trusted him. His plans were carried out with enthusiasm. 'We are forced to ask every morning',

writes Horace Walpole in the 'wonderful year' 1759, 'what victory there has been, for fear of missing one.' So great is the force of genius, of the elusive quality called greatness. It consists not merely in skill, judgement, industry (Pitt had these qualities), but in the faculty of success—of inspiring men in such a way that they achieve what seems impossible.

Pitt's war policy. Pitt's method of conducting war with the French was to use the Navy to cut them off from their colonies. If this was accomplished, the French colonies would sooner or later fall before the English arms. It was necessary, however, to do some fighting in Europe, in order to protect Hanover and to exhaust France's military strength. For these reasons the Government had entered into alliance with Frederick II of Prussia (p. 479). Pitt adopted the subsidizing policy, which he had formerly opposed so strenuously. He paid King Frederick about £700,000 a year; without this money, Prussia (a very poor State in those days) could not have carried on the struggle against the combined forces of Austria and France. A British army was sent to Germany—about 20,000 well-trained troops. They were put under an able German general, Ferdinand of Brunswick, a relative of King George II.

The command of the sea. The policy of the Admiralty during the ministry of Pitt was masterly. France has only two really good ports, Brest on the Brittany coast and Toulon in the Mediterranean. Britain, on the other hand, is splendidly provided with natural harbours, which could take any size of ship then afloat. The south coast of England has a number of fine ports—for instance, Falmouth, Plymouth, Portsmouth. At the entrance to the Mediterranean, Great Britain holds, as she held in the eighteenth century, the harbour and fort of Gibraltar. In the Seven Years' War (1756–63) the Admiralty used these ports as a base for a policy of blockade against France. An English squadron was generally cruising in the neighbourhood of Brest, or in the neighbourhood of Toulon. If the west wind (a very common wind) was blowing, the French fleet could not easily sail out

of Brest, and likewise there were difficulties in leaving Toulon. The British crews, constantly at sea in all sorts of foul weather, off Brest or Toulon, grew ever more hardened and expert. The French crews and ships, confined by the blockade to port, deteriorated in spirit and in quality. The French were brave sailors, but they acquired less experience at sea, and became less dashing and venturesome.

Their theory of naval strategy was different from that of the English. The French used their Navy for protective purposes. Its chief business was to convoy merchantmen, so as to save them from the British cruisers, or to protect the islands and colonies of France in the New World. This policy was reasonable, but it imposed an attitude of caution upon the French naval officers. They had always to consider whether, by risking an engagement, they were endangering the colonies which they were protecting. Their first object was always to keep their fleet 'in being', so as to be able to use it to protect the French empire. This defensive policy prevented the French, so dashing on land, from becoming dashing at sea.

The officers of the British Navy, on the other hand, had always been taught that their simple duty was to find out the enemy's fleet and to sink it. If they sunk the enemy's fleet, then, no matter what their own losses were, the command of the sea would remain with England. Even if the losses on each side were 'a ship for a ship', England, being more of a naval than a military power, could replace her losses more quickly than France, and so would have the preponderance.

The effect of this policy on the British officers and men is noticeable all through the glorious history of the Navy. As their sole duty was to seek out the enemy's fleet and sink it, they became more and more enterprising and bold. To attack became their habit; they did not consider whether it was their duty to cover this or that island, to keep their fleet in being: they considered one problem only—namely, could they attack the enemy with a prospect of sinking at least as many hostile ships as the enemy could sink of the English?

And as the answer was always assumed to be 'yes', it soon almost ceased to be considered. The naval officers always sought out the enemy's fleet and attacked it. Admiral Byng off Minorca did not make an 'error of judgement', as Macaulay says: he did worse, he neglected his instructions and abandoned the policy of fighting the hostile ships at all cost.

Thus the British Navy was always at sea, always looking out for a chance to attack. It had one other great advantage.

GIBRALTAR

France, being washed by two seas, had to divide her naval power between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, between Brest and Toulon. The British fleet, cruising between Plymouth and Gibraltar, had always a good chance, if either the Brest or Toulon fleet evaded the blockade, of catching it before it could join with the other. The battles of Quiberon Bay and Lagos are instances in point.

Lagos. Admiral Edward Boscawen was the third son of the second Viscount Falmouth. The Boscawens of Boscawen Ros were a very ancient Cornish family. Edward was born in 1711. At the age of 14 he entered the Navy, and sailed in the *Superbe*, 60 guns, to the West Indies with Admiral Hosier, in

1726. Luckily for England, young Boscawen did not become one of the ghosts that figure in Glover's noble ballad (p. 462); instead, he was serving on Admiral Vernon's flagship when Porto Bello was taken, in 1740. From this time Boscawen saw almost continuous active service in the Atlantic and Indian Ocean. In 1758 he was admiral of the Blue and commander-in-chief of the fleet in the operations off Louisburg (p. 496). In 1759 he was given command of the squadron in the Mediterranean.

For a time he blockaded the Toulon fleet. Deeming it better, however, to destroy this fleet than to imprison it, he retired to Gibraltar. He knew that the French would sail for Brest, to take part in an invasion of England, which was being prepared in the north of France. On August 17, 1759, a scouting frigate reported to Boscawen that the Toulon fleet was in sight. The admiral at once put to sea, and on the 18th came into touch with the French fleet. The British had 14 ships, the French 12, but these were more heavily armed. Five French ships became separated by some mistake, and Boscawen, in a stiff fight which lasted from half-past one to half-past four in the afternoon, dispersed the enemy. They were chased into Lagos Bay. Only two of the French admiral's seven great ships escaped.[1]

Quiberon Bay. Edward Lord Hawke was the only son of a London barrister, and was born in 1705. The Hawkes, like the Boscawens, were an old, though not wealthy, Cornish family. Young Edward must have had a great love for the sea, for he volunteered in 1719 as a seaman for service in the West Indian waters, and served for five years. On his return home, he soon tired of life on land, and again joined the Navy as

[1] Boscawen continued to serve in the war till 1761, when he died of typhoid fever at Hatchlands Park, in Surrey—a house which he is said to have built largely out of prize money. His sailors called him 'Old Dreadnought', because it is said that while captain of H.M.S. *Dreadnought* he was wakened one night by the officer of the watch, when the following conversation took place: 'Sir, there are two large ships, which look like Frenchmen, bearing down on us; what are we to do?' 'Do,' said the captain, running up on deck in his night-shirt, 'Do? damn 'em, fight 'em!'

a seaman. In 1729 he was made a lieutenant. Even then his promotion was not rapid. In 1735 he was commanding a ship, but after it was paid off he was four years on half-pay without employment (1735–9). The War of Jenkins's Ear gave him his chance. He was given command of a very unseaworthy ship for service in the West Indies, and he was employed till 1746; but in that year he was only saved from being retired from the service by the intervention of George II, who had a better judgement for capacity than most of his ministers. George had him promoted to be rear-admiral of the White.

In 1759 Hawke was commander-in-chief of the British fleet in the North Atlantic blockading Brest. In this work he made the blockading policy quite a science. For six months the fleet never quitted the waters outside Brest; the ships were carefully victualled, and the crews of two or three ships at a time were sent to Plymouth for a rest. When the Admiralty remonstrated with him for thus weakening his force, Hawke replied: 'It is a matter of indifference whether I fight the enemy, if they should come out, with an equal number, one ship more or less'. 'The refreshment of the ships' companies', he said, 'was more important than the ships.'

On November 9 (1759) a terrible westerly gale compelled Hawke to sail to Torbay to refit. On the 14th he heard that the French fleet had left Brest. He at once put to sea in the *Royal George*, with all his ships. On the 20th, one of the watching frigates announced that the fleet of the French admiral, Marshal de Conflans, had been sighted, and was making for Quiberon Bay, where they could station themselves behind dangerous rocks and shoals. Hawke gave chase, and, in a south-west gale, came up with and engaged Conflans's fleet before the French admiral could get into the bay. The engagement began at 2 p.m. on the 20th and went on till 5. One French ship, the *Formidable*, struck her colours; two were sunk. Next day, Conflans's flagship was forced to run ashore. Four more were wrecked. The whole French fleet

FLINTLOCK CARBINE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
A brass receptacle is screwed on the muzzle of the barrel for throwing grenades

was broken up as the result of this brilliant action in a storm. Two English ships, the *Resolute* and the *Essex*, suffered shipwreck.

The fight off Quiberon Bay, following upon that off Lagos, was the decisive battle of the war.[1] The French sea-power was practically destroyed. Boscawen, who commanded the fleet after Hawke went home for a rest, started a vegetable garden on a small island in the bay, to provide green food for the sailors. British merchantmen sailed the seas practically unmolested. Communications between France and India and Canada were broken. The fall of France's colonial empire was made inevitable by her losing command of the sea.

Minden (August 1, 1759). Pitt, in a famous sentence when speaking in the debate (1763) on the Treaty of Paris, said, 'we were winning America on the plains of Germany'. The statement was meant to emphasize the importance of the continental war. France's military strength was being exhausted on German battle-fields, while Britain was gaining the sea, and with the sea the French empire.

[1] Hawke's active career practically ended with his success at Quiberon. He was First Lord of the Admiralty from 1766 to 1771. The rest of his life was passed at Sudbury-on-Thames; he continued to take a close interest in the Navy, and helped officers with his advice. He died on October 18, 1781; his portrait may be seen in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, which is full of precious mementoes of our great naval history.

Near the town of Minden, a detached portion of the kingdom of Prussia, the greatest British battle of the Seven Years' War was fought. A large French army, at the beginning of 1759, had come up from the Rhine (where it had occupied Frankfort), and was threatening the Electorate of Hanover. Minden was taken; the French might cross to the right bank of the Weser, and invade the Electorate, if decisive action were not taken. Ferdinand of Brunswick, whose task it was to cover Hanover, had about 41,000 British and Hanoverian troops; the French Marshal Contades had 51,000.

Contades had a strong position behind marshes near the Weser river. Ferdinand managed, by exposing a weak spot (as it appeared) in his own lines, to induce the Marshal to leave his position and to attack. The battle began at 3 o'clock on the morning of August 1, 1759. For a time the fight was fairly even, the French striving to drive the Allied troops off the field, the Allies vigorously maintaining their position. Ferdinand had a fine column, for the most part British infantry, in reserve. It contained the 12th Foot (now called the Suffolk Regiment), the 20th Foot (Lancashire Regiment), the 23rd Foot (Royal Welsh Fusiliers), the 25th Foot (King's Own Scottish Borderers), the 37th Foot (Hampshire Regiment), and the 51st Foot (King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry). Besides these, there were three regiments of Hanoverians. An aide-de-camp was sent by Ferdinand, warning them to stand ready for an advance when the rest of the army was properly formed. To the surprise and consternation of the general, the column—one solid line of scarlet—started advancing by itself. Gallopers were at once sent to stop it. For a few minutes the column halted behind a thin belt of firs. Then, as soon as it had become compact again, to the amazement of the watching staff the drums began to roll, and again the column moved forward.

Soon it was beyond all supports, and exposed to the fire of 60 powerful French cannon. Over a distance of two hundred yards it calmly advanced through a storm of shot,

the ranks steadily closing together, as men were killed or fell out wounded. Then the whole mass of French cavalry came on at the charge, but the column, remaining quiet till the horses were only ten paces off, received them with a volley, and next with the bayonet. The cavalry were beaten off.

This was the critical moment. Ferdinand sent orders to the British cavalry—twenty-four squadrons of Blues, 1st and 3rd Dragoon Guards, 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys), and 10th Dragoons (now 10th Hussars), under General Lord George Sackville. The order was given, but the general did not move. Once more the French cavalry charged upon the solitary British column, which met them with perfect coolness and determination, and again—this time finally—drove them off the field. Renewed orders were sent to Sackville, who refused to carry them out. By this time, however, the battle was won. The rest of the Allied infantry and the artillery had pushed forward to support the column, which had destroyed so great a part of the enemy's cavalry. The French army retreated to the defences of Minden; the line of the Weser was left intact in possession of Ferdinand, and the Electorate of Hanover was safe. The six famous regiments which composed the British column had lost 1,252 men out of 4,400.

The conduct of Lord George Sackville is inexplicable. He had shown ability and courage in his previous service. His mistake saved the French army from complete destruction, and cost him his military career. He was tried by court-martial and dismissed from the Army. Unfortunately for his country, he then went in for a political career, and rose to be Secretary-at-War during the American War of Independence.

The end of the war. On October 25, 1760, George II died. He was a strong-minded man, and stood loyally by any one to whom he had once given his confidence. He and Pitt, therefore, were in close accord during the war. The new king, George III, was of a different character, anxious above all to restore the royal authority, and to rest his power upon support

from the people, not from the great Whig families. The Seven Years' War, so far as Britain was engaged in it, was a Whig war. George III was a Tory, and the Tories had always advocated a policy of isolation, of non-interference on the Continent of Europe. Besides the war had done its work. The battle of Minden had saved Hanover; Lagos and Quiberon Bay had secured us command of the sea; the battles of Plassey (1757) and Wandiwash (1760) made the English predominant in India (pp. 628–30); and the glorious campaign of Wolfe in Quebec, in 1759 (p. 498), added Canada to the British Empire.

Accordingly, George III and his Tory advisers, especially the Scotsman, Lord Bute (who was made a Secretary of State), were ready to make peace; but Pitt was decidedly of opinion that the time for peace was not ripe. In 1761 France obtained the support of Spain, by the arrangement known as the Second Family Compact: the royal houses of Spain, Naples, and Parma (all being members of the Bourbon family) agreed to make war upon England along with France, if peace were not made before May 1762. Pitt urged that war should be at once declared on Spain. George III refused, and Pitt resigned (October 5, 1761). He was offered the position of Governor of Canada, the great country which his administration had added to the British Crown. He chose, however, to remain in political life in England.

In January 1762 his policy, after all, had to be adopted by Bute's Government. They declared war on Spain. It was, however, too late now, and Bute, having entered the Government with a view to peace, could not prosecute the war vigorously. He stopped the payment of the subsidy to Frederick of Prussia. The Duke of Newcastle now resigned, and Bute was left free to carry out the wishes of George III. Nevertheless, the last expeditions of the war—all planned by Pitt, though carried out under Bute—were not failures. The commander-in-chief of the Leeward Islands station, Rear-Admiral Rodney (aged 44 at this time), captured Martinique, St. Lucia,

and Granada. Havana was taken in the same year (1762). Yet Bute had begun negotiations before the news of these conquests arrived. By thus disclosing his determination to make peace at once, Bute gave the skilful French diplomatists the means of securing better terms than the naval and military situation justified. The final treaty was signed at Paris on February 10, 1763.

The Treaty of Paris. The Treaty of Paris ended the great Seven Years' War between England and France for overseas empire. Canada was recognized as wholly within the British Empire. The only land left to France, out of her great North American empire, were the tiny islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were restored by England, to be a resting-place for French fishermen. England retained the fine West Indian islands of Tobago, Dominica, Grenada; Martinique and St. Lucia were given back to France. Minorca was restored to England, who also received Florida[1] from Spain, but both Minorca and Florida were lost by England in the American War of Independence. France got back all her Indian trading-ports, though without the right to fortify them.

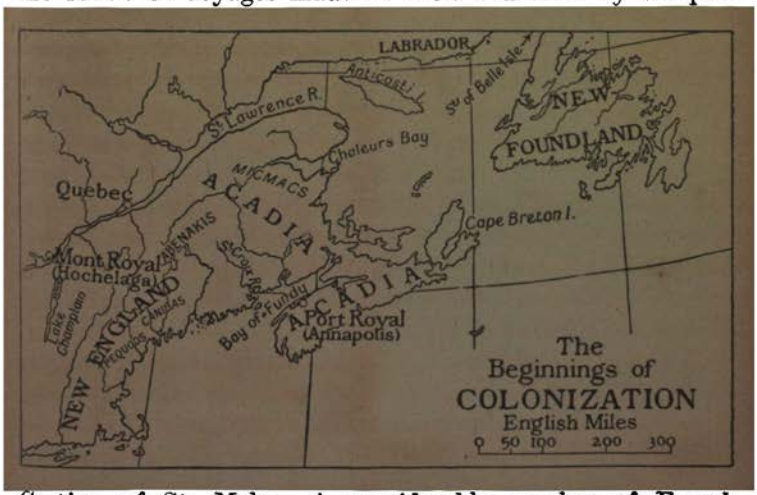
The Peace of Paris was violently denounced by Pitt, who, suffering severely from gout, struggled down to the House, and spoke for three hours and twenty-six minutes. After the magnificent successes of 1759, he had hoped to leave no colonies at all to France, and to secure the English position for ever in North America and India. The Peace of Paris, it is true, made Britain the greatest colonial power of the world, but it did not leave that empire secure. In the War of American Independence, and again in the Napoleonic Wars, France and England were to contest the predominance of the New World and of India.

[1] The British Government was anxious to annex Florida, because from there the Spaniards committed hostile acts against the neighbouring British colony of Georgia. Georgia was founded in 1732 by James Oglethorpe, a member of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and from the very start the colonists had to fight the Spanish.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CONQUEST OF CANADA

Early History. The Conquest of Canada, already alluded to (p. 478) is a sufficiently important affair to merit a separate description. The Colony of Canada (an Indian name), or La Nouvelle France as the French called it, was founded as the result of voyages made in 1534 and 1535 by Jacques



Cartier, of St. Malo. A considerable number of French emigrated to New France in the seventeenth century, particularly in the reign of Louis XIV; Huguenots hoped there to escape from religious persecution, while younger sons of good Catholic families went for the sake of the good landed estates which they received from the Crown on easy terms. A kind of feudal system was established which endured to the middle of the nineteenth century, and of which traces exist at the present time.

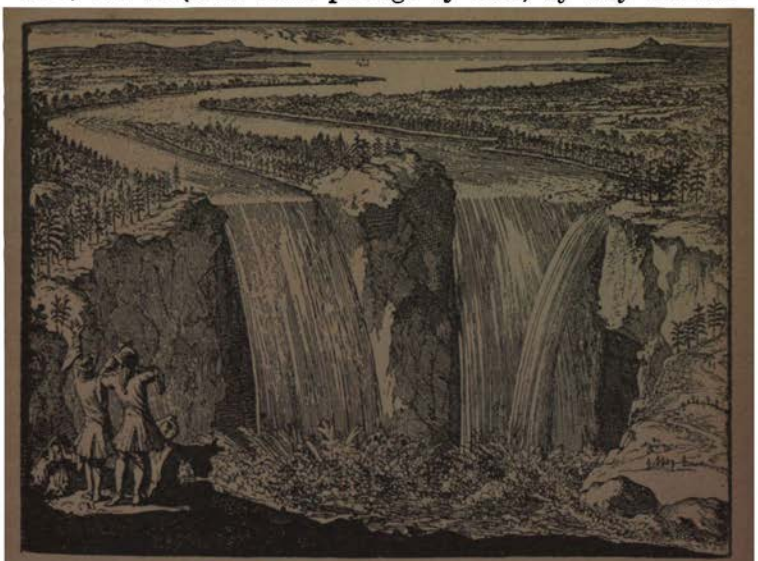
English Possessions. The French, however, could not lay claim to the whole of the country. In 1670 Charles II granted to Prince Rupert and a Company of adventurers all the

territory watered by streams flowing into Hudson Bay. This vast tract was owned and governed by the Hudson's Bay Company till the year 1869. In 1713, by the Treaty of Utrecht, the British Empire obtained another province, the French ceding Acadie or Nova Scotia, which in previous years had been the scene of many fights with the New Englanders. The first settlement in it had been made by Sir William Alexander, a Scotsman (hence the name Nova Scotia), in 1621, but the French had possession of it from the year 1632. Newfoundland, which is closely associated with Canada, was English since the early years of the seventeenth century, but was formally ceded by the same treaty (1713) to England. Cape Breton Island and Île St. Jean (Prince Edward Island) remained French for fifty more years.

JACQUES CARTIER
The Discoverer of Canada, 1534–5

The Ohio Scheme. Under the French rule, Canada, although it was fairly prosperous, never had a large population; in the last years of the French period there were between 65,000 and 75,000 white inhabitants, at a time when the British North American Colonies had a combined population of two million. Yet although not strong in number, the French had spread far and wide over Canada and the territory to the west of the New England Colonies. As the English were already in possession of most of the coast, the French made settlements along the valleys of the great rivers, inland. In the reign of Louis XIV they occupied both banks of the St. Lawrence, the chief river of Canada, and held a stretch of land, 20–50 miles deep, on either side. In 1681 La Salle, having made his way

from the Great Lakes to the Ohio, sailed down the Mississippi and established French power in the large territory (on the north of the Gulf of Mexico), which became known as Louisiana. Between Louisiana and Canada the rivers provide a natural inland water-route, up the Mississippi—the largest of the North American rivers—and then up its great tributary the Ohio, and so (after some portage by land) by way of Lake



FIRST PICTURE OF NIAGARA FALLS, 1697

Erie into the valley of the St. Lawrence. If the French could occupy the chief points along this Louisiana–Canada water-route, they would shut in the British Colonies (Virginia, the New England colonies, and the rest), tap all their inland trade-routes, and prevent these from ever expanding westwards. In fact, the British North American Colonies, with a chain of French fortresses on one side, and the Atlantic on the other, would probably not be able to hold their own; the English flag would disappear from North America, or, at any rate, would never be seen to the west of the Alleghany Mountains.

The first Frenchman who, having seen this possibility, took definite steps to realize it, was the Marquis de la Galisonière, Governor of Canada from 1747 to 1749. In the latter year he sent one of his lieutenants, Celeron de Bienville, to establish posts in the Ohio valley. Celeron went down the Ohio and formally took possession of the land, by fixing tin-plates to trees, inscribed with the royal arms of France.

GENERAL BRADDOCK

Duquesne. In 1753 the Marquis Duquesne, another great French Governor, determined to complete the carrying through of the 'Ohio Scheme'. He sent out an expedition, which cut roads through the forests and built forts—rough but strong structures of logs—at important strategical points on the south side of Lake Erie and along the Ohio; the most important of these posts—Fort Duquesne—was on a narrow strip of land where the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers join together and form the Ohio.

Braddock. The English were quite alive to the dangers which threatened them; and two expeditions were sent out from Virginia to capture Fort Duquesne. The first expedition was led by George Washington, of Mount Vernon, a colonel in the Virginian militia; it failed, however, and Washington himself was captured, but soon afterwards was released (1754). Next year a distinguished regular officer, Major-General Braddock, of the Coldstream Guards, led another expedition: this consisted of the 44th and 48th Foot (now the 1st Battalions of the Essex and Northampton Regiments) and 650 militiamen from New York, Virginia, and the Carolinas. George Washington was again serving (this time on the staff of the general).

On July 9, 1755, the British forces were ambushed on the Monongahela river, and forced to retreat with terrible losses. Braddock, who had led his men with the greatest bravery in the fight, died in camp a few days afterwards. The expedition is described with great spirit in Thackeray's *Virginians*.

The Acadians. In the same year the English Government expelled from Nova Scotia all the French families who would not take the oath of allegiance to King George II—an incident of which the pathos has been immortalized in Longfellow's *Evangeline*. In 1756, a state of war, which, in spite of much fighting in America, had not been declared, was formally enacted; the Seven Years' War had begun. At first things did not go well with the English, for the Marquis de Montcalm, who commanded the French forces in Canada, was in every way worthy of his position, a man of the highest character and of great ability. In 1756 he captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, and in 1757 took Fort William Henry, on Lake George, thirty miles south of Fort Ticonderoga. The capture of Fort William Henry is famous in the annals of colonial history, owing to the massacre of many of the men and women who were in it by Montcalm's Indian auxiliaries; the story of this has been told by Fenimore Cooper in *The Last of the Mohicans*.

Pitt. The year 1757 ended with the French being triumphant on the great rivers and lakes. Yet it was just at this time that their fortune began to decline. In June Pitt had been made Secretary of State, in the ministry of the Duke of Newcastle; and Pitt's strength of will, intellect, and imagination soon made themselves felt, even in far-away Canada. He at once saw where the critical points were, and devised a scheme to deal with them, a scheme which, if the British fleet should continue to command the sea, was sure, in the end to be successful.

There were in Canada about 20,000 French troops; of these 4,000 were regular regiments; the rest were chiefly local militia. They were not very well supplied with munitions,

and when the British fleet gained command of the sea, they could get little direct support from France. Pitt increased the British regular troops in Canada to about 20,000 men, and to command them chose General Amherst, who was forty-one years old, James Wolfe, who was brigadier under Amherst, aged thirty-one, and General Abercromby, an old soldier of great experience and skill; under Abercromby was another young brigadier, Lord Howe, aged thirty-three, one of three brothers all of whom rose to high distinction in the navy or army.

Louisbourg and Ticonderoga. The first step in the Conquest of Canada was to take Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton Island, which commanded the mouth of the St. Lawrence. This town, which had been captured by a New England expedition in 1745 and subsequently (much to the disgust of the New Englanders) restored to the French in 1748 (see p. 468), was now taken once for all by a combined land and sea force, in which Amherst led the army and Admiral Boscawen the fleet (June–July 1758). The fortifications were destroyed; since then the town has greatly declined, its trade passing to Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia.

In the same year, June 4, 1758, General Abercromby advancing from Albany (the capital of New York State) on the Hudson river, by way of Lake George, attacked Ticonderoga. In a skirmish during the march Lord Howe was killed, to the regret of every one, for he was considered the most promising officer in the British Army. In the attack on the Fort, which was held by Montcalm in person, Abercromby's force was repulsed and forced to retreat. The Royal Highlanders (Black Watch) lost 500 men; the fight is celebrated in a magnificent ballad by Robert Louis Stevenson. Abercromby after his repulse did not remain idle; a brilliant success was scored in August by sending Colonel Bradstreet with 3,600 men up the Mohawk river. Bradstreet crossed Lake Ontario, and captured Fort Frontenac. This success interfered with the French communications down the Ohio,

so that General Forbes, a very capable Scottish soldier who commanded in Virginia, was able to bring up a force from the south and to take Fort Duquesne. The place was renamed Fort Pitt, and later Pittsburg.

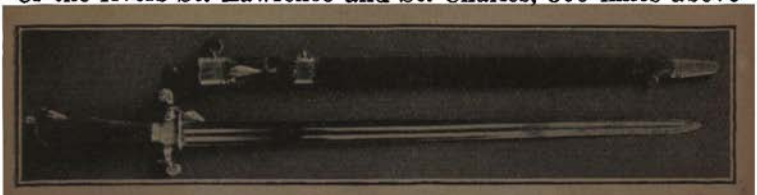
Amherst. The capture of Forts Frontenac and Duquesne in 1758 cut the St. Lawrence–Ohio line. In the two following years the work was to be completed by the expulsion of the French power from Canada. The command-in-chief of all the forces was given to Amherst, who planned three separate expeditions, each of which in the end was successful. The first, in July (1759) captured Fort Niagara, and so destroyed the last link in the St. Lawrence–Ohio line. Amherst himself led the second force, which captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point commanding Lake Champlain (August). The third expedition under Major-General Wolfe was directed against the city of Quebec itself.

Wolfe. The officer who had been specially chosen by Pitt to command the expedition against Quebec was, after Lord Howe (who fell near Ticonderoga), the most promising of the younger soldiers in the Army. He was the son of Lieutenant-General Wolfe, and was born at Westerham in Kent, on January 2, 1727. After being sent to a private school, he became an ensign in the 12th Foot (now the Suffolk Regiment) when he was fourteen years old, and next year he fought throughout the campaign of Dettingen. At the battle itself he was acting-adjutant. He next served in the Duke of Cumberland's campaign of 1745, and fought at Culloden; and at the age of 23 he was made Lieutenant-Colonel of the 20th Foot (Lancashire Fusiliers).

Wolfe was a man of the most attractive character. In private life he was gentle, courteous, kindly, fond of society and of sport. In his profession he was the keenest of soldiers, employing all his spare time in reading and educating himself for his duties; to this end he read greatly in mathematics, and taught himself Latin and French. He was also a great admirer of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* and of Thucydides'

works (which he read in a French translation). In 1752 he obtained leave to go to Paris for six months, to pursue his military studies. He was in fact the best type of British officer, enthusiastic for his profession, intellectual, studious, vigorous, and high-spirited. His only disadvantage lay in his weak health; when offered a command in Canada he joyfully accepted it, yet said in a letter written at the same time: 'I know the very passage threatens my life, and that my constitution must be utterly ruined and undone.' In appearance he was tall and slightly built, with red hair; contrary to the usual practice he wore no wig.

The Siege of Quebec. Quebec is situated near the junction of the rivers St. Lawrence and St. Charles, 300 miles above



SHORT SWORD WORN BY WOLFE WHEN HE FELL AT QUEBEC ON SEPTEMBER 13, 1759

the Gulf of St. Lawrence (i. e. from the west end of the island of Anticosti), and 180 miles below Montreal. It stands on a steep, rocky promontory at the end of a long line of cliffs which form the northern bank of the river above the city. On the opposite side of the river, which is under one mile broad here, is another high promontory, Point Levis. Just below the harbour of Quebec is the island of Orleans, on which the French had erected batteries, and which contributed to the strength of the city.

The force with which Wolfe was to attack one of the strongest places in the world, held by 16,000 men (French regular troops, Canadian militia, and Indians) under one of the ablest commanders, numbered only 9,000. The opposing leaders were finely matched; Montcalm—experienced, scientific, cool; Wolfe—enthusiastic, daring, skilful. More-

over, bad luck at first attended the British expedition ; after sailing up the St. Lawrence, some of the transports were driven ashore by a storm, on June 27 (1759). Wolfe, however, was able to occupy the island of Orleans and Point Levis, and to mount his batteries against the city.

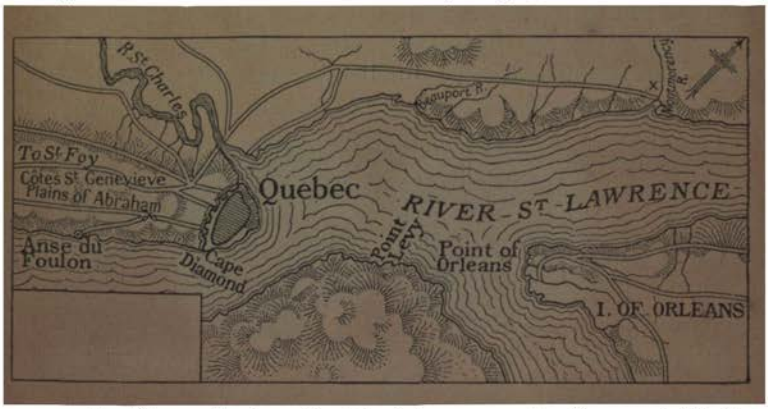
For the next two and a half months, the siege, although prosecuted with the greatest vigour, was unsuccessful, in spite of Wolfe's hold on the left bank of the river. He even established posts on the north bank of the St. Lawrence, both below and above Quebec, but the attempts to take the city itself by assault failed with great loss of life. At the end of July the English forces suffered a bloody repulse in a frontal attack on the French lines on the Mont-

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE CAPTURE OF QUEBEC AND DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE

morency river, just below Quebec. In the middle of August Wolfe himself was prostrated by fever, and it appeared as if the whole expedition must fail ; he wrote to his mother that he would leave the Army, for he considered that his reputation was ruined and his career at an end. Yet he would not abandon the struggle till every conceivable resource had been tried. On August 29, having recovered from the fever, he held a council of war with his brigadiers. They unanimously recommended that a great effort should be made from the west side, above the city.

The Heights of Abraham. Accordingly, at the beginning of September strong detachments were sent up the river, while, to distract Montcalm's attention, minor attacks were made against Quebec itself. Wolfe, anxiously surveying

through a telescope the steep north bank of the St. Lawrence above the city, had noticed a path which ascended from a little cove, called l'Anse du Foulon, to the plateau above. At the top of the path a French picket could be seen. Wolfe calculated that a party of his men might land by night at the cove, ascend the path and surprise the picket. The way would then be clear for more troops to come up to the plateau, where they would form a line of battle. The plan was clearly most risky; it was to be carried out by night, over unfamiliar



ground; it required perfect training, organization, and discipline; the smallest mistake might ruin it.

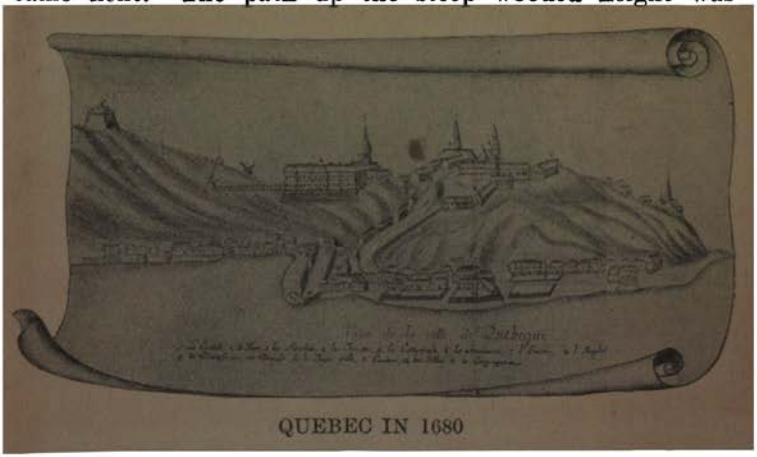
About 2 o'clock on the morning of September 13, boatloads of soldiers (who had been concentrated upstream) were moved down the river with the ebbing tide. Before starting Wolfe issued an order:

'The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers are capable of doing against five weak battalions, mingled with a disorderly peasantry. The soldiers must be attentive to their officers, and resolute in the execution of their duty.'

As his boat dropped down with the tide, in the silence and solemnity of the night, he is said to have repeated the stately, moving lines of Gray's *Elegy*:

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike th' inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

About 4 a.m. they came to l'Anse du Foulon, now called Wolfe's Cove, about a mile and half above the city. The first boat to ground at the shore contained twenty-four men of the 43rd Foot (Oxfordshire Light Infantry). Wolfe's boat came next. The path up the steep wooded height was



QUEBEC IN 1680

successfully scaled, and the unwary picket surprised and captured. Detachment after detachment followed; and before six o'clock, when full daylight had come, 4,000 British soldiers were marching towards Quebec. About a mile from the city, Wolfe halted his men, and drew them up in line of battle. From their position on the Heights of Abraham, as this part of the plateau, on which Quebec stands, is called, they threatened the city, and Montcalm at last must come out and fight. For the British, victory meant Canada; a defeat would sweep them off the cliff.

Montcalm had been out all night, for Admiral Saunders, who commanded the British ships, had been making a feint of landing in the meadows below Quebec. About 6 a.m., as

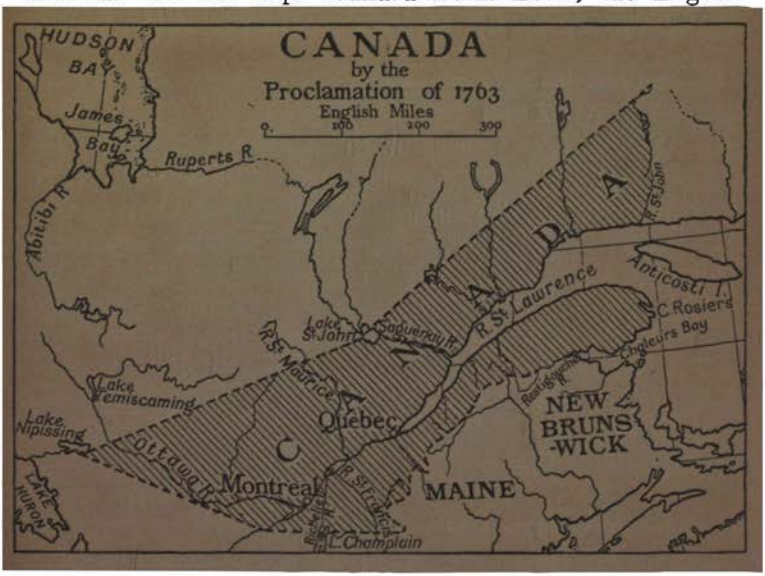
A VIEW OF THE TAKING OF QUEBEC, SEPTEMBER 13, 1759

the French general was riding towards the city, he heard that the British were on the Heights of Abraham. There was no time for delay, as Wolfe might bring up guns, and make Quebec untenable. So Montcalm at once got his men together and marched forth with a force of 5,000 (the rest of his forces were left to garrison the town and to hold the Beauport lines, which Admiral Saunders was threatening to attack). No artillery or cavalry were used on either side. It was a purely infantry battle.

The fight began some time before ten o'clock. The French came on to the attack. Wolfe reserved his fire till the enemy were within forty yards; with admirable discipline the British waited for the word of command, and then discharged their pieces with deadly effect. The French line was broken and a series of charges by the British infantry completed the rout. It was when putting himself at the head of the last charge that Wolfe received a fatal wound; Montcalm too was shot, trying to get the remnant of his troops back to Quebec; he died in the city on the following morning. Wolfe died on the field of battle, having just heard that the victory was won. In his life, as in his death, he seems to anticipate the career of Nelson; like Nelson he was delicate, studious, daring, and had a rare genius; the order which he issued before the battle is like Nelson's before Trafalgar, and he died in his great victory, at one of the historic moments of the world. His body was brought back to England and buried in the vault of Greenwich Parish Church, where his father had been buried only six months earlier.

The Fall of Canada. Quebec capitulated to Wolfe's second-in-command, General Murray, on September 18. Gradually the French forces elsewhere were reduced, their position being wellnigh hopeless, as they received no reinforcements from France. In the spring of 1760 Montcalm's able lieutenant, Levis, made a determined attempt from Montreal to retake Quebec, and actually defeated General Murray at St. Foy, close to the scene of Wolfe's battle (April 27). The

English were driven back into the city, and had to remain on the defensive. On May 9 it was rumoured among both besiegers and besieged that a fleet was coming up the St. Lawrence. Both sides waited in breathless expectation; if it was a French fleet, then Quebec would fall to the French; but if it were English, the French hold upon Canada was finally doomed. As the ships rounded Point Levis, the English

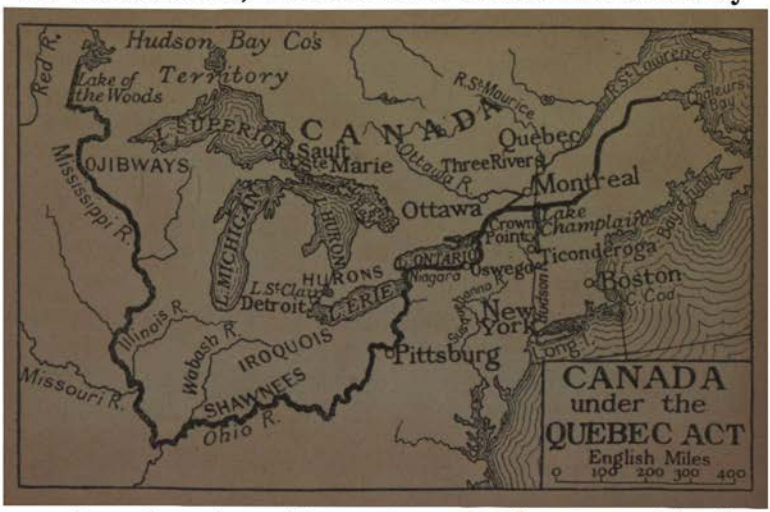


flag was hoisted at the mast-heads. General Levis retired from before Quebec.

Towards the end of summer (1760) a triple advance was successfully made against the last great French city, Montreal. General Murray sailed upstream from Quebec with 24,000 men, and after fighting with the French outposts took up a position below Montreal at the end of August. Colonel Haviland (known later as the conqueror of Havana) fought his way up from Crown Point on Lake Champlain; and General Amherst himself, with Sir William Johnson, the famous governor of the Indians, sailed from Lake Ontario

down the St. Lawrence, and arrived with his force of 10,000 men in front of Montreal on September 5. There were now 17,000 of British forces around the fated city against 2,400 French troops. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, the last French Governor of Canada, had no choice but to capitulate.

The Quebec Act. By the Treaty of Paris, February 10, 1763, Canada passed from France to the British Empire. At the same time, the frontiers of Canada were defined by



royal proclamation. The territory thus incorporated in the British Empire was a strip, varying from 30 to 120 miles in breadth, along the river St. Lawrence; Montreal was the most westerly point of any importance, and all the great lakes—Huron, Erie, Superior—were left outside the British sphere.

In 1774 the Quebec Act was passed through the British Parliament. By this, the frontiers of Canada were greatly extended. In particular all the West was included—the country lying *beyond* the sources of the rivers, which, from the west or north-west, fell into the Atlantic. This extension was made by the British Government with the deliberate object

of preventing settlement in the West, and of keeping it reserved for the Indians—a policy which it was impossible to maintain in practice. Further, a great extension of the province of Quebec was made to the south, in the unappropriated territories which later formed the States of Wisconsin and Michigan. This southern extension, however, was abandoned at the Peace of Versailles in 1783, at the end of the American War of Independence.

LIFE ON THE HUDSON BAY RIVER. A DOG CARIOLE

After 1763 the conquered Canadians, who had fought bravely for France, were well treated by their new Government. The Quebec Act of 1774 secured to them freedom for their Roman Catholic worship. In the Courts of Justice, English law was made the rule for criminal cases ; the existing French law was maintained for civil cases. Under this system, the French-Canadians went on living quietly on their lands, and at the outbreak of the American War in 1775 showed no inclination to revolt.

The Hudson's Bay Company. While Great Britain owes to General Wolfe the conquest of Quebec and the valley of the St. Lawrence she already had held dominion for nearly

a hundred years over the north-west of Canada. This was owing to the work of *The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay.* This Company, which was established for trading purposes, by Royal Charter, in 1670, owned and governed all the land watered by the rivers which flowed into Hudson's Bay. It built forts, and traded its stores—food and articles of European manufacture—for the Indians' furs. As furs were the chief com-

THE GOVERNOR OF THE RED RIVER IN A LIGHT CANOE

modity of the Company, it did not encourage immigration into its territories, for immigration drives away the wild game. In other respects, the Company pursued a liberal policy: it never sold intoxicating drink, and was always trusted and well liked by the Indians. At first the French hotly disputed its claims, but at the Peace of Utrecht, at the end of the Spanish Succession War in 1713, they had to acknowledge completely the Company's rights in the north-west. For the rest of the eighteenth century there was no interruption to the development of the Fur Trade of the Hudson's Bay Company.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

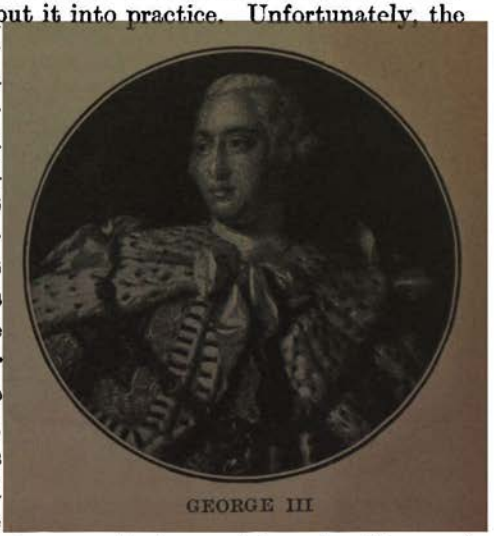
The ascendancy of the Crown. George III, when he became King, in 1760, was twenty-two years old. He was a thorough Englishman, proud of his country, fond of the people, good-natured, respectable, obstinate. Although the early part of his reign was a failure, and he had to pass through a period of unpopularity, he lived to be a popular figure in the country. The domestic life of the first two Georges had not been good. Neither was the life of his son, George IV. The third George was an upright man, living a simple life, not extravagant, kindly, affable. He resided a great deal at Windsor Castle, and used to walk much in the Forest and in the roads round the town. He was a familiar figure to every one for miles around, and was especially known to the schoolboys of Eton, whom he would often stop at the roadside, pat on the head, and ask kindly questions. Many stories, some true, some made up, have gathered round his personality. It is said that, walking in the grounds of Windsor Castle, he stopped to ask a gardener's boy what he earned. The boy discontentedly said: 'Meat and drink, a bed, a fire, and a roof.' 'Why, that 's all I get,' said the good-natured King, as he walked away.

Personal rule. George had studied *The Idea of a Patriot King*, by Bolingbroke, and arrived at the same theory of monarchy as Disraeli, from the same source, upheld later. George believed that the Revolution of 1688 had put the country into shackles; through changing the dynasty the great Whig families had established their power over the Crown; and through the ownership of parliamentary boroughs they had established their power over the people. Thus Britain had come to be ruled, it was said, by a close 'Venetian Oligarchy'.

The way out of this unfree system, according to Bolingbroke

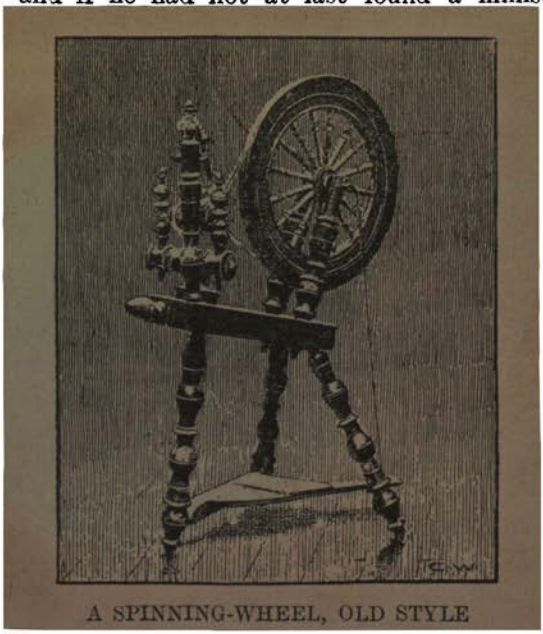
and to George III himself, was for the King to get into direct touch with the people; the prerogative of the King, the personal authority of the monarch, was to represent the people, and to oust the 'ring' of families who ruled the State. Thus, in order to give the people the power that was theirs by right over the State, the personal authority of the Crown must be restored.

Such was George's theory, and as soon as he came to the throne, he began to put it into practice. Unfortunately, the first step in the process—the assertion of the King's personal authority—could only be accomplished by breaking up that system of constitutional government which, with all its disadvantages, is the only safeguard of our liberty. To displace the 'Whig Oligarchy', George had to dismiss ministers who had the confidence of the country, and then had to use 'influence' to get a House of Commons favourable to his views. He had to form a party of 'King's Friends' in Parliament, who were pledged to vote as he wanted. Thus the people, the older members of Parliament, the Cabinet even, might have certain views on government; the King might have others; and through his 'Friends' the King might either get his own objects carried out, or the objects of the official Cabinet and party frustrated. The danger of this system of government lies in the fact that the King is legally irresponsible; ministers can be outvoted and forced to resign, but if the King is really (as George for



GEORGE III

a time was) the moving power in affairs, there is no means of making him responsible, no way of making him change his mind. This is the view put forward so clearly by Burke in his *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*. George's personal intervention helped to produce the American Revolution; and if he had not at last found a minister, the



A SPINNING-WHEEL, OLD STYLE

younger Pitt, who pleased both King and country together, there would have been a revolution in England too.

The great movements. The long reign of George III, from 1760 to 1820, included some of the most momentous events in the history of the world. There was the American Revolution, which produced a powerful, free, and high-minded nation on the other side of the Atlantic. In Europe there was the French Revolution, which, slowly working out its effects, has changed the methods of government in every country; there were also the Napoleonic Wars, which neces-

sitated a new map of Europe. At home there was the great 'Industrial Revolution', the establishing of factories with steam-power which transformed England from an agricultural and trading nation into a great manufacturing one, with enormous towns and a huge industrial population. All the problems of life so prominent to-day appeared in an acute form during the Industrial Revolution—the problem of overcrowding in cities, acute discontent of labourers against

HARGREAVE'S SPINNING-JENNY, patented in 1764

employers, the rise in prices, the problem of poor relief. The union with Ireland, the first stage in the modern 'Irish Question', was accomplished in 1800. Outside the island, in the 'larger air' of the Empire, vast tracts of India were being annexed, Australia was being settled, the South African Dutch were being brought within the British rule, Canada was working out a 'way of life' between English and French.

The resurrection of the Tories. Since 1714 the Tories had been out of office, and had it not been for the genius of Bolingbroke they would not have remained a party at all. From the time of his return from exile, in 1723, till his death,

in 1751, he gave the Tories, who had no representatives in the Government, real power in the country, by his political writing. He stated the Tory views, and gave them a coherent policy, the policy of 'popular monarchy', which Disraeli eloquently preaches in his political novels.

The first step which George III had to take, in order to restore the authority of the Crown, was to displace the Whigs from power, and to raise the Tories. Yet it required ten years of struggle and intrigue (1760–70) before the King could get a Cabinet and a Parliament predominantly Tory, and under the royal influence. Then followed twelve years of unsuccessful government (1770–82); then came an interlude of Whig rule; again the Tories got into office, but it was a Government no longer subject to the King, but dependent upon a Parliament which to a considerable extent derived its authority from the people.

The period of struggle, 1760 to 1770. When, in 1761, George induced Pitt to resign office, and made Lord Bute a Secretary of State, he had got one Tory into the Ministry, one who was completely in agreement with the King (p. 489). The Duke of Newcastle, one of the most powerful Whigs in the land, resigned from office in 1762. Still the House of Commons was mainly Whig, and so, although Lord Bute was a Tory, most of the ministers were Whigs of one or other of the factions into which their party had split. Three Premiers followed in quick succession—George Grenville, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Duke of Grafton (under whom Chatham took office)—all Whigs. At last, in 1770, with the resignation of the Duke of Grafton, the Whig party collapsed.

Lord North. The Prime Minister, the seventh in ten years, whom George now promoted, was Frederick Lord North, belonging to an old Oxfordshire family, the Norths of Wroxton Abbey, a house which they do not own, but hold as hereditary tenants from Trinity College, Oxford. North was educated at Eton, and Trinity, Oxford, travelled abroad, had a good knowledge of classical literature, and also of the French,

German, and Italian tongues. He was entirely without ambition, and simply took office in answer to an urgent appeal of the King.

'Jan. 23, 1770.

'Lord Weymouth and Lord Gower will wait upon you this morning to press you in the strongest manner to accept the offer of First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury. My mind is more and more strengthened in the rightness of the measure, which would prevent every other desertion. You must easily see that if you do not accept I have no Peer at present that I would consent to place in the Duke of Grafton's employment' (*The King to Lord North*).[1]

North was trusted by the King, and, out of loyalty to the Crown, remained Prime Minister for twelve very difficult years. George worked hard to keep a majority for the Premier in Parliament; any one who voted against the Government received special marks of disfavour.

'March 14, 1772.

'I wish a list to be prepared of those that went away, and of those that deserted to the minority. That, will be a rule for my conduct in the Drawing Room to-morrow' (*The King to Lord North*).[2]

North himself had excellent parliamentary gifts. He was a good speaker, always talking sensibly and to the point. Although attacked by the most brilliant men of the time—Burke, Fox, the younger Pitt—he never, in the most acrimonious debate, allowed his temper to be ruffled. Placid, always good-humoured, blinking short-sightedly, awakened by the pushes of his colleagues from a short nap in his seat on the Treasury Bench, he would rise to answer his opponents cheerfully and sensibly. He was the eldest son of the Earl of Guilford, and until his father's death, in 1790, sat in the House of Commons. As a minister his only fault—it was a very grave one—was a certain want of energy. He was industrious and conscientious, but not strenuous or firm, and during his ministry certain departments, like the War Office,

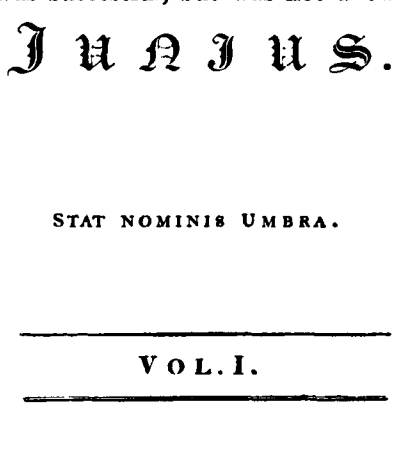
[1] Mahon, *History of England*, v. 390. [2] Ibid. 392.

were incapably managed. In private life he was entirely estimable, and never happier than when living with his family in the country at Wroxton Abbey. His views on government were not those of to-day ; he believed in governing the people, not in letting them govern. Just before becoming Prime Minister, he said he had voted against all the ' popular ' measures of the last seven years. This showed the absence of ambition in him, for, as he said, ' there is rarely an ambitious man who does not try to be popular '.

Wilkes. It was not so much Lord North, however, but his master that was becoming unpopular. The feeling against the King's intervention in politics was increased by the actions of the famous Whig John Wilkes. This man was born in 1727, the son of a distiller in Clerkenwell. He received a good education at private schools, and became known as a young man for his wit, his literary taste and ability, and also for his fast living. He belonged to a famous drinking-club called the *Monks of Medmenham* (an old abbey in Buckinghamshire), and none of the band was more jolly or reckless than he. He aspired, however, to be a statesman as well as a man of fashion, and in 1757 he obtained a seat in Parliament for the borough of Aylesbury ; at the same time he was colonel of the Bucks. militia. The Ministry, however, declined to admit him to office, and he consoled himself, for a time, with journalism. In 1762 he began to produce a weekly journal called the *North Briton*, in which he vigorously criticized or rather attacked the North British statesman Lord Bute. In Number 45 of the journal his criticisms of the King's Speech amounted almost to giving the lie to the King, and accordingly the Home Secretary issued a General Warrant for the apprehension of any one concerned in the article. It was out of the judicial proceedings which ensued that General Warrants were declared illegal—a very good result, for no one would be safe from imprisonment if the police were authorized to arrest people in general on mere suspicion.

A VIEW OF LUDGATE HILL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The next step which Wilkes gained in the march towards liberty was in 1769. Since the episode of General Warrants in 1763, he had got into various other kinds of trouble including a duel, and had been outlawed. When he came back in 1768 he stood as a member of Parliament for Middlesex and was successful, but was not allowed to take his seat by the House of Commons. He was four times elected, and at last the House declared that his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, was duly returned. 'This insolent claim to limit the free choice of a constituency', as J. R. Green calls the action of the House, evoked a storm of indignation, being especially held up to scorn by the *Letters of Junius*. These letters appeared in the *Public Advertiser* between the years 1769 and 1772, in which year they began also to be issued in book form; their authorship has never been discovered, although they have often been ascribed to Philip Francis, a clerk in the War Office and later famous (and highly unpopular) in Indian history.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MDCCLXXII.

'Wilkes and Liberty' became so popular that the demagogue was elected first an Alderman and then Lord Mayor of London, and while sitting on the magisterial bench he established certain precedents which give greater freedom to printers. Thus this noisy politician, so much a mixture of bad and good, could say when he died in 1797

that he had destroyed General Warrants, had established freedom of elections, and had confirmed the liberty of the Press.

George III had himself been Wilkes's most determined opponent. 'I think it highly expedient to inform you', he wrote to Lord North during the time of the Middlesex Election, 'that the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes appears to be very essential, and must be effected.' That the King should thus step into the arena of party politics was ruining his prestige; and the American War seemed likely to finish his reputation altogether.

The American Colonies. The thirteen British Colonies in North America, outside Canada, differed in many important respects from each other, as, under the name of States, they still differ; and indeed there are two things equally remarkable about them: one is that the thirteen Colonies should take up arms against the Mother Country; the other is that they should form one strong federal union. The circumstances of the rebellion are memorable, for they produced, on the one hand, the United States of America, with its ideals of freedom; on the other hand, through the experience gained by the British, a new type of empire was developed, the modern self-governing British Empire.

Under the Old Colonial System each colony stood by itself. Each had its own Governor, appointed by the Home Government; and each had a Legislative Assembly, which passed local Acts and voted the Governor's salary. In this way the Colonies enjoyed a large amount of self-government. The New England Colonies had a hardy population of farmers, strongly Presbyterian, well educated, with fine colleges at Harvard and at Yale. The southern Colonies contained large estates, growing tobacco and cotton, cultivated by slave labour. There the manor-houses, and to a certain extent the lives, of the squires of the Old Country were reproduced on American soil. Thackeray's *Virginians* gives a good picture of this life.

Causes of friction. It was not till after 1750 that discontent on the part of the Colonies with the Mother Country began to appear. In Walpole's time, quietness prevailed. An ex-Governor of Pennsylvania suggested to him a direct tax on the Colonies. This was after the failure of the Excise Bill (p. 451). The statesman replied: 'I have old England set against me, and do you think I will have New England likewise?'

The Navigation Acts were a source of a certain amount of friction. By these laws goods could only be shipped to or from the Colonies in British or Colonial ships. This rule prevented foreign shipping, from which large profits would have been made, from entering colonial ports. In addition, foreign goods could not be imported into the Colonies without being first landed in England, nor could goods be shipped to foreign countries from the Colonies without first being landed in England. These goods paid English customs dues, which were handed back if the goods were carried out of the country again. Walpole's Excise Bill, if it had passed, would have remedied this cumbrous system. His 'Rice Act' also gave a certain amount of freedom to the Colonies to trade direct with foreign countries (p. 454). In 1750, however, the principles of government on which this wise statesman had acted were set aside. A 'Colonial Manufactures Prohibition Act' was passed. Certain articles were named which were forbidden to be manufactured in the Colonies, and which, therefore, had to be purchased from Great Britain. Thus, for instance, the Pennsylvanians might mine and export iron-ore, but they could not manufacture it into bar or pig-iron.

The Stamp Act. Commercial restrictions, wherever they exist, are always a great cause of friction. In 1765 another cause was introduced, namely, direct taxation. Hitherto, the British Parliament had regulated the customs dues on imports; but it had never imposed a direct tax on the Colonies. In 1765, however, under the premiership of George Grenville

—an industrious and efficient minister, but not a statesman of wide outlook—a Stamp Act was passed. This Act imposed a fee, varying from 3*d.* to £10, on all legal documents in the Colonies. The object of the tax was to supply £100,000, which was one-third of the sum required to pay the military forces in North America. Britain was to pay for the other two-thirds.

Up till 1765, each Colony, in its Legislative Assembly, had controlled its own direct taxes. Grenville, however, argued, with some reason, that it would be impossible to get each of the thirteen Colonies, in thirteen separate Assemblies, to vote the exact quota of the tax which they ought to pay. The Colonists, on the other hand, denied that they could be taxed directly by a Parliament, sitting thousands of miles away, in which they had no representation.

The true view was expressed by Burke in one of his great speeches on conciliation. The Stamp Act, he said, could not be called illegal, though direct taxation of Colonies by Parliament was against constitutional custom. But if not illegal, the decision to impose direct taxation was unwise, and the amount of money to be got, in comparison with the loyal Colonies to be lost, not worth bothering about.

'Such is steadfastly my opinion of the absolute necessity of keeping up the concord of this empire by a unity of spirit, though in a diversity of operations, that, if I were sure the colonists had, at their leaving this country, sealed a regular compact of servitude; that they had solemnly abjured all the right of citizens; that they had made a vow to renounce all ideas of liberty for them and their posterity to all generations; yet I should hold myself obliged to conform to the temper I found universally prevalent in my own day, and to govern two millions of men, impatient of servitude, on the principles of freedom. I am not determining a point of law; I am restoring tranquillity; and the general character and situation of a people must determine what sort of government is fitted for them. That point nothing else can or ought to determine.

'My idea, therefore, without considering whether we yield as matter of right, or grant as matter of favour, is *to admit*

the people of our colonies into an interest in the constitution; and, by recording that admission in the journals of parliament, to give them as strong an assurance as the nature of the thing will admit, that we mean for ever to adhere to that solemn declaration of systematic indulgence.' [1]

This speech was delivered on March 22, 1775, less than a month before the battle of Lexington. In 1766 the Marquis of Rockingham, a Whig Premier of moderate views, had repealed the Stamp Act. Next year, however, the Duke of Grafton's Ministry, after Chatham had fallen ill and left it, passed an Act which (to assert the principle simply) imposed about £40,000 worth of duty on imports into the American Colonies.

In 1770 Lord North became Premier, as the friend of George III, prepared loyally to carry out his views. George believed that he must carry on the Old Colonial System as he had inherited it; the claim of the colonists to settle their own direct taxes meant a self-governing empire of a completely new kind. 'It would be better', wrote George to Lord North, 'to give up the empire, than to admit one particle of these principles.' So he insisted on North maintaining the right of the British Parliament to tax the Colonies.

Two months after Lord North had become Prime Minister, a riot occurred in Boston, the troops had to be called out, and three citizens were killed. This event was magnified in public opinion under the name of the 'Boston Massacre' (March 1770). Two years later one of the British revenue schooners, the *Gaspee*, was boarded and burned while it was lying at Providence in Rhode Island. The authors of this daring act were never discovered. In 1773 the British Government allowed the East India Company to export tea from its warehouses in London, without paying the English duty, to America. The colonists would thus be able to buy tea cheaply, for it would only have to pay the small duty at American ports. But when the tea-ships came to

[1] Burke, *Speech on Conciliation with America.*

Boston they were not allowed by the populace to land their cargoes; and before they could leave they were boarded by a party of men disguised as Mohawk Indians, and the tea was thrown into the sea. The Government punished the town for this 'Boston Tea-party' by closing the port to commerce, and at the same time (1774) they suppressed the popular charter of Massachusetts. The result was the outbreak of war in April 1775 and the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

Causes of the British failure. The desultory seven years' war which followed, honourably waged on both sides, was disastrous for England. Compared with the British people, the Colonists were inferior in numbers, wealth, and resources of every kind. Nor were they superior in leadership; there were good and bad leaders on both sides, but Clinton and Cornwallis were probably as good generals as Washington or any American. The Colonial officers knew the country better, and their knowledge and training gave them an advantage, such as the Boer leaders had over the English generals in the South African War. Broadly considered, however, the defeat of the Mother Country may be said to have been due to three things: to mismanagement at home, to the distance across the Atlantic, and to the vast and roadless spaces of the Colonies.

The administration at home was bad. George III's absorption in internal politics, the endless party intrigues, had withdrawn attention from the Navy and Army. Lord George Sackville had changed his name, for family reasons, to Germaine since the battle of Minden. He became Colonial Secretary under Lord North. At this time the administration of the War Office was part of the Colonial Secretariat. Lord George Germaine was able but unconscientious, and is said not to have troubled even to read the colonial and military dispatches.

The distance across the Atlantic made it difficult to send sufficient forces to America, and made sea-power more than

ever important. Unfortunately, the naval policy of the time was not good. After France joined the Americans, in 1778, the French fleet was thrown into the scale against England. Admiral Howe advised that the policy of the Admiralty of Pitt's time should be resorted to—that is, that the bulk of the fleet should stay in European waters and blockade the French ports (p. 481). Thus the French fleet would either be shut up, or it would come out against the blockade and probably be destroyed. This policy, however, was not adopted completely or consistently. The French fleet was allowed to sail in colonial waters, and in 1781 it obtained (for a short time) sufficient command of the sea to bring about the capitulation of General Lord Cornwallis in Yorktown—the decisive action of the war.

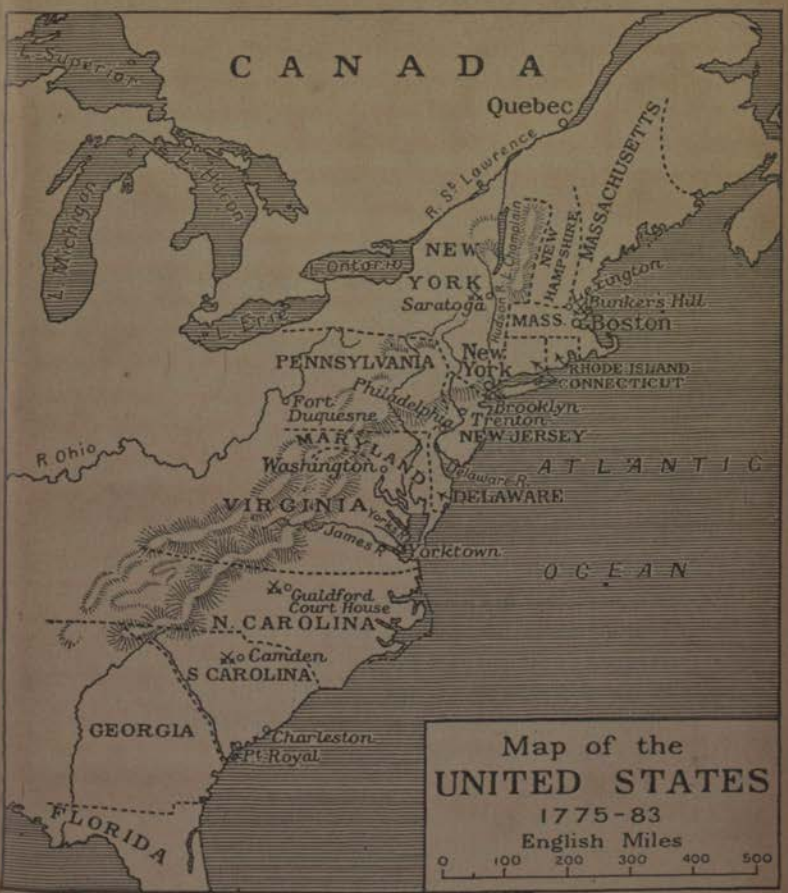
The vast extent of the country over which the English forces had to operate gave splendid opportunities to the mobile American Colonists to beset the red-coats, much as the French and Indians had beset Braddock's men near Fort Duquesne (p. 494). The unfortunate campaign of General Burgoyne in 1777, ending with the capitulation of Saratoga Springs, shows the dangers of operating without enormous resources in men, supplies, and transport among the forests and lakes of eastern Canada and New York State.

The operations of the war. The American Army was an untrained militia, but under Washington it gradually acquired discipline, and showed itself skilful in 'regular' operations, as well as in the more 'irregular' style of fighting which suited the trackless nature of much of the country.

The British commanders showed extraordinary slowness in following up the victories which they secured at the beginning of the war. They seem to have held back, in the hope that some peaceful settlement of the dispute might be arranged. The chief successes of the British in the early days were at Bunker's Hill, and against the American invasion of Canada.

Bunker's Hill. The battle of Bunker's Hill was fought on June 17, 1775. About 4,000 of the Colonists had seized this

hill and one other—Breed's Hill—commanding the town of Boston. The British soldiers, in number about 2,000, had to



take these positions, in the face of the fire of the strongly posted Americans. In this difficult task they succeeded, losing 800 men, killed by the American sharpshooters. The enemy in their retreat might have been entirely cut off by an energetic pursuit. So good a chance was not to occur

again ; after Bunker's Hill the American troops gained experience, and showed better fighting qualities.

In the winter of this year, 1775, the Americans invaded Canada, which they expected to rise in sympathy with them. There were practically no regular troops in the country, and the Governor, Sir Guy Carleton (afterwards Viscount Dorchester) could only raise a few thousand militiamen. Abandoning Montreal to the American General Montgomery, Carleton made an adventurous journey almost alone to Quebec, where he organized a brilliant defence (November 1775–May 1776). At first he had to deal only with the division which Benedict Arnold had brought by the Kennebec–Chaudière route ; but after Montgomery came down from Montreal he had to face the united American forces. These were defeated, however, in a battle on the Heights of Abraham (the third in seventeen years), and Montgomery was killed (December 31, 1775). In May Quebec was relieved by a British fleet, and the Americans were driven out of Canada.

The threefold scheme. There were three groups of British forces which did most of the fighting. The first was called the army of New York, the second that of Canada, the third that of the South. New York was actually in possession of the Americans, and the great object of the army of New York, under General Howe, was to take it. The British forces, which included Germans hired from the Landgrave of Hesse and Duke of Brunswick, were about equal in number to the American.

Howe's army at first gained considerable success. The battle of Brooklyn, fought on August 27, 1776, ended with the rout of Washington's army, which was only able to withdraw through Howe's dilatoriness in pursuit. New York was recovered. The British could have crossed the Delaware and pushed forward into Pennsylvania, which was a stronghold of the insurgent cause. Instead, however, Howe dispersed his army in winter quarters. On Christmas Day (1776) Washing-

ton suddenly crossed to the east of the Delaware, and captured the whole German garrison of Trenton.

In 1777 Howe did something to rectify his mistakes of the previous year, and after some operations, skilfully conceived and boldly carried out, he took Philadelphia. The failure of the army of Canada, however, made Howe's advanced positions in Pennsylvania insecure.

The army of Canada. The army of Canada was a force of about 7,000 British soldiers, under General Burgoyne, a capable soldier and a writer of plays. The plan which he was meant to carry into effect was a good one; it was to advance from Lake Champlain south to New York, down the Hudson river. Forces from New York were to advance up the river under General Clinton, one of the most energetic and able soldiers in the British Army. This scheme, if executed successfully, would have given the British command of the fine valley of the Hudson, and would have cut off the New England States from the rest of the seceding Colonies. As might have been expected, however, the combined operations between troops separated by hundreds of miles of practically unknown country were a failure. Burgoyne had left Lake Champlain in June (1777). On October 9 the small army struggled into Saratoga village in the Hudson valley: 'the men', wrote Burgoyne, 'for the most part had not strength or inclination to cut wood and make fires, but rather sought sleep in their wet clothes, upon the wet ground, under the continuing rain'. On the 17th the army capitulated to General Schuyler, who had 16,000 men. This notable success of the Americans revived their cause everywhere; it put out of action a force of British soldiers who could not easily be replaced; and—most important of all results—it decided the Government of France and—soon afterwards—that of Spain to join in the struggle against England. The war ceased to be a domestic contest in America; it became European, and indeed world-wide. Britain, assailed on the sea, in America, and in India, found the strain too much. She could

only deal effectively with one assailant at a time; and so, with the intervention of France, the reconquest of the revolting colonies became almost impossible.

The army of the south. Generals Clinton and Cornwallis were the heroes of the war in the south. In 1780 Clinton took Charleston, and recovered a great portion of South and North Carolina. After a time he was recalled to New York, to meet fresh dangers there, and Lord Cornwallis was left behind with about 4,000 men. Under him was a younger soldier, Lord Rawdon (aged 26), as second-in-command. Both these men were to be known later, as among the finest of the Governors-General of India. As soldiers they showed great courage; Lord Cornwallis, who was 42 years old in 1780, was careful, punctual, and sound. Lord Rawdon was a soldier of the more dashing kind. By the battles of Camden and Guildford Court House, they struck severe blows at the American forces in the south; but the enemy always increased in number, while the British diminished. In 1781 Cornwallis decided to fight his way northwards, to join, if possible, with the army of New York. Collecting all the forces in the south, he allowed himself to commit a great strategical mistake by taking up what he must have known to be a dangerous position in Yorktown.

Yorktown. A peninsula, eight miles broad, juts out into the sea, with the River York on the north, and the River James on the south. The village of Yorktown is on the high southern bank of the York. Cornwallis had 7,000 men when Washington began to draw round it with 18,000 men, including a division of French under the Marquis of Lafayette (September 28, 1781). The village was not a good place for defence; and when it became clear that Sir Henry Clinton could not come to his relief by land, nor the Navy by sea, Cornwallis had nothing to do but to cut his way out, or to surrender. A gallant sortie was made, but failed in the face of overwhelming numbers. The enemy's batteries commanded the whole village and camp, and there was no choice between fruitless

destruction and capitulation. On October 18 the negotiations were concluded. The British forces were to march out with the honours of war, and then to remain prisoner:

'The scene which ensued is described by an eye-witness, a French chaplain of the Count de Rochambeau. The two lines of the Allied army, says Abbé Robin, were drawn out for upwards of a mile; the Americans having the right. The disproportion of heights and ages in their men, and their soiled and ragged clothing might be unfavourably contrasted with the neater and more soldierly appearance of the French. Yet, under such circumstances, the personal disadvantages of a raw Militia should rather be looked upon as an enhancement of the triumph they had gained. The Abbé was struck at seeing, from several indications, how much keener was at that time the animosity between the English and Americans than between the English and French. Thus, the English officers, when they laid down their arms, and were passing along the enemy's lines, courteously saluted every French officer, even of the lowest rank; a compliment which they withheld from every American, even of the highest.' [1]

It was the temporary loss of the command of the sea by the British Navy that caused the fall of Yorktown, the final disaster of the American War.

Naval operations. Some splendid actions were fought by the Navy, although unfortunately the command of the sea was not consistently maintained. The Americans, under the able Scottish sailor, Paul Jones, began the fine traditions of the United States Navy; but it was the advent of the French fleet on the American side which, for a short time, turned the scale against the British.

In 1780 Admiral Rodney, on his way to the West Indian Station, met the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. Out of the enemy's twelve ships, four were sunk, four captured, and four escaped. Gibraltar, which the Spanish beleaguered as soon as they entered into the war (1778), was relieved. By the end of 1780 the Dutch had also joined the combination against Britain, angered by the drastic right of search which

[1] Mahon, *History of England*, vol. vii, ch. lxiv.

the Navy exercised over all neutral ships sailing in the Atlantic. The hostility with which maritime Powers regarded this right of search is seen in the formation of the Armed Neutrality (1780), a Convention by which Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and Austria bound themselves to enforce the doctrine that 'neutral ships make neutral goods'.

In 1781 (Feb.) Rodney's fleet captured the little Dutch island of St. Eustatia, and found it to be one vast magazine of supplies for the Americans. This capture was so valuable that the Admiral delayed at the island to arrange for transporting the goods to England. It was not of himself he was thinking: 'The whole I have seized', he declared, 'for the King and the State, and I hope will go to the public revenue of my country. I do not look upon myself as entitled to one sixpence, neither do I deserve it.' The delay, however, was disastrous. He ought to have been following the simple old rule of Admiralty, to seek out the enemy's fleet, to destroy it.

In August, while Rodney was still at St. Eustatia, the French admiral, Comte de Grasse, appeared off the Chesapeake with eight-and-twenty sail. Admiral Graves and Sir Samuel Hood between them had only nineteen. On September 5 these two sailors led their small fleet to meet the French, to do what they could to destroy it. The task, however, was beyond their powers, and after a skilfully fought but rather desultory action, extending over several days, the fleets separated. Graves had to put back to New York (which was still in English hands); de Grasse sailed to Yorktown. For a few weeks the British Navy did not command the sea, and this was the reason why Yorktown could not be relieved, and why Cornwallis had to surrender with his brave men to Washington.

In May 1782 instructions were sent out to the West Indies for the recall of Admiral Rodney; before the letter was dispatched, he had won his greatest victory. On April 8, 1782, Comte de Grasse, with thirty-three sail of the line, and with five thousand troops, left Port Royal in Martinique to capture

the fine British island of Jamaica. Rodney's cruisers brought him word to St. Lucia, and within two hours he was sailing off to meet the French.

The object of the British admiral was to force the French to engage with him; the object of the French was to keep away till they could effect a junction with the Spanish fleet, which was off San Domingo. 'They kept an awful distance,' wrote Rodney; he meant that the French kept disappointingly far away. On April 11, however, Rodney's ships had drawn near to the French. The admiral was in the *Formidable*; Hood, in the *Barfleur*, with five other ships, had fallen behind in a calm. On the 12th, Rodney, with equal numbers, engaged the French. With the *Formidable* leading, the *Namur*, *Duke*, and *Canada* coming next, he bore straight down upon the French fleet and 'broke the line'. It was the first time in naval history that this manœuvre was put into practice with complete success. The old style of fighting was for each ship to try and lay itself alongside another, to sink it or board it. Rodney manœuvred his whole fleet like a solid regiment, and broke the enemy's line into two sections:

'In the act of doing so we passed within pistol-shot of the *Glorieux* of seventy-four guns, which was so roughly handled that she was shorn of all her masts, bow-sprit, and ensign-staff, but with the white flag[1] nailed to the stump of one of her masts, and breathing defiance as it were in her last moments. Thus become a motionless hulk, she presented a spectacle which struck our Admiral's fancy as not unlike the remains of a fallen hero; for being an indefatigable reader of Homer, he exclaimed that now was to be the contest for the body of Patroclus.'[2]

The French fleet, cut asunder, fell into confusion; after a long and hotly contested engagement, in which the French, though at a disadvantage, fought heroically, five ships were

[1] The white flag was the Royal Standard of France under the Bourbon kings.

[2] Quoted by Mahon, *History of England*, vol. vii, ch. lxvi (narrative of Dr. Blane).

taken, and one sunk; two others were captured by Hood when they had escaped from the main battle. The French admiral's ship, *Ville de Paris*, struck its flag when only three men were left alive on the upper deck, one of them being Admiral de Grasse himself. This fight has been called the battle of Saintes, after a small island in the vicinity.

Siege of Gibraltar. The news of Rodney's victory, which 'served to bring back to our arms their pristine lustre' (Mahon), restored the self-respect of the British people after the depressing days of the American War. The defence of Gibraltar was another glorious episode in Britain's history. Spain had joined in the war after Saratoga, and at once besieged Gibraltar. General Elliot, a veteran of the Seven Years' War, with five thousand soldiers, defended it with splendid bravery and constancy. Stores ran short, and thistles and dandelions had to be used for food. Rodney's victory off Cape St. Vincent in 1780 (p. 527) enabled the fleet to relieve and revictual the fortress, but afterwards it was closely besieged again. After another year, when stores had almost given out, Admiral Darby brought a second relief convoy safely into port (1781). The Spaniards maintained a bombardment of —till then—incredible intensity, firing from their cannon, in six weeks, 50,000 shot and 20,000 shell into the little town. Elliot was not content merely with manning the walls and repairing breaches. He organized successful sallies, and conducted a brilliant defence, with wonderfully small loss of life to the British. Early in 1782 the French captured Minorca, and then added their forces to those of the Spaniards in front of Gibraltar—in all there were 33,000 men, with 170 pieces of artillery, besieging 5,000 British soldiers and 2,000 marines and sailors on the Rock. The courteous French general, de Crillon, sent a present of fresh vegetables to General Elliot. Elliot received the present, but in civil terms requested that no more should be sent, as he made it a rule to share everything with his troops, and could accept nothing for his private use.

The great effort of the French and Spanish was made in September 1782. Ten huge rafts were constructed in the port of Algeciras. They were to carry 142 pieces of artillery, to blow the fortress to pieces. General Elliot learned the design, and prepared to meet the floating batteries with red-hot shot, which his soldiers called *roasted potatoes*. On September 13 the rafts were floated to within 600 yards of the British defences, and a lively cannonade ensued. The red-hot balls of the defenders were highly successful. Eight of the floating batteries were destroyed by fire; the blaze that came from them lit up the Rock (it was night-time) with a lurid glare. French and Spanish sailors and artillerymen could be seen flinging themselves into the water, and clinging to spars and wreckage. The Marine Brigade was sent down to help them, and by this means 300 of the enemy were saved from drowning.

The assault of the floating batteries was the last serious effort of the besiegers; the Rock remained British. Elliot was raised to the peerage as Lord Heathfield of Gibraltar.

The Peace of Versailles. The War of American Independence was now to be brought to an end. The intervention of France and Spain, though bringing disaster to those two countries, had made the reduction of the American Colonies impossible for England. The long administration of Lord North came to an end (March 1782). He no longer commanded a Tory majority in the House of Commons. On the evening of the final debate, he rose and thanked the House for their kindness during so many years, and intimated his resignation. Cheerful and dignified to the end, he left the House. Other members, mostly bitter opponents, stood round the door, waiting for their carriages; but, expecting a long debate, they had ordered their coachmen to come back late. 'You see, gentlemen,' said Lord North, as he stepped into his carriage, which was waiting, 'the advantage of being in the secret. Good night.'

A Whig administration was formed under Lord Rockingham, who, however, died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded as Premier by Lord Shelburne, later known as Marquis of Lans-

downe. Shelburne, though never very powerful in the country, was one of the sanest men of the time. He at once set about to conclude the long war, and had practically finished negotiations when his ministry fell in February 1783. On September 3, 1783, three simultaneous treaties were signed, with France, Spain, and the United States. The three treaties constitute the Peace of Versailles. By the treaty with France, Great Britain confirmed the right of the French to fish on and off the northern shore of Newfoundland (a privilege dating from the Peace of Utrecht), and restored Senegal in West Africa. The islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat were retained by Great Britain, but Tobago was ceded to France (and not recovered till 1814). Spain recovered Minorca and Florida. Peace was also made a little later with the Dutch (1784). The treaty with the United States recognized their full and complete independence.

End of the ascendancy of George III. The Peace of Versailles practically closes the period in which George had striven for and obtained personal power in the government of the country. The effort had brought disaster upon Britain, the loss of the American Colonies, and an increase of 100 millions in the National Debt. It had also brought grave danger to the Crown. In 1780 the Whig, John Dunning (afterwards Lord Ashburton) had carried a motion in the House: 'That the power of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.' This was a direct blow to George, and might have been the beginning of a movement which would leave little of royalty at all in the land. Fortunately, towards the end of the American War, there was coming to the front a young statesman who was to be equally influential with King and people. This was the younger Pitt. When George's minister was also the people's chosen minister, a conflict between King and people could not arise, and so Britain passed through the troubled period of the French Revolution without any serious breach in her system of government.

CHAPTER XXV

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

The Coalition of Fox and North. Lord Shelburne's Ministry was defeated in February 1783, in a debate on the Peace of Versailles. Then an extraordinary thing happened. The Tory Lord North joined with the great opponent of his former administration, the Whig Charles James Fox, in a coalition Ministry.[1] North believed that Shelburne had made bad terms with the French and Americans, and therefore he opposed Shelburne; but no one can say why the Whig Fox joined with him, for Fox had spoken warmly in favour of the Americans. This coalition Ministry was intensely disliked by King George. In November of the same year (1783) the Ministry introduced an 'India Bill' into Parliament. In the course of the Seven Years' War the East India Company had become something more than a great trading concern; it had become the governing power of a great part of India. The object of Fox's India Bill was to vest this governing authority in a board of commissioners, sitting in London. Each commissioner was to hold office for four years. The first set of commissioners was to be appointed by Parliament; after their four years' term of office had expired, the next set was to be appointed by the Crown. The King objected to being excluded from appointing the commissioners during the first four years. When the Bill was being debated in the House of Lords, George III gave Earl Temple a written message to show to the Peers. The message of the King ran, 'whoever voted for the India Bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as an enemy'. This act was probably George's greatest offence against the constitution. If he did not approve of his ministers, he ought to have dismissed them, but should not have intrigued against them. Nevertheless,

[1] The coalition had a nominal Prime Minister in the Duke of Portland a Rockingham Whig.

the King's message decided a sufficient number of peers to vote against the Bill, so as to secure its rejection in the House. Then, on December 18, George felt strong enough to dismiss the ministers. The position of Premier was offered to William Pitt.

William Pitt. This was the second son of the great Earl of Chatham. The younger Pitt is a rare instance of a youthful prodigy who proved to be a sustained success through life. He was born on May 28, 1759, the wonderful year of victories—Minden, Lagos, Quiberon Bay, Quebec. Unlike all the other great statesmen of the period, he never went to a public school. His health was very weak, and accordingly he was kept at home, and educated by a private tutor. At the age of seven he was able to talk about politics, and at the age of fourteen years he is said to have discussed questions with something of the wit and wisdom of the great Chatham. When fifteen years old, he was sent to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he resided for the next seven years. For the first two years at college he spent a perfectly retired life, reading diligently with his tutor, a young graduate named Pretyman.[1] He was strictly regular in his habits, attended the college chapel morning and evening, seldom went to parties, and by the end of his residence had mastered almost the whole of Greek and Latin literature. During his last year at Cambridge he made frequent visits to London, to listen to the debates in Parliament, and was present in the House of Lords on April 7, 1778, when his father made the great speech against granting independence to the Americans. Later in the debate Chatham had attempted a reply to the Opposition, but had fallen back in a swoon, which led to his death a month later, at the age of 70. The older son, John Pitt, second Earl of Chatham, was a soldier of only moderate ability; it was the younger, William, who inherited his father's genius.

In 1780 Pitt left Cambridge and went to the Bar. He also obtained, through family interest, a seat in Parliament for the

[1] George Pretyman, Fellow of Pembroke, and later Bishop of Lincoln. He became a lifelong friend of Pitt, and attended him on his death-bed.

'pocket' borough of Appleby. Although only twenty-one years of age, he spoke with perfect self-possession, and in an eloquent and lofty manner, which commanded the attention of his hearers. He prepared himself regularly for speaking in the House by reading through some pages of a Greek or Latin classic and translating them into English. In 1782 Lord Shelburne, who was a man of most original mind, offered Pitt, only twenty-three years old, the responsible post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Besides his eminent parliamentary gifts, Pitt possessed other qualifications; he had studied mathematics deeply at Cambridge, working especially hard at Newton's *Principia*. He was also one of the warmest appreciators of Adam Smith's classic work on political economy, *The Wealth of Nations* (published 1776). On Shelburne's fall, Pitt went out of office likewise; but when George dismissed Fox and North, in December 1783, to the astonishment of Parliament and the country, he offered the greatest position under the Crown, the post of Prime Minister of Great Britain, to Pitt, aged 24.

George's action was scarcely constitutional, for the young Premier had certainly not a majority in the House of Commons, and to take office without having the confidence of the House is against the principles of Responsible Government. It was the personal action of the King which made Pitt Prime Minister; but at last the King's personal wishes and the will of the people coincided. For three months (December 18, 1783, to March 25, 1784) Pitt held office in the face of adverse votes in the House of Commons. By the end of this time, the ability, eloquence, and obvious integrity of the young minister had won support for his measures even from the Opposition. Then the King dissolved Parliament; a general election was held. Pitt himself was elected member for Cambridge University; his party—the Tory party—obtained a large majority. The Prime Minister, now twenty-five years old, was the idol of the whole country. Henceforth, King and people equally trusted him, and the popularity of the Crown steadily increased.

Pitt had done what Bolingbroke had dreamed of and what George III had failed to do—he had made the Tory party popular and supported throughout the country.

The Peace Administration. Macaulay, in his essay on Pitt in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, wrote: 'The eight years which followed the general election of 1784 were as tranquil and prosperous as any eight years in the whole history of England.' All Pitt's interest was in peace. The great inventions which brought about the Industrial Revolution (p. 539), were making Britain into a hive of factories and workshops. It was Pitt's task to set trade free to take advantage of these inventions. His policy was directed chiefly to three things: one was to pay off a large part of the National Debt; the second was to reduce customs duties; the third was to make the system of political representation more simple and fair.

The Sinking Fund. Pitt's policy with regard to the National Debt was to set aside a sum of money every year, to be accumulated till a substantial amount of the debt could be paid off with it. A large National Debt hampers trade, because the Government has to raise heavy taxes in order to find the interest on the debt; and high taxation takes away wealth which is required for the agriculture and manufactures of the country. Pitt was therefore wise to use, as Walpole had used, the surplus revenue in order to pay back the debt. To accumulate the money in a fund, however, was not sound finance; it would have been better to pay back a certain amount of debt each year, and so to save paying interest on that portion of the debt in future years. It is on this method that most modern so-called sinking funds are administered.

The customs and taxation. In the eighteenth century there was an immense amount of smuggling. The customs duties on spirits, wine, tobacco, and many other commodities were so high that enormous profits could be made by any importer who could evade the duties. In all the ports round the coast there were men who went out to sea in swift little schooners or sloops on dark nights, met some French or Dutch

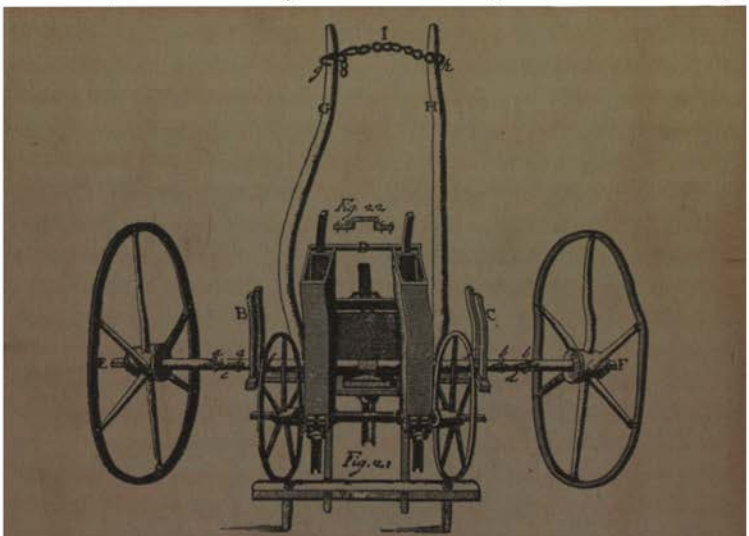
boat, shipped their illicit kegs or bales, and then ran for some lonely creek. There were regular agents in the large towns who received these illegal goods and disposed of them in the way of ordinary trade. There was something romantic about smuggling; the beautiful cliffs and caves of Cornwall, the wild coasts of the west of Scotland, provided endless opportunities. In the present day one can follow the paths, marked by whitewashed stones, which the coastguards made round the coasts of the south of England, in their ceaseless watch for smugglers. Yet the romances which have grown up round the careers of smugglers, like the powerful novel of Scott—*Guy Mannering*—or the charming unfinished novel of Thackeray—*Denis Duval*—must not blind us to the fact that smuggling was a sordid business, which cheated the revenue, and that other people had to pay more in taxes in order to make up what the revenue lost. Moreover, the smugglers were a brutal class of people. In lonely districts they made a veritable reign of terror, and horribly ill-treated every one who would not help them.

Smuggling has now almost disappeared. The duties have been lowered, so that the profits, even of the most successful smuggling, cannot be very high. The risk, on the other hand, becomes greater, because, if duty is levied on fewer articles, the trade in these articles can be more easily watched. Pitt reduced the duties; the tax upon tea was more than the cost of the tea when it entered the country. He lowered the charge from 119 per cent. of the value of the tea to 12½ per cent. On the other hand, he imposed a tax on windows in all houses which had more than seven. This was not a good form of taxation, and is the reason why in many of the older houses in England some of the window-spaces are still blind—bricked up. A tax which has found greater favour with statesmen is the income-tax. It was first imposed by Pitt in 1798 to help to pay for the French War. All incomes of over £200 a year paid a tax of 10 per cent.; that is, 2*s.* in the £. Incomes between £60 and £200 paid a lower scale of tax. Incomes below £60 were free of tax. The tax was only

a measure for the war, and was removed in 1816. In 1786 Pitt negotiated a treaty which was a step towards a free exchange of commodities with the great agricultural and industrial country, France. The treaty lowered the duties to be paid on entry into England of French wines and also silk. The French on their side reduced the duties on British cotton, woollen, and iron goods.

The Agricultural Revolution. During the last fifty years England had been steadily growing in prosperity. It was in agriculture that progress first became marked. In the seventeenth century much land had been won for tillage and pasture through the draining of marshes, particularly in East Anglia, when the Bedford Level, extending over parts of Cambridge, Northampton, Huntingdon, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk, was made by two successive Earls of Bedford (who received charters in 1634 and 1649), at a cost of over £400,000. In the next century Charles Viscount Townshend, who retired from Walpole's Ministry in 1730, devoted much time and attention to improving methods of farming on his Norfolk estate, Raynham. There he cultivated the turnip (for which he got seed in Germany), and thus made possible both a better rotation of crops than heretofore, and also a more regular supply of meat, as cattle could be well fed on turnips all through winter. With better husbandry and the need for more food (owing to increasing population) came an accelerated tendency to 'enclose' the open village fields. In the old type of village the fields were all common to the inhabitants, each of whom cultivated a number of strips situated in different parts of the fields. This system was very wasteful, as a balk of turf had to be left round each strip to mark it off from the next; and, naturally, much time was lost by cultivators in passing from one strip to another, and in ploughing in different parts of the same field. The strips, in fact, hardly repaid cultivation. So the villagers, either acting for themselves, or at the suggestion of some landowner or large farmer, would petition Parliament to

pass a Bill, in order to enclose the village fields; the open fields with their strips were to be done away with, and each villager instead would receive his share of land all in one piece; he could then fence it and cultivate it as he pleased. Generally, he found, when he had got his enclosure, that he could not compete with the large farmer who used the latest scientific methods, and had money wherewith to buy the best machinery.

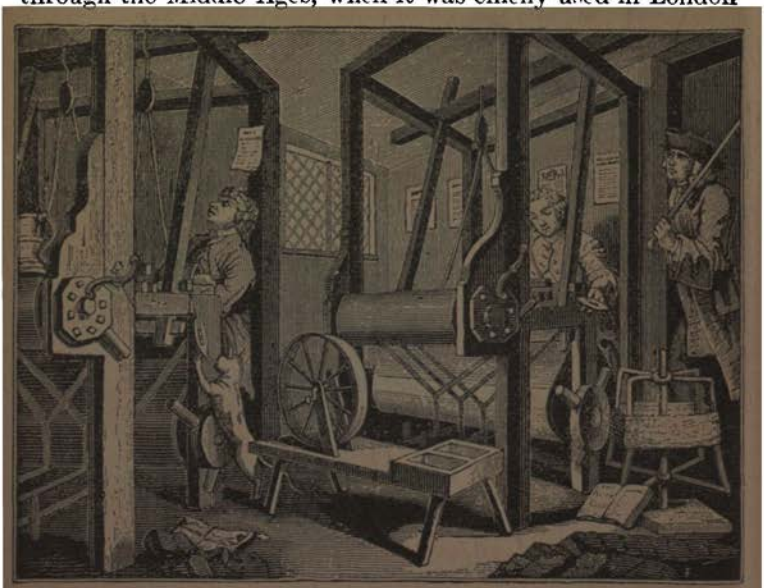


JETHRO TULL'S WHEAT DRILL, 1733

So he sold his land, and became a hired labourer, or else he went into the towns to work in the new industries which were growing up. Thus land came to be held in large farms, of great fields, enclosed by hedges and ditches. The large farms produced far more food than did the 'open field system', which never could have supported the large population of the England of the Industrial Revolution. Nevertheless, the almost total disappearance of the small landowner is greatly to be regretted.

The Industrial Revolution. The term 'Industrial Revolu-

tion' means the system of making things, on a great scale, with the help of steam-power, in large factories, as compared with the old system of making goods in people's cottages or in their own shops in the towns. The change was due to the wonderfully improved use of coal in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Digging for coal went on in England all through the Middle Ages, when it was chiefly used in London



WEAVING IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

and was called sea-coal, because it was brought by coasting vessels from the north. There was no great need of it, however, for manufacturing, for things were not made on a large scale, except bar-iron, for which not coal but charcoal was used; this trade existed chiefly in the Forest of Dean and in Sussex. As the forests were gradually being consumed the English iron-trade declined till in 1740 it was only about one-third of what it had been. Just at this time, however, the use of coke with which to smelt iron was becoming known,

and by the year 1750 the iron-trade was again established. It became the leading industry in England after James Watt of Greenock had perfected the steam-engine (of which he was the chief inventor) between 1769 and 1784.

Till the invention of the steam-engine, industries had been forced to cling to the places where water-power existed. But steam made them free to go where they could best get their

POWER LOOM WEAVING IN EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

raw materials, or their labour, or their markets. It was steam also which made possible the great development of spinning and weaving which took place in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In 1764 James Hargreaves of Standhill near Blackburn invented the spinning-jenny, with which no less than eight (soon to be increased to eighty) threads could be spun at once; this was followed by the invention of the spinning-frame or throstle by Sir Richard Arkwright of Preston in 1767, and of the mule (a combination of throstle and jenny) by Samuel Crompton of Firwood near Bolton in 1779.

The younger Pitt, by acting on the principles of Adam

Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and by making trade free, gave these inventions the chance to develop their full results. Towns grew in size, the north became rich and populous, instead of poor and sparsely inhabited. With the growth of the factory system came overcrowding in the towns, and with the vastly increased demand for labour women and children became commonly employed, and much harm was caused to child-life. In the country-side the condition of the labourers was no better, and the new Poor Laws only made things worse. In 1795 the Berkshire Magistrates made a resolution (known as the Speenhamland Act), that where wages were too low to support a labourer and his family, the necessary addition would be paid out of the rates. This only further depressed wages, pauperized the labourer, and immensely increased the poor-rate. Thus the Industrial Revolution had its bad as well as good points; but in any case it may be said that without it England would not have had sufficient population or sufficient wealth to carry on the great wars against Napoleon.

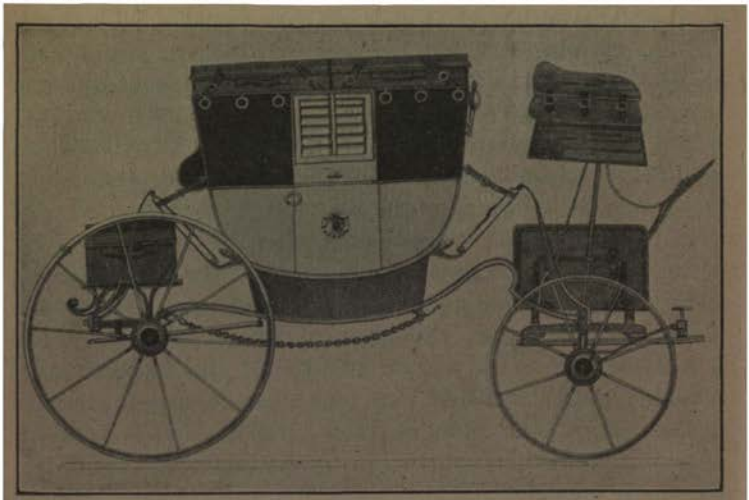
The representative system. The Industrial Revolution, by causing much shifting of the population, had made villages into large towns, and towns into villages. Thus the representative system was out of date. The House of Commons consisted of two members from every county, and two from every borough or town which had ever obtained a charter from the Crown. Many of these boroughs were now decayed, returning members to Parliament according to the will of the owner of the land. Pitt prepared (1784) to take away the right of returning members from 36 of these pocket boroughs. Their 72 places in the House were to be added to the representation of the counties and of London and Westminster. The borough owners who lost their privileges were to be compensated with £1,000,000, to be divided between them. The Bill which Pitt introduced did not get through Parliament, however, and the reform of the representative system was postponed for 48 years.

Social movements. In spite of this defeat, the Government was as strong as ever in 1789. The country was prosperous; trade was good; religion was earnest. John Wesley, who died in 1791, was just completing his great revival of religious feeling throughout the country. The general sentiment of the people was sound. William Wilberforce, a Yorkshireman of good family, was beginning his long-continued efforts to abolish the Slave Trade. Pitt was a close friend of Wilberforce, and had travelled with him in France in 1783; and in 1788 the Prime Minister had a Bill passed through Parliament regulating the number of slaves who could be packed into any size of ship. Pitt was prepared to go farther, and to introduce gradually a scheme for abolishing the odious trade altogether; it was only the outbreak of the Revolutionary Wars in Europe that prevented the accomplishment of his noble plan for a time. At home the condition of the poor was receiving sympathetic, though undoubtedly inconsiderate, treatment. Education was good, though not widely extended. The schools of the country were small, but the teachers were scholarly and able. There were fewer careers open to students in those days than there are now; the Church or teaching were the professions most open to graduates of the universities. It was not till 1809 that John Keate became head master of Eton, and by his drastic methods restored the discipline of that famous establishment; Charterhouse was perhaps the most representative school of the land at the time. It was still situated in the old cloistered buildings at Smithfield, London, and existed as a boarding-school attended both by Londoners and by country boys. A pleasant sketch of Charterhouse life may be read in the early part of Thackeray's novel, *The Newcomes*.

Literature. Literature was flourishing in England. In 1787 Gibbon completed the last three volumes of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, the most glorious piece of prose among the modern world's histories. The achievement

of this great work was recorded by the historian himself in his journal at Lausanne :

'I shall now commemorate the hour of my final deliverance. It was on the day or rather the night of the 27th of June 1787, between the hours of eleven and twelve, that I wrote the last lines of the last page, in a summer-house in my garden. After laying down my pen, I took several turns in a *berceau*, or



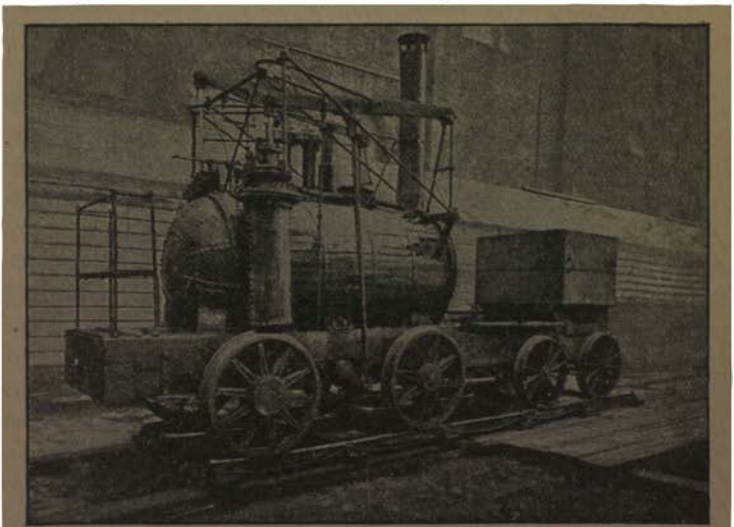
TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT. A travelling coach, 1801

covered walk of acacias, which commands a prospect of the country, the lake, and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky was serene, the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and all nature was silent. I will not dissemble the first emotions of joy on the recovery of my freedom, and, perhaps, the establishment of my fame. But my pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was spread over my mind by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, and that whatsoever might be the future fate of my History, the life of the historian must be short and precarious.' [1]

Crabbe was resting between two periods of poetic activity ;

[1] *Autobiographic Memoirs of Edward Gibbon.*

Wordsworth was just going up to St. John's College, Cambridge; but Burke was still in all the splendour of his eloquence, and Boswell was completing the greatest biography in the English language—his *Life of Johnson* (it appeared in 1791). Pitt asked only for five years more of peace to complete his great reforms; but the shadow of war had already overcast the country; the angel of death was abroad,



GEORGE STEPHENSON'S 'PUFFING BILLY', constructed 1814

and some observers had already fancied they heard 'the beating of his wings'.

In one of the last letters for the year 1788, Horace Walpole wrote to the Countess of Ossory:

'Monsieur Necker may, for aught I know, be a dexterous financier—but he is no Richelieu—though no bad politician neither, as far as confounding goes, for the roll of questions he proposed to the notables seems to have thrown open the gates to endless controversy and disputation, and to mean to set all the provinces, all their towns, all the nobility, clergy, and people together by the ears, before they can settle who

shall be *les États*; and thus he may convert a rebellion into a civil war, which may save the prerogative at the expense of the revenue, which one should have thought would rather have been his object to procure and settle. That is his affair—it is ours, whichever way they are embroiled. To me it is private comfort, that all the Machiavels and Machiavellesses of the present age, who have sown war, have only reaped perplexity, disgrace, and discomfiture. France *bouleversed* Holland and was foiled; Cæsar has been baffled by the Turks he despised: Semiramis has drawn Sweden and Poland on her shoulders: and Sweden is in danger at home—*Tant mieux, tant mieux.*' [1]

So wrote this acute, but easygoing and rather cynical observer, living in the serene untroubled air of high society. The catastrophe which he foresaw came, and extended farther than he had ever dreamed, till no country and no class were free from its awful shocks.

The French Revolution. The French Revolution began with the meeting of the Estates General on May 5, 1789—the first representative assembly that had come together in France since 1614. In June there was a rising in Paris against the bureaucratic government of the Crown, and against the privileges of the aristocracy. Shortage of bread contributed greatly to bring about and to aggravate the Revolution. In October (1789) the King of France, Louis XVI, was a prisoner in Paris; on January 21, 1793, he was guillotined (in October his Queen, Marie Antoinette, suffered the same fate). Already, in 1792, a Republican Government had been established in France; the Austrian Netherlands had been invaded, and a Republic established there also. The Scheldt, by the Peace of Utrecht, of 1713, and by the Triple Alliance of England, Prussia, and Holland of 1789, had been closed to navigation from the sea. This had been done, largely to protect the trade of Holland, partly also out of deference to the wishes of English merchants. The French, in 1792, opened the Scheldt to navigation—an action excellent in

[1] Walpole's *Letters*, vol. ix, p. 2453. By *Caesar*, Joseph II of Austria was intended, and by *Semiramis*, Catherine II of Russia.

itself, but done arbitrarily, without consultation with the States concerned in the treaties by which the river was closed.

The French Revolution, the imprisonment of Louis XVI, the intrigues of the Revolutionaries in Belgium and on the Rhine, had led to war being made by Prussia and Austria upon France. Great Britain, however, had taken no part before 1793, for Pitt was above all things a lover of peace. English opinion, however, was profoundly moved. 'How much', said Fox, on hearing of the fall of the Bastille, 'is it the greatest event that ever happened in the world, and how much the best!' But to his friend Burke, the French were only 'architects of ruin'. A certain number of people, like Fox, welcomed the Revolution as a notable advance in the direction of freedom; but most people, like Burke, were revolted by the savagery which showed itself in the course of the movement, and dreaded lest this should spread to England:

'What is that cause of liberty, and what are those exertions in its favour to which the example of France is so singularly auspicious? Is our monarchy to be annihilated, with all the laws, all the tribunals and all the ancient corporations of the kingdom? Is every land-mark of the country to be done away in favour of a geometrical and arithmetical constitution? Is the House of Lords to be voted useless? Is episcopacy to be abolished? Are the church lands to be sold to Jews and jobbers; or given to bribe new-invented municipal republics into a participation in sacrilege? Are all the taxes to be voted grievances, and the revenue reduced to a patriotic contribution, or patriotic presents? Are silver shoe buckles to be substituted in the place of the land-tax and the malt-tax for the support of the naval strength of this kingdom? Are all orders, ranks, and distinctions to be confounded, that out of universal anarchy, joined to national bankruptcy, three or four thousand democracies should be formed into eighty-three, and that they may all, by some sort of unknown attractive power, be organized into one? For this great end is the army to be seduced from its discipline and its fidelity, first by every kind of debauchery, and then by the terrible precedent of a donative in the increase of pay? Are the

curates to be seduced from their bishops, by holding out to them the delusive hope of a dole out of the spoils of their own order? Are the citizens of London to be drawn from their allegiance by feeding them at the expense of their fellow-subjects? Is a compulsory paper currency to be substituted in the place of the legal coin of this kingdom? Is what remains of the plundered stock of public revenue to be employed in the wild project of maintaining two armies to watch over

PASTIMES. Skating in Hyde Park, 1780

and to fight with each other? If these are the ends and means of the Revolution Society, I admit they are well assorted; and France may furnish them for both with precedents in point.'[1]

The far-seeing statesman, poet, scholar, George Canning, a few years later (1798), expressed in another way the suspicion which the ordinary Englishman held for those people

[1] Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790. The Revolution Society, referred to in the extract given above, was founded to support the Revolution of 1688, but had become more active in the time of the French Revolution.

who preached 'rights of humanity', and despised established institutions:

Friend of Humanity.

Needy knife-grinder! whither are you going?
Rough is the road, your wheel is out of order—
Bleak blows the blast;—your hat has got a hole in 't;
So have your breeches!

Weary knife-grinder! little think the proud ones
Who in their coaches roll along the turnpike-
Road, what hard work 'tis crying all day 'Knives and
Scissors to grind O!'

Tell me, knife-grinder, how you came to grind knives?
Did some rich man tyrannically use you?
Was it the squire or parson of the parish?
Or the attorney?

Was it the squire for killing of his game? or
Covetous parson for his tithes distraining?
Or roguish lawyer, made you lose your little
All in a lawsuit?

(Have you not read the 'Rights of Man', by Tom Paine?)
Drops of compassion tremble on my eyelids,
Ready to fall, as soon as you have told your
Pitiful story.

Knife-Grinder.

Story! God bless you! I have none to tell, sir;
Only last night a-drinking at the Chequers,
This poor old hat and breeches, as you see, were
Torn in a scuffle.

Constables came up for to take me into
Custody; they took me before the Justice;
Justice Oldmixon put me in the parish
Stocks for a vagrant.

I should be glad to drink your honour's health in
A pot of beer, if you will give me sixpence;
But for my part, I never love to meddle
With politics, sir.

Friend of Humanity.

I give thee sixpence! I will see thee damned first—
Wretch! whom no sense of wrongs can rouse to vengeance—
Sordid, unfeeling reprobate, degraded,
Spiritless outcast!

[*Kicks the knife-grinder, overturns his wheel, and exit in a transport of republican enthusiasm and universal philanthropy.*][1]

The war of the French Republic against established institutions in Europe (for they openly invited peoples to throw off the rule of their monarchs) would almost certainly have drawn Britain into war; at any rate, the conquest of Belgium by the French, in 1792, made war inevitable. The English Government had guaranteed the closure of the Scheldt by the Treaty of 1789. Moreover, Britain has always felt her existence involved in the question of Belgium: the Scheldt is a fine river, Antwerp a great port, and Ostend could be made a useful naval base. Britain is an island; her safety is on the seas; and if the ports of Belgium were in the power of a great hostile State, the English coasts would never be safe. It was the French, however, not Pitt, who actually made the challenge; on February 1, 1793, they declared the state of war.

The First Coalition, 1793-5. The war of Britain upon the Continent of Europe was not highly successful till the advent of Wellington, in 1808. When Pitt entered the war, in 1793, he joined the alliance of Austria and Prussia, which Spain also joined. This was the First Coalition. A British army under the Duke of York, a son of George III, operated along with the Allies on the north-eastern frontier of France; the French Government, disorganized though it had been by many changes, showed wonderful fighting power, and not merely defended its own frontier, but pushed forward and conquered Holland. In spite of large subsidies which England gave,

[1] Canning, *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin*, 'The Friend of Humanity, and the Knife-Grinder'.

Prussia and Austria showed signs of weakness. In 1795 Prussia made peace with France (Treaty of Basle, April 5, 1795),[1] and the First Coalition came to an end. Austria, however, helped by £4,500,000 a year from England, continued to fight with the utmost determination, while the English fleet fought the French at sea and English land forces were wasted in expeditions against the French coast. In 1797, however, Austria, unable to stand against the genius of the Republican general, Bonaparte, was forced to sign the Peace of Campo Formio.

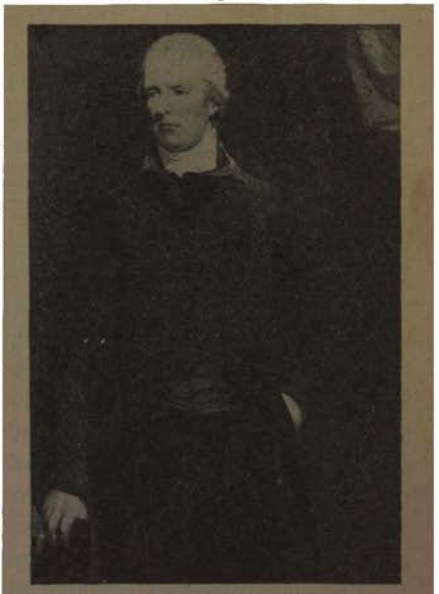
The Second Coalition, 1798-1801. England, left to fight alone, with a rebellion in Ireland and an enormous load of debt, was able to hold her own with the French, but not to bring the war to a conclusion. Had it not been for the Navy, the whole British Empire would, of course, have gone the way of Holland, Belgium, Italy, and half of Germany, that is to say, it would have been added to the Empire which the genius of Napoleon Bonaparte was creating. In 1798 Pitt again by gigantic efforts and huge subsidies got together a coalition with Austria and Russia, but in 1800 the Austrian armies were destroyed at Marengo in North Italy and Hohenlinden in Bavaria, and the Emperor again had to make peace at Lunéville (February 1801). Russia fell away too, and at last in 1802 both France and England agreed to make peace at Amiens. The war had been inconclusive; England could not defeat France, for the Fleet cannot win wars; it can chase the enemy off the sea, but it cannot sail over the land and destroy their armies. Therefore the Peace of Amiens was recognized only as a breathing-space. Napoleon meant to be supreme in Europe, but he could not be so while England remained mistress of the sea. England meant to go on living, independent, and with her great colonial empire, but could not count upon doing so while the Napoleonic armies held the coasts of Europe, or the Channel and the Mediterranean.

[1] By this Treaty France received the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine.

Pitt out of office. Pitt was no longer Prime Minister when the Peace of Amiens was made. In 1800, after the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland (p. 610), he had made a great and statesmanlike effort to settle the 'Irish Question'. The Act of Union (August 2, 1800) incorporated the separate Irish Parliament in that of Great Britain. Next year Pitt intended to bring in a Catholic Relief Bill, to give the Irish Catholics full privileges as citizens. George III would not listen to this proposal, so Pitt resigned. He was succeeded by Addington (afterwards Lord Sidmouth), a man of sense but no distinction. 'Pitt is to Addington as London is to Paddington', so wrote the witty Canning. When war between England and France broke out again in May 1803, the whole country turned to the statesman who for eighteen years before 1801 had governed England with such dignity and strength. In April 1804 Pitt became Prime Minister for the second and last time.

The Third Coalition, 1805. The great minister at once infused his energy into all branches of the national life. The Navy was increased, the Army greatly strengthened, the war against the French in India pushed forward to a successful end (p. 650); finally, with great effort and expense, a European Coalition was established. Russia, Austria, and Sweden were ranged alongside of England to force France to evacuate Italy, Western Germany, Holland, and Belgium. Nothing on land, however, seemed able to withstand the energy and genius of Napoleon. At Ulm, on the Upper Danube, on October 19, 1805, 25,000 Austrians laid down their arms; at Austerlitz, in Moravia, two months later (December 2, 1805), nearly 50,000 Austrians and Russians were killed or made prisoners. The fabric of Pitt's European statesmanship again fell to the ground. 'Roll up that map' [of Europe] he said when the news of Austerlitz came, 'it will not be wanted these ten years.' A steady decline showed itself in the health of the delicate statesman. Anxiety and trouble, the weight of fearful responsibility which he had borne almost

alone and almost continuously for twenty-two years, wore down his strength. In the last year of his life people remarked on his haggard face and drawn expression. At the time of Austerlitz he is said to have been so thin and pale that his friends scarcely recognized in him the commanding presence which had ruled the House. Yet his confidence in his country never failed. In the last public speech that he ever made, at the Guildhall on November 9, 1805, he said: 'England has saved herself by her exertions, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example.' On January 23, 1806, he died in his house at Putney, in the forty-seventh year of his age.



THE YOUNGER PITT

Looking back on it all when the dangers were over, Canning hailed in Pitt the master-mind who had kept England safe through the gigantic conflict:

> If hushed the loud whirlwind that ruffled the deep,
> The sky if no longer loud tempests deform;
> When our perils are past, shall our gratitude sleep?
> No! Here's to the Pilot that weathered the storm!
>
> And shall not his memory to Britain be dear,
> Whose example with envy all nations behold;
> A statesman unbiassed by interest or fear,
> By power uncorrupted, untainted by gold?

At the actual moment of Pitt's death, however, things seemed worse than ever. The collapse of the famous Prussian army at Jena in the same year, in October (Prussia had only joined in the war in the previous month), and the conquest of the whole of Brandenburg, made Napoleon the master

of Europe. England, bereft of her pilot, was left almost alone. Yet the Fleet held the seas and kept England and the Empire against all foes.

The naval operations. The glorious naval history of Britain was reaching its most thrilling stage. The Navy alone stood between England and Napoleon, the mightiest military power that the world had seen. Napoleon's army was always ready; flat-bottomed boats and transports existed in large numbers to convey it to the shores of England. Only 21 miles of sea intervened.

The Navy's duty was manifold. It had to seal the French fleet in the French ports, and to destroy it when it put out to sea; it had to carry the British army to the Netherlands, to Spain, to Egypt, India, Canada, Buenos Ayres. It had to stop the sea-borne trade of France. It had to watch practically every port on the Continent of Europe, for Napoleon had his hands on the foreign navies and was using them against England. Finally, the Navy had to see that England was not starved and that her foreign trade was not destroyed. Merchant ships had to be collected at certain stations to be convoyed along the appointed lanes of the sea, protected from the French privateers. The highways of the Empire had to be kept open, so that England, Canada, India, Australia, and all the islands should not be isolated from the mother country. The work of the Navy must therefore be considered not merely as a series of grand operations—the First of June, St. Vincent, the Nile, Trafalgar—but also as a long, intense, and vigilant service—the tireless ships ceaselessly patrolling the oceans of the world against all the force and all the skill of the enemy and the awful violence of the elements of nature.

Naval families. The Revolutionary Wars, so far as they took place on the sea, are filled with names of men whose fathers or sons have appeared in other years of our naval history. Though continually receiving and always welcoming new blood, the Navy has always been more hereditary than the Army. Sons indeed follow, and since the creation of the

regular Army in Charles II's reign, have always followed, their fathers in the Army. But distinction has not run in families. In the Navy it is otherwise. There are families which can count son after son of distinguished naval officers, rising not through hereditary influence (though that indeed does not stand in their way), but through hard work inspired by the force of the family tradition. In the logs of the ships engaged in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars will be found the names of Howe, Hood, Troubridge, Parker—names which appear in the later history of England.

Lord Howe. Admiral Richard Howe was the second of three distinguished brothers. The father of the three, Emmanuel, 2nd Viscount Howe, had been Governor of Barbados. The eldest brother, George, the 3rd Viscount, was killed at Ticonderoga in 1758. The second brother was Richard, the admiral. The third was Sir William Howe, the general who won the battle of Bunker's Hill.

Richard was born in 1726, and went to sea with Commodore Anson at the age of 14, and took part in the great voyage round the world (p. 458). In 1755 he was a captain in Boscawen's West India squadron. It was he who opened the great war with France in Canadian waters by capturing the French warship *Alcide*. In the War of American Independence his most distinguished action was the relief of Gibraltar in 1782. From 1783 to 1788 he was First Lord of the Admiralty. In 1794 he was given command of the Channel Fleet. He was then 69 years old.

The First of June. By May 1794 the French Republic had to a certain extent refitted the old Royal Navy of France. A powerful squadron was convoying grain ships from the United States; a large fleet was in Brest. Howe was given the difficult task of blockading the fleet in Brest and intercepting the great convoy from the United States. To accomplish both tasks together was impossible, so he stood out to the Atlantic to meet the convoy, reckoning that the Brest fleet would come out and that he would destroy it too. He was following the good old rule to seek out the enemy's fleet,

where it could be brought to action. The French were following their fighting instructions too—they were manœuvring to defend their convoy and to get it safe to port.

It was under such conditions that the battle of the First of June took place out in the Atlantic, west of Belleisle. The Brest fleet and the convoying squadron effected a junction. On May 29 a sharp action was fought. It was renewed again on June 1. The veteran Admiral Howe showed the vigour and elasticity of his mind. The old Fighting Instructions of James II had said (Article XVI):

'In all cases of fight with the enemy the commanders of his majesty's ships are to keep the fleet in one line and (as much as may be) to preserve that order of battle, which they have been directed to keep, before the time of fight.'

According to this Instruction, the admirals (except Rodney) had been accustomed to range their fleet in a continuous line against the enemy, and to trust to hard shooting to do the rest, ship against ship. Howe took another course; like Rodney, he planned to attack the resisting French: to bear down upon their centre in line of battle ahead, to break their line, and then to change his formation as circumstances required. His main object was to break through their line and then to cut off their retreat. The manœuvre was executed with success. The French were brought to action; their line broken, their ships raked with salvoes of gunfire, and then, cut off from retreat, engaged ship for ship. The ships with the grand old names did their work: the *Royal Sovereign*, the *Barfleur*, the *Impregnable*, the *Bellerophon*, the *Thunderer*. The action began at half-past nine in the morning. By two o'clock it was over. The French fleet was maimed and dispersed, and six great ships left in English hands: the *Achille*, *America*, *Impétueux*, *Juste*, *Northumberland*, *Sans Pareil*. The French convoy of grain ships, on the other hand, sailed safely to Brest, so that Howe failed in his main object.

This was the last battle of 'Black Dick' Howe. He died in 1799, after settling the mutiny at Spithead (p. 559).

St. Vincent. The French knew that if they could bring England to her knees, the European resistance would collapse. So, very properly, they argued that England must be invaded, and that being a comparatively weak military power she would probably succumb. In December 1796 a great expedition under General Hoche was dispersed by a storm when it was attempting an invasion of Ireland. By 1797 the French had got control of the Dutch and Spanish Fleets; if these could be joined with the Brest Fleet, the English Navy might be defeated, and the great French Army brought across the Channel.

In February 1797 the Spanish Fleet was sailing north from Cartagena in the south-east of Spain to join the Brest Fleet. It numbered 27 great ships, badly equipped and badly manned. Admiral John Jervis, with fifteen ships of the line, all heavily armed, from the *Victory* (his flagship) with 100 guns, to the *Diadem* with 64 guns, waited for them off Cape St. Vincent; Nelson was in the *Captain*, with 94 guns. On February 14, 1797, the Spaniards were sighted, in two divisions, sailing parallel with each other. Jervis bore down upon them from the opposite direction. His ships, one behind the other, passed between the two Spanish divisions, giving the Spaniards both broadsides as they passed. So the English and Spanish Fleets, sailing in opposite directions, would have passed each other. But Commodore Nelson, with the *Captain*, thirteenth in the line, wheeled his ship and headed off the Spaniards, who were trying to sail away round the rear of the British ships. The manœuvre was brilliantly successful. For a short time he had to fight the Spanish Fleet all alone, but he gained time for Jervis to bring up the rest of the ships, and to finish off the action. Four Spanish ships were captured, and the rest dispersed. There was no chance of their joining the Brest Fleet, and so the French Army could not be convoyed to England.

Camperdown. In 1797 Vice-Admiral Duncan was watching the mouth of the Texel. Holland, under the name of the Batavian Republic, was a dependency of France. The Dutch

Fleet was to be used with the Brest Fleet to bring about an invasion of England. In October Duncan had to put back to Yarmouth to refit, leaving some light frigates to watch the Texel. On October 3 the Dutch—15 battleships and 12 frigates—left the Texel and swept across nearly to Lowestoft. Whatever the intention of their admiral, de Winter, may have been, it was clearly not to meet the English Fleet. For when Duncan, warned by his scouts, having left Yarmouth, came in sight of the Dutch, they put about and made for their own coast. The British admiral, however, had the wind favouring him; with great decision he bore straight down upon the Dutch Fleet, broke its line, and destroyed a great part of it in the *mêlée* (October 11). The Dutch sailors fought well; their manœuvring was not particularly good, but their gun-fire was excellent. The battle lasted from about 12.30 p.m. to 3 o'clock. Eleven Dutch ships were disabled; the British ships, too, were somewhat severely handled, and had about 1,000 casualties in the crews. But the Dutch naval power was practically destroyed, and the schemes of the French for invading England were once more brought to naught. The battle has been called Camperdown, after a tract of dunes on the north coast of Holland.

The personnel of the Navy. The year 1797, distinguished as it was by the great sea-fights of St. Vincent and Camperdown, was a year of mutiny and disaffection in the Navy. The crews who endured the ceaseless buffeting of wind and wave in the wearisome and arduous blockades, the men who heroically stood by their guns when the ships were burning and the decks were a welter of blood, were made of very mixed material. Some were men who took to the Navy because they liked the sea and liked the service; but these were comparatively few. Others were 'quota-men', the number of men that each county of the kingdom was bound by law to supply. The rest were 'pressed' men, sailors caught ashore or taken off merchant ships, and forced to serve. Frequently the wrong sort of men were pressed, either by mistake or because

no better could be found. The quota-men sent by the counties were such as could be got—often convicts or ne'er-do-wells, who were thus put conveniently out of the way. The pay was poor—25*s.* a month—although a merchant seaman could earn £4 to £5 a month; moreover, it was only paid at the end of a voyage. If one voyage rapidly succeeded another, the men might be without pay for as much as ten years, and their wives and children were left to starve. The pay was given by tickets, which the men had to cash at the Admiralty offices. Rather than go through the official formalities, the men or their poor wives would often sell the tickets to tradesmen for about half their value. The food was bad, and the Admiralty did not provide vegetables, even in port, to keep away the awful scourge of scurvy. The Navy was only held together by a sort of affection for the sea and for the service which even the convicts and miserable pressed landsmen somehow came to feel, and by the discipline and smartness which the able officers maintained. The superior officers were men of education and good character, who had been bred to the sea, and who could take risks and deal with men. The warrant officers were the pick of the able seamen, and formed a permanent body of men, who could keep almost any kind of ship and any crew in order.

Spithead. Spithead is a channel between the Isle of Wight and the mainland, and forms part of the Portsmouth anchorages. On April 16, 1797, Admiral Alexander Hood, Viscount Bridport, was about to put to sea, hoping to meet the Brest Fleet, when the ships in Spithead anchorage mutinied. The crews remained perfectly quiet and orderly, but they refused to set sail. They asked that their pay might be raised to 1*s.* a day, and that they should get it regularly. The demands were reasonable, and the times were desperate. The Admiralty granted their requests, and promised a free pardon. Here the dispute should have ended. Delays took place, however, in carrying out the promises. The men grew suspicious, thought they were being cheated, and mutinied again. This time they seized some of the officers, although

without using them violently. This second mutiny, which began on May 6, 1797, was only settled when the Admiralty sent down 'Black Dick' Howe (Admiral Lord Howe), the hero of the First of June, a popular man with all the sailors. He soon showed the men that the Admiralty were quite honest, if slow, and that their grievances were being redressed. Then they put to sea loyally.

The Nore. The next mutiny was a different affair. It was not a question of hard-fighting seamen asking that at least they might get the pay which was due to them. It was a revolutionary agitation got up by a man of the worst character. Richard Parker had once been a gentleman, and had started in the Navy as a midshipman. He had been dismissed from his ship for immorality, and later had been 'broken' by court-martial for insubordination. He turned up in the Navy in 1797, as a quota-man for Perth, after having led the usual chequered life of a broken gentleman, including a term in prison. When Duncan was watching the Texel, in May 1797, Parker was in the *Sandwich*, one of the battleships in the anchorage at the Nore, a sandbank in the mouth of the Thames. He stirred up the bad elements (the convicts, weaker pressed men, and others) to seize the ship. The spirit of the French Revolution was in the air. Some of the secret revolutionary societies which had been formed in England had probably been working among the men. The terrible spirit of disaffection arose. Most of Duncan's ships actually deserted him, and sailed to the Nore to join the mutineers.

The Admiralty treated the Nore mutiny differently from that at Spithead. The Spithead sailors were grumblers and grossly insubordinate. Unfortunately, they had real evils to complain of; fortunately, they were at heart loyal, never dreamed of avoiding fight with the French, and despised the Nore mutineers heartily (for the two mutinies overlapped in point of time). The Nore mutineers were seditious revolutionaries, denying the authority of their officers, and deserting gladly in the face of the enemy. The Admiralty would not

deal with them except on conditions of surrender, and though England was in danger of invasion, trusted to the Channel Fleet to keep the French Fleet shut up in Brest, and to Duncan and his squadron to block the Texel. They sent Admiral Keith, with the few ships available, to blockade the Nore. Ships without officers are useless, and no crews like to be without the leaders they have learned to obey and respect. Gradually the spirit of the mutineers was broken. Ship after ship returned to her allegiance. A few examples were made, and Parker was hanged at the yard-arm of the *Sandwich*. The Mutiny at the Nore was the first and last political outbreak in the Navy since the days of Charles I.

Nelson. Horatio Nelson was born on September 29, 1758, at the parsonage house, Burnham Thorpe, in Norfolk. His father, the rector of the parish, had eleven children, of whom eight survived. Nelson's great-grandmother was a sister of Sir Robert Walpole. The boy, who was always rather delicate, went to a private school at North Walsham as a boarder. In the holidays he lived the life of a country boy, always out of doors, either walking or riding. His father had only a small income on which to bring up his large family. To make things easier, Horatio, when he was twelve years old, asked to be allowed to go to sea. His uncle, Captain Suckling, offered to take him on the *Raisonnable*, 64 guns. So in 1770 the rector took Horatio as far as London, then put him on the Chatham stage to travel alone. The boy got off with his box at Chatham, and wandered helplessly about the docks till a passing naval officer took compassion on him, and first gave him something to eat, and then conducted him to Captain Suckling. This was not a cheerful introduction to the service, but many delicate and friendless boys have since suffered similar discouraging experiences when first left alone on the deck of the *Britannia* training-ship.

Nelson's next voyage was in a merchantman to the West Indies. He returned with a thorough, if temporary, dislike of sailoring. Many boys on going to sea, finding that it means

hardship and discomfort instead of romance and glory, have felt the same depression, and longed to get out of the service. It seems to be a phase in the development of most, if not of all, good sailors, a phase which they must resolutely set themselves to overcome.

In 1773 Nelson went on an Admiralty expedition to the Arctic regions. He showed his intrepidity by attacking a bear single-handed, with the butt-end of his musket. Fortunately, the men of the ship frightened away the animal by firing a gun.

At the age of eighteen he was still only a midshipman, on the *Seahorse*, 20 guns, on the East Indian station. He spent one and a half years there under Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, but he missed the important operations which Hughes afterwards conducted against the distinguished French Admiral, Bailli de Suffren (p. 636). Nelson had left England stout and ruddy faced. He came back from the East Indies pale and thin, and never seems to have recovered any robustness of constitution. On the voyage home he was more gloomy than ever:

'I felt impressed', said he, 'with a feeling that I should never rise in my profession. My mind was staggered with a view of the difficulties I had to surmount, and the little interest I possessed. I could discover no means of reaching the object of my ambition. After a long and gloomy reverie, in which I almost wished myself overboard, a sudden glow of patriotism was kindled within me, and presented my king and country as my patron. "Well, then," I exclaimed, "I will be a hero! and, confiding in Providence, I will brave every danger!"'[1]

This was the important point in his career. His resolution was taken and he had no more doubts. He passed his lieutenant's examination in 1777, and went out to the West Indian station under Admiral Sir Peter Parker. In 1779, when still only twenty years old, he was rated post-captain. This course of rapid promotion began with the distinguished examination which he passed as lieutenant. To the end of

[1] Southey, *Life of Nelson*.

his life Nelson was a student, carefully learning everything about his profession, and also perfecting himself in the French language and in history. The three qualities which he showed at this time, and which attracted the attention of all his superior officers, were his studiousness, his perfect fearlessness, and the winning simplicity of his manner. In addition to these fine qualities, he had the rarer gift which all men recognize and trust in—genius. Nelson's genius lay in his power of seeing what ought to be done in the critical moment of a naval action. He always seized the occasion, which a moment's delay would have let slip.

Nelson's character was far from perfect. On some sides it was deplorably weak, and no one can excuse his treatment of his wife or the fatal attachment, to which he clung till death, to the disreputable Lady Hamilton. Yet he was a good man, devoted to his duty, worshipped by his subordinates, honourable in his dealings, perfectly unselfish in his readiness to sacrifice himself, at all periods of his career, for his country. With all his faults he was great, fearless, unselfish. No man ever had warmer friends: Troubridge, Collingwood, Hardy, Samuel Hood, Sir Peter Parker, and Prince William (afterwards King William IV), are only a few of his messmates or superior officers who loved him to the end.

The French Revolutionary War. When the war with France began, in 1793, Nelson was given command of the *Agamemnon*, 64 guns. During this period, except for nine months at home in 1797–8, recovering from the loss of his arm, he was continuously on active service. In 1794 he co-operated on land with a naval brigade in the reduction of Corsica, and at the capture of Calvi lost his right eye. The island was evacuated in 1796. In 1797, after a long period of service in the Mediterranean, Nelson fought under Jervis in the great battle of St. Vincent (p. 557). After the battle he remained with the blockading fleet off Cadiz. In July 1797 he was sent on a very risky expedition, to cut out a Spanish treasure-ship from the harbour of Santa Cruz. The enterprise was detected by the

Spaniards, and repulsed with heavy loss. Nelson was shot through the elbow: an unskilled ship's surgeon made a bad job of the amputation, and he spent a long and painful convalescence in the lodging which he took with his wife in London, in Bond Street. By December (1797) he was able to get about again:

'Not having been in England till now since he lost his eye, he went to receive a year's pay, as smart money; but could not obtain payment because he had neglected to bring a certificate from a surgeon that the sight was actually destroyed. A little irritated that this form should be insisted upon, because, though the fact was not apparent, he thought it was sufficiently notorious, he procured a certificate at the same time for the loss of his arm; saying they might just as well doubt one as the other. This put him in a good humour with himself, and with the clerk who had offended him. On his return to the office, the clerk, finding it was only the annual pay of a captain, observed, he thought it had been more. "Oh," replied Nelson, "this is only for an eye. In a few days I shall come for an arm; and in a little time longer, God knows, most probably for a leg." Accordingly he soon afterwards went,—and with perfect good humour exhibited the certificate for the loss of his arm.'[1]

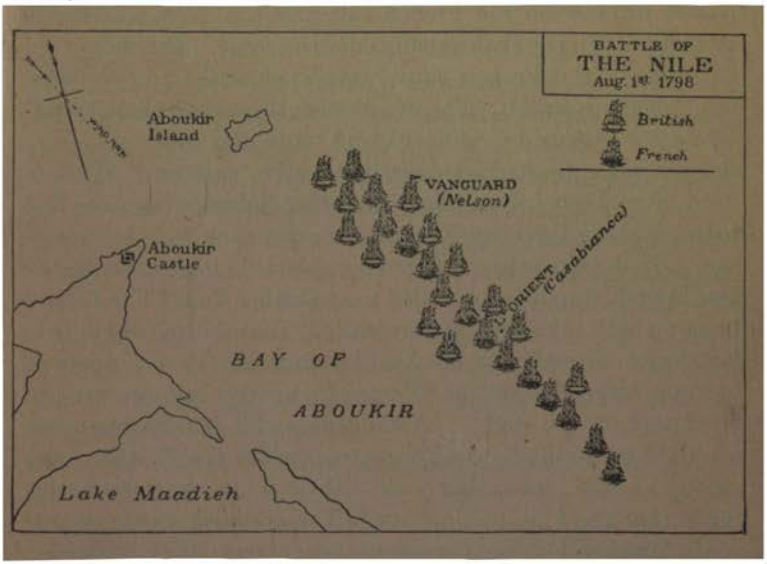
The Nile. Early in 1798, Nelson, only forty years old, was promoted to rear-admiral, and hoisted his flag in the *Vanguard*, 74 guns, off Cadiz. This was a most critical year for England and the Empire. Napoleon Bonaparte had conceived the design of striking at England in the East. He chose Egypt, which even then (although not in English control) might be called the 'Spine of the Empire'. Having conquered Egypt from its degenerate Turkish masters, he was going to proceed through Palestine and Mesopotamia, like another Alexander, to India.

It was known that a great French expedition was being fitted out at Toulon, though its destination was still in the dark. The French Fleet slipped out of Toulon, when a storm had driven Nelson back to Sardinia. He swept through the Medi-

[1] Southey, *Life of Nelson*, ch. iv.

terranean to Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, Alexandria, back and forth. At last his frigates found the French Fleet in the Bay of Alexandria, on August 1, 1798.

On July 1 Bonaparte had begun disembarking his army at Alexandria. On July 21 he had defeated the Egyptians at the battle of the Pyramids, and on the 25th had occupied Cairo. Thus all Egypt had fallen before him, and Syria was likely soon to follow.



The French were anchored in the bay, arranged in a slightly curving line from NW. to SSE. They had thirteen battleships, the largest—Admiral Brueys' flagship, the *Orient* —carrying 110 guns The other ships were either 80 guns or 'seventy-fours'. Nelson, when he commenced the action, had ten seventy-fours and one fifty. They were all, however, in much better condition than the French ships, for the French Government spent most of its money on the Army.

Nelson sighted the French Fleet at 2 p.m. on August 1, and resolved to sail straight forward and attack it. The action

began at 6 p.m., just as the sun was sinking out of sight behind the horizon. With the wind blowing from the NW., the British ships bore down in line of battle ahead. The French ships were anchored at distances of about 3,000 to 6,000 yards from land—in about seven fathoms. To the surprise of their officers, the leading British ship, the *Goliath*, 74, Captain Foley, sailed inside, between the first French ship and the shore, and let go her anchor. The next British ship, the *Zealous*, likewise passed in between the French line and the shore, and came to anchor. The next three ships did the same. The shoreward batteries of the French ships were apparently not prepared for immediate action. The five British ships gave them broadside after broadside, while Nelson, with the other six, from the sea side, discharged equally effective salvoes. As there were more French than English ships, Nelson's captains had to pass along the enemy line, to engage each ship in succession. In doing so they suffered considerable losses, but forced one French ship after another to strike her flag. The *Orient*, beset on both sides, fought heroically. The admiral was killed; her decks covered with dead and dying. At 10 p.m. she was burning furiously, and her flames lit up the bay against the blackness of the night. Amid this awful bonfire the crew could be seen still fighting the guns, while the British ships stood off and raked her. At 10.15 p.m., with a fearful roar, the great ship blew up. The English boats which were lowered for the purpose saved about 70 of her crew. Her captain, Casa-Bianca, and his ten-year-old son, were seen for a moment struggling in the water, and then lost. The boy's simple heroism is commemorated in Mrs. Hemans's poem.

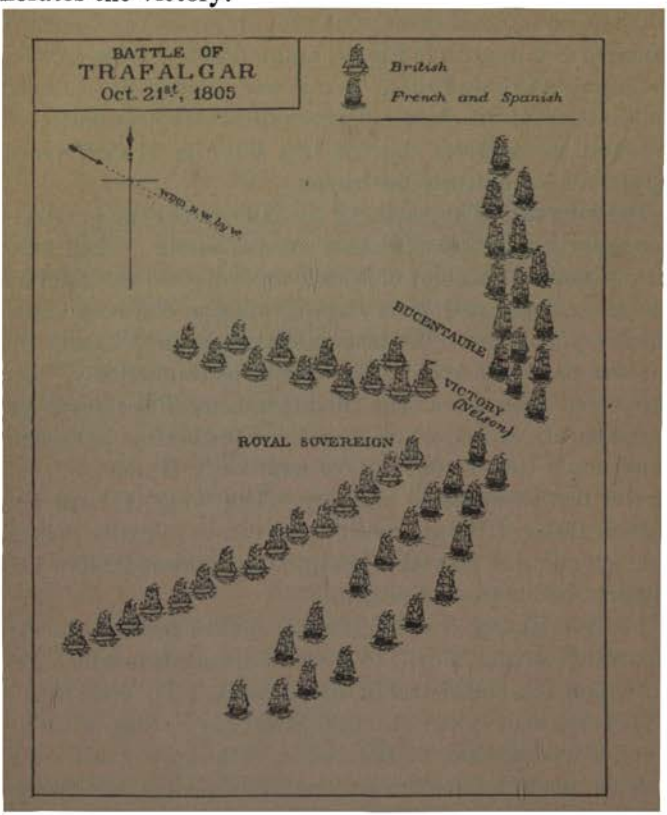
The victory of the Nile (or Aboukir) was complete. Only two French battleships and two frigates escaped, under Admiral Villeneuve, who was spared to suffer another disaster at Trafalgar. The Egyptian expedition of Bonaparte was ruined, for without the control of the sea between Egypt and France he could never make a success of it. The campaign of Syria was

indeed pushed forward, till the unsuccessful siege of Acre (March–May 1799) turned him back. The defence by the Turks of this town was organized under Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, one of Nelson's younger officers. In August 1799 Bonaparte himself left Egypt, and got safely back to France. In March 1801 a British army was landed at Alexandria, under General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. In the battle which followed the general lost his life, but the French power in Egypt was completely destroyed.

The interval. The battle of the Nile ended the greatest and most glorious period of Nelson's naval career. Then followed an interval, at the end of which was to come the final effort, the magnificent action off Cape Trafalgar, the best known of the Navy's battles. The interval between the Nile and Trafalgar was partly occupied with operations round Sicily. During this time Nelson and the Mediterranean Fleet restored the kingdom of Naples, which had been for a time a French dependency. He also fell in love with Lady Hamilton, the wife of the British minister in Sicily. The King of Naples made Nelson Duke of Bronte, with a fine estate in Sicily, where the English admiral proved a kind and beneficent landlord to the hitherto badly-treated peasants.

In 1801 Russia, Sweden, and Denmark formed the Armed Neutrality of the North, to resist the restraints which Britain put upon sea-borne trade with France. To deal with this, a fleet was sent under Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson second-in-command, to the Baltic. On April 2, after a short defence made by the Danes, the Danish Fleet at Copenhagen was seized. Colonel William Stewart, who commanded the troops and who was present on Nelson's ship, tells in his account of the battle how Admiral Parker wished to break it off in the middle, and so hoisted signal No. 39 ('leave off action'). *Now damn me if I do*, said Nelson; and then to Foley, his Captain, *You know, Foley, I have only one eye; I have a right to be blind sometimes.* 'And then', adds Stewart, 'with an archness peculiar to his character, putting the glass

to his blind eye, he exclaimed, *I really do not see the signal.*'[1] Campbell's fine ballad, 'The Battle of the Baltic,' commemorates the victory.



Trafalgar. From 1803 to 1805 Nelson was engaged in the Mediterranean, in the war which broke out between France and Britain soon after the Peace of Amiens (p. 550). Pitt had formed his last coalition against France (p. 552). Napoleon was carrying on his great designs for the invasion of England or Ireland, and at the same time was taking steps,

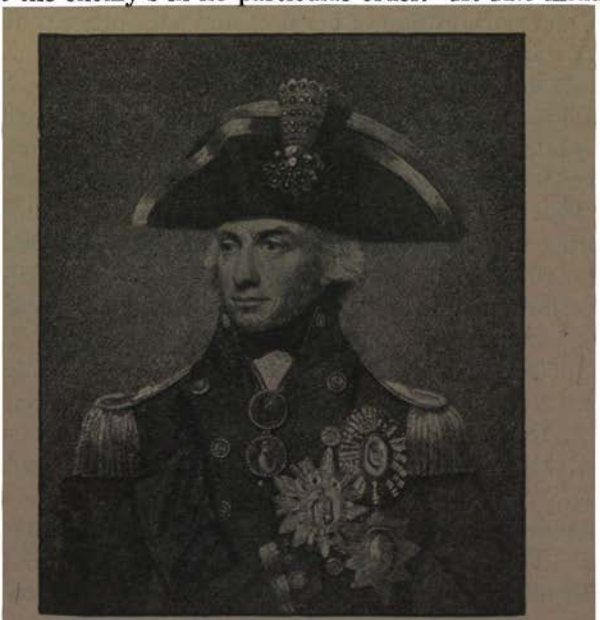
[1] Quoted in Mahan, *The Life of Nelson* (1898), ii. 90.

which were completely successful, to crush Austria. His naval plan was that Admiral Villeneuve, with the Toulon Fleet, should sail for the West Indies, capture Jamaica, revictual and reinforce the French garrisons, and then return to European waters. Meanwhile, the Brest Fleet was to transport an army to Ireland. Spain had been brought over to the French side, and the addition of her fleet and her ports to the Napoleonic cause made it impossible for the British Navy to blockade all the enemies' fleets effectively. Accordingly, in April 1805, Villeneuve, with the Toulon Fleet, was able to sail across the Atlantic to the West Indies. The English Government was glad to hear he had gone, for they feared he might have joined the Brest Fleet and descended upon England. Nelson was sent to bring him to battle, or to chase him out of West Indian waters (June 1805). At Trinidad he learned that Villeneuve had sailed back again to Spain. So he, too, returned, and in August was once more in the English Channel.

Napoleon knew he could deal with Austria (as he did, most effectively, at Ulm on October 19, and at Austerlitz on December 2, 1805). To deal with England, however, was not so easy. He could not get his all-conquering army across the Channel without destroying the British Fleet. So he gave Villeneuve an order never before issued, namely, to meet the British Fleet and to engage it, thus staking his whole chance of invading England upon one sea-battle. Nelson gladly accepted the challenge, and that one sea-battle rendered impossible for ever Napoleon's great design.

On September 15 Nelson sailed from Spithead in the *Victory*, 100 guns, Captain Thomas Hardy. He picked up various units on the way, and in October, with 27 fine ships—100 guns, ninety-eights, seventy-fours, and sixty-fours—he was ready to meet Villeneuve's 33 mixed French and Spanish ships. On October 21, off Cape Trafalgar, the two fleets met, both sailing in the same direction, south. The British Fleet bore down upon the Franco-Spanish line in two columns, the northern under Nelson, leading in the *Victory*, the southern under

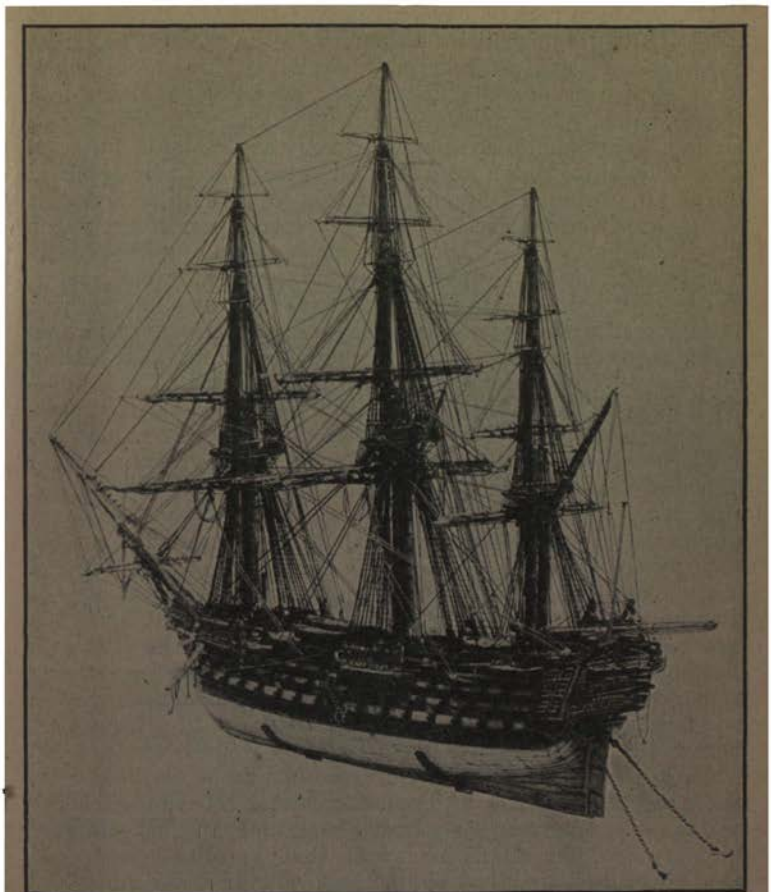
Collingwood, leading in the *Royal Sovereign*. As they approached the Spanish fleet, the ships in each English column began to spread out in line abreast, so that each could single out a Spanish ship for its object. This formation could only be partially carried into effect, and the English Fleet came against the enemy's in no particular order. At 12.5 midday,



NELSON

the admiral sent up the flag-signal, 'England expects that every man will do his duty.' Nelson himself had quietly made a codicil to his will consigning Lady Hamilton to his king and country. This document, written with his own hand in the cabin of the *Victory*, can be seen in the Painted Hall at Greenwich. Then he went on to the quarter-deck, a striking one-armed figure, with his long fair hair, his high pale brow, his noble, commanding features. He was carefully dressed in a blue tail-coat, with the stars of his Orders on the breast.

The coat was buttoned at the neck, but fell away open on either side, showing a white vest. The knee-breeches were



H.M.S. VICTORY[1]

white, and he wore white silk stockings, and black shoes with silver buckles. On his head was a blue cocked hat. The coat and stockings, and breeches—slit up both legs by scissors to remove them easily from the wounded hero—are in the Painted

[1] Bone model made by French prisoners in the hulks.

Hall. He was standing on the quarter-deck calmly directing the battle, when a bullet struck him :

'It had been part of Nelson's prayer, that the British Fleet might be distinguished by humanity in the victory which he expected. Setting an example himself, he twice gave orders to cease firing upon the *Redoubtable*, supposing that she had struck, because her great guns were silent ; for, as she carried no flag, there was no means of instantly ascertaining the fact. From this ship, which he had thus twice spared, he received his death. A ball fired from her mizen-top, which, in the then situation of the two vessels, was not more than fifteen yards from that part of the deck where he was standing, struck the epaulette on his left shoulder, about a quarter after one, just in the heat of action. He fell upon his face, on the spot which was covered with his poor secretary's blood. Hardy, who was a few steps from him, turning round, saw three men raising him up.—"They have done for me at last, Hardy," said he.—"I hope not," cried Hardy.—"Yes," he replied ; "my back-bone is shot through." Yet, even now, not for a moment losing his presence of mind, he observed, as they were carrying him down the ladder, that the tiller ropes, which had been shot away, were not yet replaced, and ordered that new ones should be rove immediately. Then, that he might not be seen by the crew, he took out his handkerchief, and covered his face and his stars. Had he but concealed these badges of honour from the enemy, England, perhaps, would not have had cause to receive with sorrow the news of the battle of Trafalgar. The cockpit was crowded with wounded and dying men, over whose bodies he was with some difficulty conveyed, and laid upon a pallet in the midshipmen's berth. It was soon perceived, upon examination, that the wound was mortal. This, however, was concealed from all except Capt. Hardy, the chaplain, and the medical attendants. He himself being certain, from the sensation in his back and the gush of blood he felt momently within his breast, that no human care could avail him, insisted that the surgeon should leave him, and attend to those to whom he might be useful ; "for," said he, "you can do nothing for me." All that could be done was to fan him with paper, and frequently to give him lemonade to alleviate his intense thirst. He was in great pain and expressed much anxiety for the event of the action, which now began to declare itself. As often as a ship struck, the crew of the *Victory* hurraed ; and at every hurra a visible

expression of joy gleamed in the eyes and marked the countenance of the dying hero. But he became impatient to see Capt. Hardy; and as that officer, though often sent for, could not leave the deck, Nelson feared that some fatal cause prevented him, and repeatedly cried: "Will no one bring Hardy to me? He must be killed! He is surely dead!" An hour and ten minutes elapsed, from the time when Nelson received his wound, before Hardy could come to him. They shook hands in silence, Hardy in vain struggling to suppress the feelings of that most painful and yet sublimest moment. "Well, Hardy," said Nelson, "How goes the day with us?"—"Very well," replied Hardy; "ten ships have struck, but five of the van have tacked, and show an inclination to bear down upon the *Victory*. I have called two or three of our fresh ships round, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing."—"I hope," said Nelson, "none of our ships have struck?" Hardy answered "There was no fear of that". Then, and not till then, Nelson spoke of himself. "I am a dead man, Hardy," said he; "I am going fast—it will be all over with me soon. Come nearer to me. Let my dear Lady Hamilton have my hair and all other things belonging to me." Hardy observed, that he hoped Mr. Beatty could yet hold out some prospect of life. "Oh no!" he replied, "It is impossible. My back is shot through. Beatty will tell you so." Capt. Hardy then, once more, shook hands with him; and with a heart almost bursting, hastened upon deck.'[1]

Nelson saw Hardy again just before the end of the action. The admiral asked his friend to kiss him, and then was heard to say, 'Thank God, I have done my duty.'

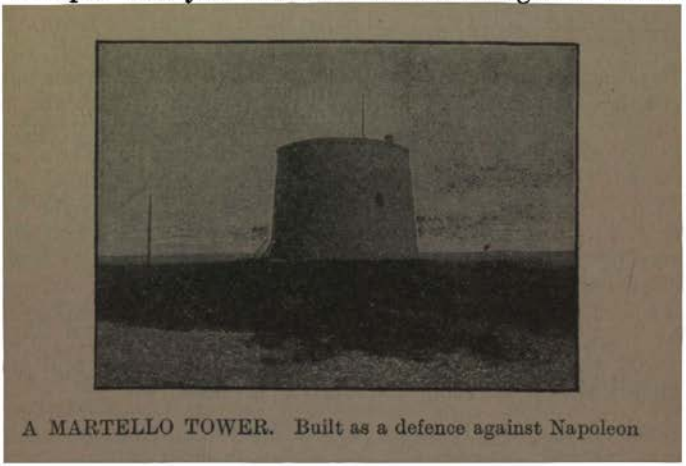
When Nelson died, twenty of the enemies' ships had struck their flag.

Tilsit. The battle of Trafalgar destroyed French power on the sea. Even before this happened, however, Napoleon had given up his plan at that time of invading England (or perhaps Ireland, which, according to Admiral Collingwood, was his objective). The blockade maintained by Collingwood off Cadiz, by Calder off Ferrol, and by Cornwallis off Brest, convinced the Emperor that he must seek other game; and after hearing of the check which Sir Robert Calder had

[1] Southey, *Life of Nelson*.

inflicted on Villeneuve off Cape Finisterre on July 22 (1805), he betook himself with his great expeditionary force to Austria (August). The capitulation of Ulm (October), the entrance of the French into Vienna (November), the rout of the Austro-Russian armies at Austerlitz (December), followed in rapid succession.

But though baulked of all chance to conquer Britain, Napoleon had a wide enough field for his ambition in the rest of Europe. The year 1806 saw Prussia brought to his feet



A MARTELLO TOWER. Built as a defence against Napoleon

by the battles of Jena and Auerstadt; and in November Napoleon dictated from Berlin itself the famous Decrees, excluding all British commerce from the Continent. Next year, 1807, came the defeat of the re-formed Russian armies at Friedland (July), followed by the Peace of Tilsit, made between the Tsar Alexander and Napoleon (July 7, 1807). The two monarchs agreed on certain territorial cessions and rearrangements; to divide Britain's Eastern possessions; and to force Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal to join against her.

Copenhagen. During 1806–7 a 'Ministry of All the Talents', under Lord Grenville, was carrying on the government; but

before the Treaty of Tilsit was made, Grenville had fallen, and his place as Prime Minister was taken by the Duke of Portland. Under him George Canning was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and Lord Castlereagh Secretary for War. Canning, by some means which are not known, learned of the secret terms of the Peace of Tilsit, and at once resolved on a daring act. He sent the British Fleet to the Baltic, to demand and to receive the surrender of the whole Danish Fleet, which Napoleon (by the secret Tilsit agreement) meant to seize and use against England. The demand was refused

MEDALS STRUCK IN ADVANCE BY NAPOLEON to commemorate the invasion of England

by the Danes, whose capital was thereupon bombarded. After a brave defence, they were forced to surrender all their warships. The news of this swift act of the British Government staggered Napoleon, and upset all his plans for bringing England to bay: the seizure of the Danish Fleet, in fact, destroyed the whole Tilsit scheme, and robbed France of the fruits of her sacrifices, and Russia of the fruits of her perfidy. The memory of Canning's stroke has remained an inspiration for British statesmen, and a cause of uneasiness to foreign schemers: that is what the German Emperor William II meant a hundred years later, when he told Admiral

Sir John Fisher that he suspected the British Admiralty of meaning *to Copenhagen the German Fleet!*

Failure of the Continental System. After 1807 Napoleon's chances of accomplishing anything against England on the sea were hopeless. His famous Continental System, inaugurated by the Berlin Decrees, only destroyed the commerce of the States which submitted to the system, for they lost the benefit of the English shipping. The commerce of the British, on the other hand, all over the Empire was never interrupted, and the British Navy was able to strike in all directions and to convey troops to Holland, to Portugal, to Italy, to India, to South America, wherever they were wanted.

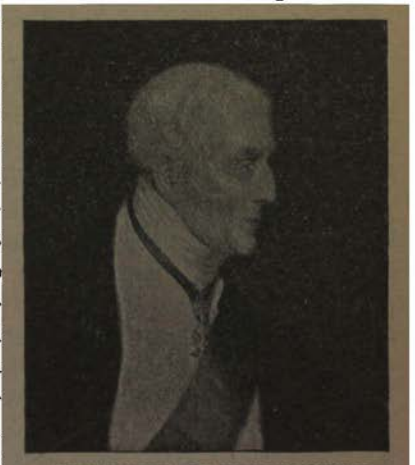
CHAPTER XXVI

WELLINGTON

When Pitt died, in 1806, there was indeed no statesman with genius such as his, but there were strong sensible men like Lord Castlereagh, determined on continuing his policy. There was, moreover, a great soldier, who had risen to fame in the Indian Empire of Britain.

Wellington's early career. Arthur Wellesley was born in Ireland on May 1, 1769. Little is known of his boyhood, and no record has been kept even of the place of his birth. He was born either in his father's Dublin house, 24 Upper Merrion Street, or in his country seat, Dangan Castle, County Meath. His father was an Irish peer, Earl Mornington, and the family, which till 1790 spelled its name Wesley, was distantly connected with John Wesley, the great evangelical preacher. Arthur was sent to Eton : nothing is known of his school-days, but he remained afterwards, like every one who has been there, fond and proud of the old school. From Eton, probably about the year 1784, he was sent to a military school at Angers, in Anjou, in NW. France. His parents intended him for a military

career, and determined to give him the best possible education for it. England had no military schools, while there were several half-official, half-private colleges in France. The Angers school was kept by a nobleman of the 'Ancien Régime', who was an old Engineer officer, the Marquis de Pignerol. The engineering side was the best branch of the French Army, and it may be assumed that Wellington learned to take the profession of arms seriously under the veteran marquis. The only thing, however, which has come down to history concerning Wellington's days at the Angers Military Academy is that he had a terrier called Vick, which followed him about everywhere. In 1787 he was entered as an ensign in the 73rd Highlanders (2nd Battalion, Black Watch), and subsequently passed through various grades in other regiments. As a matter of fact, he appears not to have served at all with any of these regiments. Being a young man of position and influence, he spent all his time in honorary posts on the staff of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He became major in the 33rd Foot (West Riding), and in 1793 purchased the position of Lieutenant-Colonel of it, his eldest brother, Earl Mornington, his close friend and associate, advancing him the purchase-money. In this and the following year he saw active service in the Duke of York's army in the Low Countries. In 1796 he went to India with his regiment. Shortly afterwards, Earl Mornington became Governor-General; he at once promoted Arthur to responsible military offices.



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

Soldierly studies. Arthur Wellesley is an instance of a

young man, advanced by family influence and wealth, who yet was modest, sensible, laborious, and conscientious. Becoming lieutenant-colonel before he had gained regimental experience, he thoroughly studied all the routine and all the technique of a regiment, and acquired an unrivalled knowledge of the British soldier. He knew everything that a commander should know about kit, rations, and arms. He studied how to move troops in peace and war; so that as no commander was ever more strict towards his soldiers, none was ever more just and considerate. There was no plundering in Wellington's army, no indiscipline. Recruited from the most unmanageable materials in England, the troops that followed him through the Peninsular War gained the highest reputation, both for fighting qualities and for behaviour.

Indian career. Wellington's Indian career should be studied in the two stout volumes of the *Wellesley Dispatches*—the brilliant reports of his brother, the Governor-General—and the *Wellington Dispatches*—his own solid contributions to Indian statesmanship and military history.[1] He was the close associate and confidant of his brother, to whom he gave the most admirable counsel concerning the Settlement of Mysore (p. 648), the Mahratta territory, and other matters. With all the natives whom he met, Wellington acted openly and honourably; and he established over them the ascendancy of a strong, honest character, and of a penetrating mind. He counted one of the Mahratta statesmen (Purneah) as his personal friend, and worked loyally and cheerfully with him as may be read in the Dispatches.

The chief event in Wellington's military career in India was the Mahratta War, 1803–5. The Mahratta Confederacy was a powerful collection of States in the west of India. Their soldiers were trained by French officers, and they had a fine corps of artillery. One part of the Mahrattas was allied with the English, but two States, those of the great chiefs Sindia and Holkar, were against us. In August 1803 war began

[1] They are edited by S. J. Owen (Oxford University Press, 1877, 1880).

between these chiefs and the English. Wellington, with 4,500 British soldiers and 5,000 Sepoys, crossed the Godavery. His forces were small, but they were perfectly appointed, for Wellington never moved without a complete organization of supply, bullock-carts, water-carriers, and so forth. On September 23, before Assaye, he confronted Sindia, who had 10,000 infantry, 30,000 horse, and 100 guns. Wellington attacked, and after the hardest fight in Indian history (he lost between one-third and one-half of his men), he routed the great army opposed to him. A second victory at Argaum two months later destroyed the power of Sindia's ally, the Raja of Nagpore. The conquest of the Mahratta States was finished by General Lake's victory at Laswari. Early in 1805 Wellington quitted India, having already, at the age of 36, established his reputation as one of the most distinguished soldiers in the Empire.

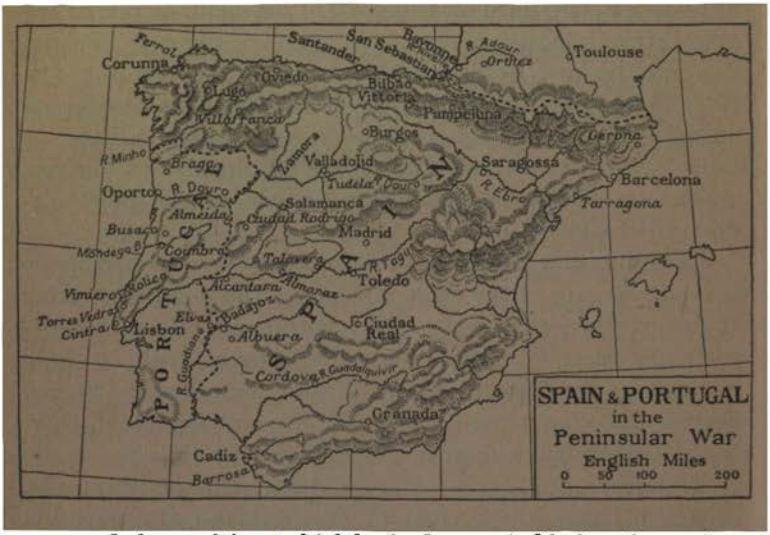
The Peninsular War. In 1808 Napoleon, who had made himself Emperor of the French, deposed the degenerate King of Spain, Charles IV, and his son, Ferdinand. Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, was made King of Spain, to hold it as part of the French Empire. This extension of the French Empire into Spain was in the end to ruin Napoleon. For, as the British Navy commanded the sea ever since the battle of Trafalgar, England could send troops to the Peninsula, and could wage a war, first in Portugal and afterwards in Spain, which exhausted Napoleon's resources and ended with the invasion of France by Wellington.

In August 1808 Wellington landed at Mondego Bay in Portugal, with 9,000 men. Portugal had been invaded by a French army in 1807, and the Portuguese royal family had sailed across the Atlantic to Brazil. Lisbon was occupied by the French. But Portugal was (as she still is) allied with England by a treaty of 1661, and England was bound to come and help her. Wellington's first task was, therefore, to drive the French out of Portugal.

The Convention of Cintra. Two battles, Roliça and Vimeiro

(August 1808), sufficed to make General Junot agree to evacuate Portugal with the French Army. A new commander-in-chief, Sir Hew Dalrymple, came to Portugal, and concluded the Convention of Cintra (August 30, 1808), which allowed the French to return free to France. The poet Wordsworth wrote a long pamphlet against the Convention.

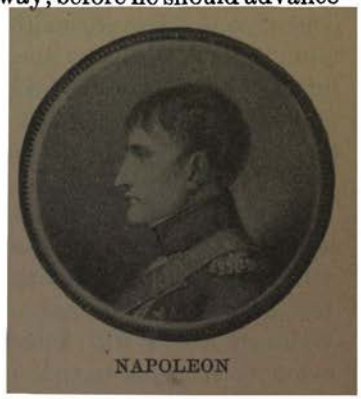
Wellington left Portugal in September (1808), and went to England. He returned in April 1809, having in the meantime



resumed the position (which he had occupied before first going to Portugal) of M.P. for Rye and Chief Secretary for Ireland. While he was in England Sir John Moore had died in action, defeating the French at the battle of Corunna (January 16, 1809), at the end of his great retreat.

Walcheren. It was shortly after this (April) that Wellington was sent back to the Peninsula. The time was propitious for a great effort against the Napoleonic Empire; for Austria, which had been so often defeated, and had so often risen again, was once more throwing down the gauntlet. To help the Austrian effort, the British Government equipped a fine

expeditionary force, which, had it gone to the Peninsula, would have made Wellington's success possible at a much earlier date. The force was sent to attack Antwerp, which was then the chief naval arsenal in French hands. On July 28 (1809) a large fleet, with 41,000 men commanded by the Earl of Chatham (elder brother of the younger Pitt), sailed for the mouth of the Scheldt; but the expedition never got farther than the Island of Walcheren, and lost time and men in the siege of Flushing, which was captured on August 16. The commander-in-chief was a slow, methodical man, not wholly incapable; he wished to make everything secure on the way, before he should advance up the Scheldt to Antwerp. But when at length he prepared to start again at the end of August, Antwerp had been reinforced and was impregnable.


NAPOLEON

The Earl of Chatham with his sword drawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strahan;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham.

Sir Richard Strahan was the admiral in command of the ships. The verses, which were made at the time and represented popular opinion in England, are a little unjust to the leaders. They did some fighting and accomplished something, but they might have done a great deal more. The expedition was meant as a diversion in favour of Austria, but the Austrian Army had been signally defeated by Napoleon at Wagram (July 6), three weeks before Lord Chatham's expedition had left England. If the Austrians had only continued the struggle after Wagram, the Walcheren Expedition would have been of the highest value. As matters stood, however, it only prevented Wellington from getting much needed reinforcements in Portugal, while it did not engage a sufficiently

large number of French soldiers in the Low Countries to make the great expenditure of men and treasure worth while. In its great possibilities, its comparatively small success, and its enormous sacrifices, it may be compared to the Gallipoli Expedition of 1915.

Torres Vedras. When Wellington returned to Portugal for the second time, he came as British commander-in-chief in the Peninsula. His first task was to drive the French out of Oporto (for they had invaded Portugal again). Then he advanced into Spain, up the Tagus valley, and defeated King Joseph Bonaparte near Madrid, at Talavera (July 27, 1809). There was, however, another French army, under Marshal Soult, coming up from the south. So Wellington retreated into Portugal, and set soldiers and civilian labourers to prepare lines of defence at Torres Vedras. He had studied the art of fortification, and was now to put into practice what he had been learning since his time at Angers Military Academy. Lisbon, the capital of Portugal, with its fine natural harbour, was a most important base for the army of a maritime power like England. It was necessary to make Lisbon safe; accordingly, in the last months of 1809, while Wellington was still fighting on the frontier of Portugal, redoubts were dug to the north of the capital. These formed triple lines: the outer was twenty-nine miles long, the middle line was twenty-four, the innermost was about six miles long. One end of each line was formed by the Tagus; the other end by some commanding hill, or some river. The whole system of fortification took its name from Torres Vedras, a small town at the west end of the first line. Behind the lines the land ran down to the point on which Lisbon stood. It was not till the summer of 1810 that the French general, Masséna, began to move with 70,000 men upon Portugal. Wellington, who had wintered at Almeida, retired behind the lines. He stopped only once, to fight the battle of Busaco, on September 29, 1810. The French advance was stayed by two magnificent charges of the British infantry: the first

made by the 88th and 45th (Connaught Rangers and Sherwood Foresters), the second by the 43rd and 52nd (1st and 2nd Battalions, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry). After this the army got securely behind the redoubts and trenches of Torres Vedras, and 'stationary' (or 'trench') warfare took the place of the 'open warfare' which had hitherto prevailed in the Peninsula. In the spring of 1811 Wellington was sufficiently reinforced, by both British and Portuguese soldiers, to advance again. Masséna, whose army had suffered severely from shortage of supplies, was obliged to retreat into Spain.

Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo. The country between Spain and Portugal (like the greater part of the Peninsula) is mountainous and arid. There were no properly made roads at all, but there were two main routes, along valleys and depressions, between Portugal and Spain. One route led by the Spanish fortress of Badajoz, the other by that of Ciudad Rodrigo. It was necessary for Wellington to capture these before his communications could be secure for a war in Spain. The battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, on May 5, 1811, just succeeded in checking the persevering and energetic Masséna, and enabled Wellington to get the fortress of Almeida, though without capturing its garrison.

In the south, Badajoz was being besieged by an Anglo-Portuguese army under Marshal Beresford, an Irish soldier lent to the Portuguese Government. The battle of Albuera (May 16, 1811) cost as much to the English as to the French, and for the time being saved Badajoz. Early in 1812, however, the energy of Wellington anticipated the movements of the French armies. Ciudad Rodrigo was stormed on January 19 and Badajoz on April 6. Both assaults were very costly, but the fortresses were taken before Soult could bring up his army from the south; thus more soldiers' lives were spared than if Wellington had proceeded by regular siege-methods, and fought at the same time against Soult's relieving army.

Spain. The northern and southern roads were now open to the British commander. Spain, except in the south, is a country where supplies of food are hard to obtain, but the English Navy commanded the sea, and supplies were regularly brought over for the army. Wellington was careful to see that those supplies came up country along a regular line of communications, so that his men were properly fed and clothed. The French, on the other hand, were at a great disadvantage in regard to supplies. Napoleon's vicious policy was to make war support war. He allowed a wholly inadequate sum of money from the Imperial Treasury for the Spanish War, the rest had to be made up by forced contributions from the country. It would have been practically impossible at the best of times for Spain to support the French armies, and it was certainly out of the question at this time, when practically the whole Spanish people, especially the peasantry, was against them, and maintained irregular warfare along all the French lines of communication. Wellington fought in a friendly country—all the more friendly because his army paid scrupulously for everything they took—while the French moved among people who hid all supplies, and killed every straggler whom they met.

1812 was the decisive year in the Peninsular, and indeed in the Napoleonic, War. It began with the opening of the roads into Spain through the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz by Wellington. The summer witnessed the great battle of Salamanca (July 22, 1812), and the occupation of Madrid. At the same time Napoleon was leading his *Grande Armée* on the fatal expedition to Moscow, which ended with the retreat and almost complete destruction of his mighty force.

1813. Although, in the latter part of 1812, Wellington again found it necessary to retire into Portugal, he was able to issue from it stronger than ever in 1813. The French, on their side, were weaker, because Napoleon had withdrawn considerable forces in the previous year for the Moscow expedition, and

replaced them with inferior troops. For these reasons Wellington's career in 1813 was marked by a brilliant victory against Joseph Bonaparte and by important successes against the able and tenacious Marshal Soult. The victory of Vittoria (won against Joseph Bonaparte, June 21, 1813) forced the French back to the Pyrenees. Here Soult carried on an admirable defensive campaign, and contested every stage on the way to France.

On October 7 (1813) Wellington's army forced the passage of the Bidassoa, the frontier between France and Spain, in the easier country between the west end of the Pyrenees and the sea. On November 10 the Nivelle river was crossed after a hard fight. Between December 9 and 13 the trenches which defended the river Nive were carried. The next line of Soult's defence was the Adour and its tributary the Gave. He only had 50,000 men, as Napoleon had taken away two of his divisions for the defence of the eastern frontier of France.

1814. Wellington brought about 70,000 British, Portuguese, and Spanish against Soult, at Orthez on the Gave. On February 27 (1814) another hardly contested action was fought, and again Soult went stubbornly backward. Before Toulouse he made his last stand. He was driven out of his entrenchments, although he inflicted very heavy losses on the attackers (April 10). So disorganized was France, that news had not reached Soult or Wellington of the capitulation of Paris on March 30. An army, chiefly consisting of Austrians, Russians, and Prussians, had invaded the eastern frontier of France at the same time as Wellington passed the Pyrenees. While Soult was valiantly defending the south-west, Napoleon was fighting a brilliant but futile campaign on the east.

The services of Wellington. Before he invaded France, Wellington had been made a Spanish and Portuguese Duke, and the English Government, after the victory of Toulouse, made him an English Duke. The Peninsular War had drained

Napoleon's resources and exposed France to invasion from the south-west. Wellington had shown that the French were by no means invincible, and under his leadership and that of Beresford the Spanish and Portuguese revived their great military traditions. It had been a hard war, both of open battles and of trench fighting. The stationary warfare in the lines of Torres Vedras, in the winter of 1810–11, anticipated in some respects the trench warfare of the war of 1914. The British soldiers in the Peninsular War had no service uniform, but wore the red tunic, tight breeches, and gaiters of the barrack square. The average spell of each soldier in the trenches was twenty-four hours at a time, which compares favourably with the four to twenty days of many battalions in the war of 1914. The strength of the British Army under Wellington was between 20,000 and 30,000, and with these and the Portuguese and Spanish divisions he marched from Badajoz to Toulouse, gaining friends among the peaceful inhabitants all the way.

The preliminaries to Waterloo. The Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814, put an end to the war. The old royal family was restored to France. Napoleon was made Emperor of the little island of Elba. He stayed there till the spring of 1815. On March 1 of that year he landed in France; the French Army joined him, and the Allies found that the old state of war was once more established in Europe. Wellington, in the interval, had been British Ambassador in Paris, where he was popular, in spite of the fact that he had so often defeated the French. He was now offered the command of the Allied Army. Belgium was the country in which the Allied forces could be most easily concentrated, so Wellington proceeded there, and in May 1815 had about 100,000 men under his command.

Napoleon entered Belgium along a line which the Germans were to follow in 1914, but in the opposite direction. A Prussian army under Field-Marshal Blücher was defending the line of the Sambre. On June 15 Napoleon's *right* army attacked the Prussians at Charleroi, and drove them along the road

towards Namur. The French *left* army, under Marshal Ney, advanced along the Brussels road, towards Wellington's army. On June 16 he came against the British advanced troops at Quatre Bras. At first there were only about 8,000 troops against him, but their determined resistance enabled Wellington to send up sufficient men to stop Ney's advance.

Meanwhile, the Prussians on the same day had made a stubborn fight at Ligny, on the Charleroi–Namur road. They were forced to retire by Napoleon, who detached 30,000 troops under Marshal Grouchy to follow them, while he himself hastened north to join Ney. The British fell back from Quatre Bras before the combined forces of Napoleon and Ney. By the evening of the 17th, Wellington had taken his stand on the fields of Waterloo, blocking the road to Brussels. Blücher's Prussians, searched for in a weak manner by Grouchy, were working their way round by the more easterly road, by Wavre, to join with Wellington. If the British could hold the positions at Waterloo until Blücher, eluding Grouchy, joined him, all would be well.

Waterloo. The battle of Waterloo began about 11 o'clock on the morning of Sunday, June 18. Napoleon, suffering from cancer in the stomach, was not the man he had been, but the spell of his name still caused a thrill to run through Europe. The excitement in Brussels on the night before the battle was intense. Many of the British officers had brought their wives with them, and these, in the hotels and lodging houses of Brussels, were living a life which Thackeray admirably describes in *Vanity Fair*. The Duchess of Richmond had given a ball on the night of Thursday, June 15–16. At midnight, Wellington had an interview with General von Müffling, of the Prussian Army. 'The numerous friends of Napoleon here will be on tiptoe,' he said; 'the well-intentioned must be pacified. Let us therefore go to the Duchess of Richmond's ball, and start for Quatre Bras at 5 a.m.' The duke, who had an iron constitution, required

very little sleep. Byron knew people who attended the ball, and describes it in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.

There was a sound of revelry by night,
And Belgium's capital had gathered then
Her Beauty and her Chivalry, and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;
A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes look'd love to eyes which spake again,
And all went merry as a marriage bell;
But hush! hark! a deep sound strikes like a rising knell!

Did ye not hear it?—No; 'twas but the wind,
Or the car rattling o'er the stony street;
On with the dance! let joy be unconfined;
No sleep till morn when Youth and Pleasure meet
To chase the glowing Hours with flying feet.
But hark! that heavy sound breaks in once more,
As if the clouds its echo would repeat;
And nearer, clearer, deadlier than before!
Arm! arm! it is—it is—the cannon's opening roar!

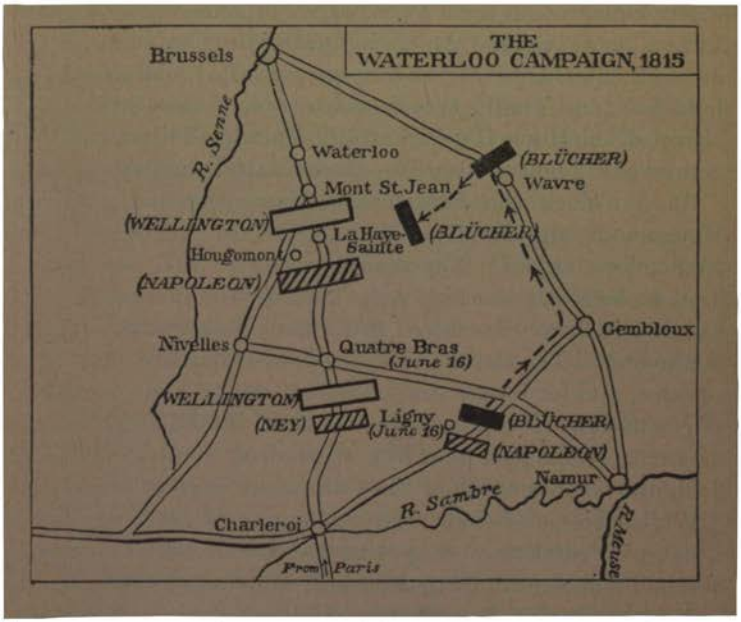
Within a window'd niche of that high hall,
Sate Brunswick's fated chieftain[1]; he did hear
That sound, the first amidst the festival,
And caught its tone with Death's prophetic ear;
And when they smiled because he deem'd it near
His heart more truly knew that peal too well
Which stretched his father on a bloody bier
And roused the vengeance blood alone could quell:
He rushed into the field, and, foremost fighting, fell.

On the gently sloping fields of Waterloo, where the highways from Nivelles and from Charleroi to Brussels meet, Wellington had his army ready for the battle. He had 67,000 men, of whom 24,000 were British, and 14,000 were Belgian and Dutch; the rest were German contingents. Against this mixed army, which contained both good and bad material, Napoleon led 74,000 of the finest troops in the

[1] Duke Frederick William of Brunswick entered the English service with his regiment of Black Brunswickers in 1809, fought in the Peninsular War, and was killed at Quatre Bras. His father had been killed at Auerstadt.

world, all of the same nation, and all perfectly trusting their leader. Blücher and the Prussian Army, however, had been promised for noon, so that Wellington counted on receiving overwhelming support in an hour's time.

As a matter of fact, Blücher did not bring up his army till 4 p.m. He had started late (at 6 a.m. instead of 3.30 a.m.), having been delayed because his chief of staff, Gneisenau,



believed that Wellington would not fight—that the British Army would retire on Brussels, and that the Prussians by advancing would only march into a trap. Once convinced that Wellington did really mean to fight at Waterloo, Blücher came on with the utmost determination. The distance from Wavre, where the Prussians started, to Waterloo, is thirteen miles, and it required all the fiery old Field-Marshal's will and vigour to get his men and guns along the broken-up roads in time to be of any use.

The battle of Waterloo began with a massed attack of the French infantry on Hougomont. This was held by the British Guards, who resisted every assault. About half-past one the main onslaught was made in four columns upon the British line at La Haye Sainte, a farm about one mile north of Hougomont. The first Allied troops to be encountered here were the Dutch and Belgians, who were routed. Then the columns came upon two British brigades under General Picton, and engaged at close quarters. The struggle was intense. The heroic Picton himself was killed, but the defence held fast, and finally the French columns were broken by a charge of the Horse Guards and Life Guards. This magnificent charge cost 1,000 British lives, but it saved the day.

At 4 o'clock the British and Hanoverian line between Hougomont and La Haye Sainte had to face a still more tremendous ordeal. Napoleon knew that time was against him, so he strained every nerve and used every man. 5,000 Cuirassiers, heavy horsemen in flashing breastplates, charged at the line. The British infantry formed quickly into hollow squares, and for two hours withstood one tornado of cavalry after another. No square was broken. Finally, at the right moment, Wellington sent the reserve of cavalry on to the field, and the remnants of the Cuirassiers were driven off.

While the Cuirassiers were making their great onslaught, Blücher's Prussians were getting into touch with the French about Planchenoit. Napoleon had to detach 14,000 men to hold them back; but 14,000 could not do so, indefinitely, against 30,000. The struggle went on through the length of the summer afternoon. About half-past six Napoleon's troops took La Haye Sainte, and the battered British line was withdrawn a little at this point. At 7 o'clock Napoleon put forth his final effort. The heroic Marshal Ney was sent forward with the Imperial Guard, 10,000 of the most experienced infantry in the world, against the British line, between La Haye Sainte and Hougomont. Wellington himself was at the threatened point. Under his cold serene glance the

troops remained steady till the Guard was quite close. Then, at Wellington's command, the British Guards stood up and fired point-blank into the advancing column. The French Guard reeled; the British Guards were upon them. But for a moment more the scales of victory were balanced when the last French cavalry reserve came up to support the Guard. Then Wellington ordered the whole British line to advance. Putting himself at the head of the 52nd (now the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry), mounted on his horse, he led the way. As they swept down the high road, the French recoiled; orderly retreat became impossible, and Napoleon's great army was routed. About half-way towards Planchenoit, along the highway, Wellington and Blücher met, two heroic figures, on one of history's greatest stages.

The victory cost 13,000 men to Wellington's army, and 30,000 to the French. On July 7 Wellington and Blücher entered Paris. On July 15 Napoleon surrendered at Rochefort to Captain Maitland of H.M.S. *Bellerophon*. He was kept on the island of St. Helena, where he died on May 5, 1821, in the fifty-second year of his age.

The Congress of Vienna. The ambassadors of the Powers which had taken part in the great war against Napoleon were sitting in Congress at Vienna throughout a great part of the years 1814 and 1815, even while the battle of Waterloo was being fought. The General Act of the Congress was signed on June 9, 1815. After so many conquests and annexations made by Napoleon, when frontiers had been obliterated and reigning families expelled, it was necessary to make a comprehensive re-arrangement of Europe. On the whole, the principle on which the Congress proceeded was to restore the States of Europe very much as they had existed before the advent of Napoleon. The small Italian States were re-established under their reigning princes; but the Republics of Genoa and Venice were not restored (the first was annexed to Sardinia, the other to Austria). In Germany, a large number of small reigning families did not recover their

thrones, but Prussia, which, with Austria, had fought with great determination, was greatly increased. Belgium, which had been under Austria, was joined to Holland as one kingdom (they separated again in 1830). Norway, which had been under Denmark, was joined to Sweden (but separated from it again in 1905). Great Britain, in spite of the subsidies which she had poured out, in spite of the great part which she had played in the land fighting, in spite of the services which her incomparable Navy had rendered to the common cause, claimed no share in the partition of the Continent of Europe. The only European conquests which she retained were two islands taken by the Fleet—Heligoland in the North Sea, and Malta in the Mediterranean. Heligoland was ceded to Prussia in 1890. Malta is still in the Empire, on the great sea high-road between Great Britain and India. Great Britain also retained the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, but gave back Java to the Dutch, after the brilliant colonial governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, had administered it with conspicuous success from 1810 to 1814.

Finally, two sections of the General Act of Vienna must be mentioned, which have had a profound effect upon the welfare of mankind. Article 108 declared that all navigable rivers of Europe should be open to the trade of all nations, subject to the payment of the prevailing dues and customs. Secondly, an 'Annex' incorporated in the Treaty declared the emphatic disapproval of the Governments of Europe of the trade in slaves. The next fifty years brought about the abolition of slavery in every organized country in the world except Turkey.

From 1812 to 1814 England had been involved in hostilities with the United States, over the 'right of search' at sea. This war was terminated by the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814.

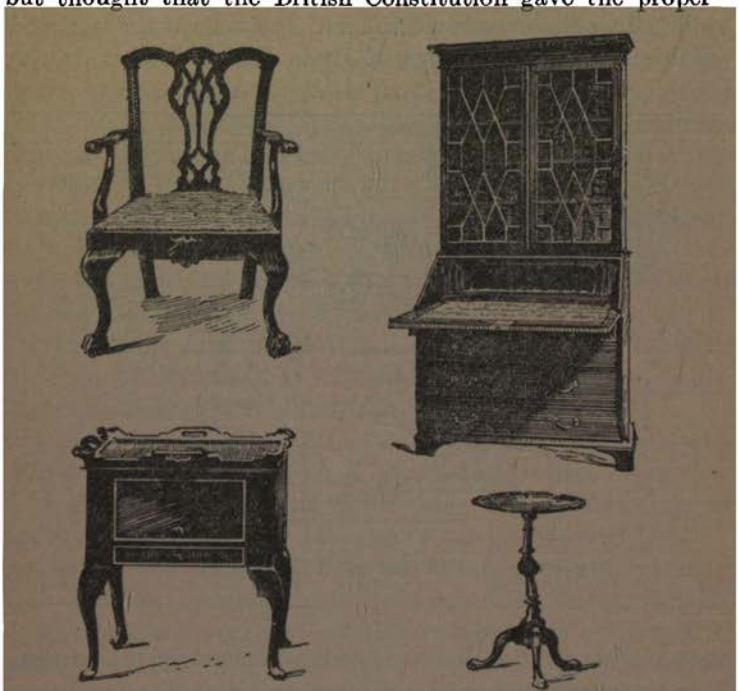
Wellington as a statesman. Except under the Duke of Marlborough, the military reputation of England had never stood so high. Among all the great captains of the military States of Europe, Wellington stood easily chief. 'I am one of those,' he said in 1829 in the House of Lords, 'who have

probably passed a longer period of my life in war than most men.' This indeed was true. Yet when war was over, the great soldier turned with equal devotion to the labours of peace, and spent the rest of his long life in active attention to the political affairs of his country. He lived mostly in London, at Apsley House, the simple and dignified mansion which the nation presented to him. It stands at the west end of Piccadilly, on the edge of Hyde Park. From there he

went regularly to the House of Lords, sometimes in his carriage, more frequently on horseback, often walking. The Londoners grew familiar with the sight of the stately old man, walking along the pavement of Piccadilly, clad in a tall hat, blue tail-coat, white waistcoat and white trousers. Wellington was a great man and quite conscious of his greatness, yet he always showed a real simplicity of character. Once in his later years a man gave the Duke his arm to help him across the crowded street, and then, on receiving the Duke's thanks, began to explain how honoured he felt, and how he would remember this all his life and so forth. Wellington wanted

no flattery. He merely replied, 'Don't be a damned fool!' and went on his way.

In politics the Duke was a strong Tory or Conservative, believing that people required to be governed with a certain amount of discipline. He was against absolutist government, but thought that the British Constitution gave the proper

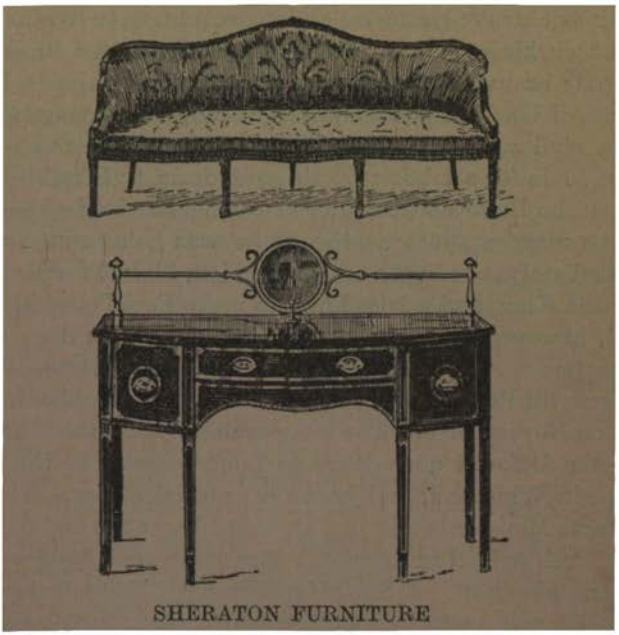


CHIPPENDALE FURNITURE

amount of freedom and the proper amount of order. On his own estate—Strathfieldsaye, in Hampshire—which was bought for him by the nation, he was a just and kind landlord. He spent most of the rental upon improving the land, and built cottages for all the labourers. He said every labourer should have an acre of ground, and he carried out this idea by attaching an acre to all the cottages which he built on his own estate.

To the end of his life he remained at work. After Waterloo

he had a little more service on the Continent. In 1818 he accepted the position of Master-General of the Ordnance, and sat in the Cabinet of which Lord Liverpool was Prime Minister. He acted as Ambassador at a Congress of European statesmen who met at Verona in 1822. In 1827 he succeeded the Duke of York (a son of George III) as Commander-in-Chief



SHERATON FURNITURE

of the Army. In 1828 he became Prime Minister, a position which he did not wish to hold, and which he accepted, out of a pure sense of duty, because the King asked him. Deeply attached to the Protestant religion, he cast his influence in favour of Catholic Emancipation, saying, 'if I could avoid by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it'. When Lord Winchelsea said the Duke had merely pretended to show zeal for the Protestant religion in order to bring in Popery by 'insidious designs', the Duke called on him to apologize, and on Winchelsea's refusal, fought

a duel with him in Battersea Fields, outside London. Both fired wide, and Winchelsea subsequently apologized. Wellington did not believe in extending the franchise to the whole people; accordingly, he opposed the Reform Bill. The populace, with despicable ingratitude, rioted in front of Apsley House, and threatened him with violence when he came out of doors. Their behaviour made no difference either to Wellington's views or his conduct. Perfectly impassive in countenance, he rode as usual through the streets; but he induced the House of Lords to pass the Reform Bill, thus saving England from civil war. In 1834 King William IV was at a loss what to do for a ministry. He sent down to Strathfieldsaye to ask the Duke's advice. The messenger arrived at 6 o'clock in the morning, just as the Duke was going out hunting. Immediately, obedient to his sovereign, he left for Brighton, saw the King, and advised him to make Peel Prime Minister. Peel, however, was in Italy. What was to be done in the meantime? The Duke offered to become Prime Minister himself till Peel could be summoned back to England. This was on November 17. The King gratefully accepted the offer, and the Duke at once drove to London, went to the Home Office in Whitehall, and began his official duties. His term as Prime Minister lasted just three weeks, at the end of which time Peel arrived in London. The Duke then resigned, and became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs under Peel. In 1841, and again in 1846, he had a place in the Cabinet, without holding political office. Almost his last public act was to support Peel in abolishing the Corn Laws. 'I am the servant of the Crown and people,' he said. 'I have been paid and rewarded and consider myself retained, and that I can't do otherwise than serve as required, when I can do so without dishonour, that is to say, as long as I have health and strength to enable me to serve.' When not in office, he was always being asked for advice, to help the Government out of difficulties. On January 13, 1849, the British suffered defeat in the Sikh War at Chilianwallah. The Government asked the

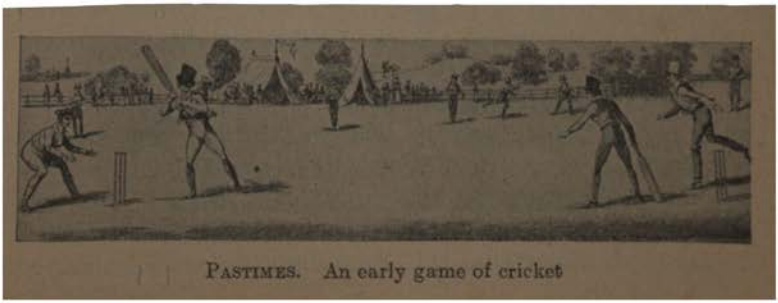
Duke to suggest 'three names', to help them to choose a general. The Duke, at any rate, knew his own mind. He wrote *Sir Charles Napier*. Napier hesitated about going. 'If you will not go, I must,' said the Duke. Napier went.

In the last years of his life he was Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. The office has for long been a sinecure, with practically nothing to do. It was no sinecure with the Duke. The fine tower of Walmer Castle enabled him to take a bird's-eye view over the South Coast. He wrote a letter to Sir John Burgoyne, Commander-in-Chief of the Army (son of General Burgoyne of Saratoga), advising a better system of coast-defence, and a further strengthening of the Army, both of which suggestions were carried out. His end, like the whole period of his old age, was impressive in its simple dignity and beauty. He quietly breathed his last, without any illness, on September 14, 1852:

No more in soldier fashion will he greet
With lifted hand the gazer in the street . . .
O good grey head which all men knew,
O voice from which their omens all men drew,
O iron nerve to true occasion true,
O fallen at length that tower of strength,
Which stood four-square to all the winds that blew![1]

Wellington was married in 1806 to Catherine Pakenham, daughter of the second Lord Longford. She died in 1831, leaving three sons and three daughters.

[1] Tennyson, *Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington.*



PASTIMES. An early game of cricket

CHAPTER XXVII

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

IRELAND

THE eighteenth century in Ireland is a self-contained period coming after that of the Tudors and Stuarts, which was marked by rebellions and bloodshed, and preceding that of the nineteenth century, which was a time of agitation and, in its latter half, of gradually growing prosperity. The eighteenth century was a period when Englishmen looked upon Ireland, on the whole, with indifference, and to some extent with dislike; but, in spite of a bad system of laws, the Irish were not treated with direct hostility or severe oppression, English government was not tyrannical, but it was bad government, for it did not aim, simply and deliberately, to ensure happy, virtuous lives for the governed.

There are three comparatively well-marked divisions of the century in Ireland; the first is the time of repression, from 1689 to 1763; the second is the time of the Constitutional Opposition, from 1763 to 1782; the third is the time of Self-government, from 1782 to the passing of the Act of Union in 1800.

§ 1. THE PERIOD OF REPRESSION

The Revolution of 1688. The Irish Catholics had stood by James II when the Revolution took place in England, and William III found it necessary to conquer Ireland afresh. The battle of the Boyne on July 1, 1690, and the capture of Limerick in 1691 broke the resistance of the Catholics; and the Revolution Government set itself to make the recurrence of a Jacobite War impossible. The war had been won largely through the loyalty of Irish Protestants, especially the staunch citizens of Londonderry and Enniskillen, to the cause of William of Orange; so, naturally, everything was done to favour and strengthen the Protestant influence, and to

depress the Roman Catholics. Seventy years of repression, though not exactly of oppression, followed, which only made the bulk of the Irish more Roman Catholic, and more bitterly resentful of the English rule.

The Penal Code. The object of the British Government was to destroy the social, economic, and religious influence of the Irish Roman Catholics, and with this aim the Penal Laws were passed by the Parliament at Dublin. These laws, enacted at intervals from 1692 till the end of Queen Anne's reign, are monuments of bigotry, and, had they been continuously and rigidly enforced, they would have been horribly oppressive. They were, indeed, by no means a dead letter. Catholics were often most abominably persecuted, but the persecution was sporadic, and never directly touched the mass of the people ; for it is impossible, year after year, to enforce an absurd and unjust code of law against the continuous passive resistance of a whole people. Government can only act through its officials ; and no body of officials in the world can permanently compel the observance, even of a good system of laws (far less a bad system) against the continuous resistance of the people.

The Penal Code was simply intended to prevent the Irish acquiring wealth and to deprive them of that amount of land which they had managed to retain. Religion *per se* was only a secondary matter. Under the Penal Code, Roman Catholics were not allowed to vote for members of the Irish Parliament nor to sit in either House. They were not allowed to hold posts under the Government, to join the Navy or Army, or to be members of the town or city corporations. Priests were forbidden to celebrate a marriage between a Protestant and Catholic, and any such marriages were invalid. Roman Catholics could not become schoolmasters, could not go to Trinity College, Dublin, could not practise the profession of Law. If the son of a Catholic landowner became a Protestant he was made owner of the estate, although bound to leave the use of it to his father. By a ridiculous Act of 1697, Roman Catholics were not allowed

to possess a horse of more than £5 value. When we remember the absorbing interest which the Irish take in horses, we see at once how vindictive, malicious, and stupid was such an Act. It could not be generally enforced, but it was degrading to an Irish Catholic gentleman to feel that he only kept his fine horses by sufferance of his Protestant neighbours. It is said that once a Catholic gentleman was driving two beautiful horses into Mullingar when a man stopped the carriage and offered ten guineas for the pair of horses. The owner drew a pistol and shot the horses dead; otherwise under the law he would have been compelled to hand them over to the offerer, for £5 per horse. The story, however, being recorded as a remarkable thing, indicates that the law was not often taken advantage of.

The Government tried hard to enforce the Penal Laws when the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 was going on in Scotland; and at all times there were a number of grasping toadies ready to inform on priests who had not taken the oath of allegiance, and to claim a reward. Yet there were always plenty of priests in Ireland, and schools for Catholic children were held in barns and behind hedges. Catholic worship was carried on under terrible difficulties, but it went on none the less. Ireland had twenty-four Roman Catholic bishops, who lived, often under assumed names, in the house of some farmer or landowner; and the Papal Nuncio at Brussels was the head of the whole Irish Catholic system. The worldly, open-minded Lord Chesterfield, who was Viceroy in 1745, refused to carry on sporadic persecution, and after his time the Government contemptuously left the Catholics to carry on their worship, so long as it was not too publicly obvious. The result of the outlawry of Catholicism had been to make it bitter against the English and Anglo-Irish, and to keep it secretive and ignorant. The priests had not a chance of being cultivated or liberally minded men:

'Springing for the most part from the peasant ranks, sharing their prejudices and their passions, and depending

absolutely on their contributions, miserably ignorant and miserably poor, they were an illegal class compelled to associate with smugglers, robbers, and privateers, to whose assistance they were often obliged to resort in order to escape the ministers of justice.'[1]

All the ecclesiastical power of Ireland legally belonged to the English Church there; its bishops sat in the Irish House of Lords; all arable land—whether in Catholic or Protestant hands—had to pay tithe to the local Rector; and all the recognized schools, and Trinity College, in Dublin, were absolutely in the hands of Churchmen. Some of the Church bishops were notable men of religion and learning, like Bishop Berkeley, one of the finest minds of the century, but the bulk of them were undistinguished and often worldly men. Their following did not number more than one-seventh of the population, yet they were the Established Church of the whole country.

The Parliament. Ireland had a Parliament of her own, consisting of a House of Lords and House of Commons, like the English Legislature. Only Protestant Irish Peers could sit, and, as a large number of those always lived in England, the Irish bishops formed about half the House, and therefore practically controlled it. The House of Commons had 300 members; 84 were elected by the freeholders of the counties (and this was the most honest part of the representative system), the other 216 were elected by close boroughs or manors, so that often a few town magistrates or a single landowner elected the member. By Poyning's Act (1494) every Bill of the Irish Parliament had (before its introduction in the Irish Parliament) to be approved by the English Privy Council in London, and by the Declaratory Act of the British Parliament (1719) any Bill passed through the British House of Commons and House of Lords could be applied to Ireland over the head of the Irish Legislature. The Irish Parliament, in fact, only met every other year, to vote the revenue.

[1] Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (1879), ii. 282.

Economic and social condition. Ireland is a country with large areas of bogland, and little mineral wealth. It can never be a great industrial country, but it can, as it has become in the last fifty years, be thriving and prosperous, with a busy agriculture and a vigorous shipping trade. All this, however, was prevented by England in the late seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries. In 1663 Ireland was

THE BANK OF IRELAND. Formerly the Parliament House of Ireland

excluded from the advantages of the Navigation Acts, so that she could not trade with British Colonies. In 1665 Irish cattle or pigs were absolutely prohibited from being imported into England, their only good market. An Act of the British Parliament [1] in 1699 prohibited the export of Irish wool or woollen goods, except to England. The internal trade of the country was not sufficient to absorb the energies of the people or the output of their industry. Trade languished and finally,

[1] The British Parliament legislated for Ireland even before the Declaratory Act of 1719.

except in Ulster, practically died. The physical well-being of the people was at an end; dirt, squalor, and actual hunger were the lot of most peasant families for many years to come. Actual famine occurred periodically till the year 1846, when the failure of the potato crop had such appalling results that the British Parliament was induced to repeal the Corn Laws. It was this state of squalor and debasement that led Swift

THE ROYAL EXCHANGE, NOW THE CITY HALL, DUBLIN

to take up cudgels on behalf of the Irish. How deeply he felt the misery to which they had been reduced by the selfish commercial policy of England may be read in the third voyage of *Gulliver's Travels*.

As the result of various rebellions, followed by confiscation, the greater part of the land (nine-tenths, it is said, of the whole country) had passed away from the old owners into new hands, to Irish Protestants or English 'adventurers'. Many of the new landlords lived away from Ireland, and left their estates to be administered by bailiffs. The peasants were poor cultivators; the land was not by nature fertile; the

new landlords took little interest in their land and spent as little capital as possible on it. The result was that cultivation went from bad to worse; the peasant families, so often on the verge of famine, grew hopeless, aimless, sullen. They practically ceased to try and grow grain, and attended only to the potato-patches, by which they just managed to feed their large families of half-naked children. The best of the peasants left the country and went abroad; the rest learned to look upon the law as some horrible engine, made to ruin their souls by the Penal Code and their bodies by Land Acts. They lost the sense of justice, and all respect for law. The English system was ruining public morality, and bringing a state of affairs to pass which would make government impossible. 'It rendered absolutely impossible in Ireland the formation of that habit of instinctive and unreasoning reverence for law which is one of the most essential conditions of English civilization.'[1]

Emigration. In consequence of their religious and political disabilities, many of the Irishmen who could afford to do so, emigrated. Those of a martial inclination went to Europe and entered the service of the Kings of France and Spain, the Emperor, the Tsar of Russia, and of other governments. Those who were fitted for practising a trade went to the colonies. Thackeray's *Barry Lyndon* gives a fascinating picture of one of the soldierly kind, who was an Irish rolling stone. There were famous Irish regiments in the army of France, and the story is familiar how George II, on hearing of the prowess of the Irish Brigade at Fontenoy, is said to have cursed the laws that robbed him of such soldiers. George Browne (1698–1792) became the best Austrian general in the Seven Years' War; Peter Lacy (1678–1751) was a Russian Field Marshal and helped to make Peter the Great's army. Thomas Arthur Lally of Tollendal (1702–79) was the ablest soldier of the French East India Company in the time of Clive, and Richard Wall (1694–1778) was one of the admirals

[1] Lecky, loc. cit., p. 292.

who revived Spain's sea-power. Arthur Dillon (1721–1806) became Archbishop of Toulouse. This was a fearful draining of the ability of a people.

'In every community there exists a small minority of men whose abilities, high purpose, and energy of will, mark them out as in some degree leaders of men. These take the first steps in every public enterprise, counteract by their example the vicious elements of the population, set the current and form the standard of public opinion, and infuse a healthy moral vigour into their nation. In Ireland for three or four generations such men were steadily weeded out. Can we wonder that the standard of public morals and of public spirit should have declined?'[1]

§ 2. The Constitutional Opposition, 1763–82

Till the end of the reign of George II, the Irish Parliament was to a large extent content to register the wishes of the English Government. Gradually, however, even within the servile Parliament, where no Catholics were admitted, a party was formed, which seriously criticized the Government's policy and called for reform. This party may be said to begin when Charles Lucas, a Dublin apothecary, founded the *Freeman's Journal* in 1763; by his writing he exposed the abuses of the 'Castle' administration, and the hearts of the more patriotic members of Parliament were stirred. Equally important was Henry Flood, son of an Irish Chief Justice, rich, well educated (he had been to Trinity College, Dublin, and Christ Church, Oxford), and ardently patriotic. In 1759 he entered Parliament as member for Kilkenny, and his flaming eloquence soon made him a formidable opponent of the Government. By Flood's efforts, the English Government was forced to recognize the *exclusive* right of the Irish Parliament to introduce money Bills in the House. Before this the English Privy Council had been in the habit of budgeting for Ireland, and getting money Bills passed through the two Irish Houses.

The fame of Flood was, however, to be eclipsed by that of

[1] Lecky, loc. cit., p. 265.

a greater man, with a nobler nature. This was Henry Grattan, whose fiery nature and masterful energy, lofty bearing and splendid moving eloquence, recall the qualities of Chatham. He was born in 1746, studied law in London, and then was returned by Lord Charlemont to the Irish House of Commons as member for the pocket borough of Charlemont. He at once became the focus for all the patriotic forces; by his eloquence and his intellect, the maladministration of Ireland was laid bare to the educated public—though that public was itself only the privileged Protestant classes. In 1775 the War of American Independence broke out. The English Army and even the Navy, commanded though it was by the splendid sailors Howe, and in the later stages of the war, Rodney, became involved in difficulties. Paul Jones, the American privateersman and admiral, was soon sailing the ocean and invading the Irish Sea itself. The Irish, a brave nation, with the instinct for combination, joined in bands and regiments, and soon a force of 60,000 volunteers was ready and trained, under the command of Lord Charlemont, to resist the invader. The danger passed away, but the volunteers remained; and either from gratitude or fear, it was now difficult for the English Government to resist any reasonable demands.

It was under these circumstances that Henry Grattan was able to carry through two great measures which restored those powers of legislation which Ireland had possessed before Poyning's Act and the Act of 6 George I. In the first place he proposed a resolution in the Irish House of Commons demanding free trade for Ireland, and when this was carried without opposition he added to it a financial lever; he induced the House to grant supplies to the Government for six months only, and not for the usual two years. The Ministry of Lord North had sufficient difficulties to meet, both in England and in the colonies, and so it bowed to the storm in Ireland. It may be that the teaching of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1776) had already begun to influence

the minds of other Tory statesmen besides the younger Pitt. At the beginning of the year 1780Bills were passed through the British Parliament establishing almost complete commercial equality between Great Britain and Ireland.

THE GREAT PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND, ELECTED 1790

Further, i. e. in the second place, Grattan meant to gain more than this—no less, in fact, than the complete repeal of the Statute of Drogheda of 1494 (Poyning's Act) and the Declaratory Act of 6 George I (1719). The whole of Ireland was ablaze with excitement; all the Roman Catholics, as well as a large number of the Protestants, were supporting Grattan; the volunteers were still armed, and their delegates,

to the number of 242, meeting in the Church of Dungannon in February 1782, unanimously voted: 'That a claim of any body of men other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.' In the following month Lord North's Ministry fell.

The new Ministry was that of Lord Rockingham, with Shelburne and Fox as Secretaries of State. They were faced with the tasks of making peace in America and preventing war in Ireland. They settled the latter difficulty first. On April 16, 1782, Grattan, who had risen from a bed of sickness in order to make his great effort, introduced in the Irish House of Commons an Address to the Crown in favour of legislative independence. If ever spirit could be said to act independently of its body, said Lord Charlemont, it was on that occasion. No one presumed to call the patriot's words in question. The Irish House of Lords also assented to the Address; and every one assumed that the affair was already settled.

'I am now to address a free people (said Grattan in introducing the Address). Ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. . . . I found Ireland on her knees; I watched over her with an eternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injury to arms, and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift! spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation. In that new character I hail her, and bowing to her august presence, I say: *esto perpetua*!'[1]

Fox and Shelburne yielded to the importunity of Ireland, and against their conviction introduced a Bill into the British Parliament to give Ireland that complete legislative independence which only complete loyalty to the Empire could justify. Their trust appeared to be deserved; for the passage of the Bill through Parliament was greeted in Ireland with the most loyal expressions and the most cordial votes.

[1] Quoted in Mahon's *History of England*. William Molyneux (1656–98) wrote on the constitutional relations between Great Britain and Ireland.

§ 3. Self-Government, 1782–1800

The independent Irish Parliament lasted just eighteen years. It remained as it had been, exclusively Protestant in composition. Those who wish a humorous account of it should read the opening chapters of Lever's *Charles O'Malley*. In 1793, however, it passed an Act which gave the Roman Catholics the vote, and but for the rebellion which took place five years later, it would doubtless also have admitted them to Parliament. It must be admitted that Ireland greatly improved financially and industrially during the period of self-government. Unfortunately that period was too short to give her a fair chance. In 1789 the French Revolution broke out, and the evil spirit of secret societies and rebellion took root in the ready soil of Ireland. The constitutional leaders of Parliament had no part in the rebellion; but, as has happened subsequently, they could not control the wilder elements, and they could not keep the younger priests in hand.

In 1791 the Society of United Irishmen was formed. Its object was to bring into one body both the Catholics who hated the English Protestant system, and the Ulster Presbyterians, many of whom at this time were infected with the republican spirit. The first meeting of the Society seems to have been held in Belfast, and its primary object was at that time stated to be the admission of men of all creeds to the Irish Parliament.

The Rebellion. In 1796 a number of flaming patriots—it must be admitted that they loved their country—planned a great rebellion. All the original leaders were Protestants. It was not a religious rebellion at first. The chiefs of the United Irishmen (as the rebellious league was called) were Theobald Wolfe Tone, a young barrister of ability and energy, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a son of the Duke of Leinster. Fitzgerald was a man of great chivalry and heroism; he had fought with distinction for Britain in the American War; later he had come under the influence of the French Revolution, and had married an illegitimate daughter of the Duke of

Orleans. The rebellion was planned in Paris, and the French Directory, then at war with England, promised armed help.

An expedition sailed from France under General Hoche in December 1796, but a storm dispersed it. The English Government became alive to the danger. Its agents discovered the plans of the United Irishmen; all the leaders that could be found were arrested and martial law was proclaimed. Soldiers and yeomen were sent to the most disaffected parts of the country. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was found hiding in an obscure house in Dublin. He defended himself desperately, was shot, and died of his wounds (June 4, 1798).

Meanwhile, the regulars and yeomanry, quartered in the most discontented parts of the country, living like aliens in a conquered land, had misused the people, and had been requited, by an ignorant and embittered peasantry, with hatred and treachery. Wolfe Tone had gone to Paris, where he still was. In summer (1798) a series of risings, ill planned and ill conducted, broke out in various parts of Ireland. They were all perfectly horrible; both sides assailed each other with ferocity, and seldom gave quarter. People surrendered and then were massacred; promises were made and broken. The Irish rebels were no better than the regulars and the Protestant yeomanry; the whole country was demoralized. Lord Cornwallis, the able, upright, honourable soldier who was then Viceroy of Ireland, sickened of the butchery which he could not be everywhere to stop. 'The conversation', he wrote to General Lake, 'even at my table, where you will suppose I do all I can to prevent it, always turns on hanging, shooting, burning, &c., and if a priest has been put to death, the greatest joy is expressed by the whole company.' The priests indeed were going through the struggle red-handed. Father Michael Murphy led his men so fearlessly and successfully that he was long believed to be invulnerable till a cannon-ball killed him at Arklow There were other priests who fought; some were killed in battle, others,

being captured, paid the penalty with their lives. Prisoners were not infrequently tortured—both sides were guilty of this atrocity.

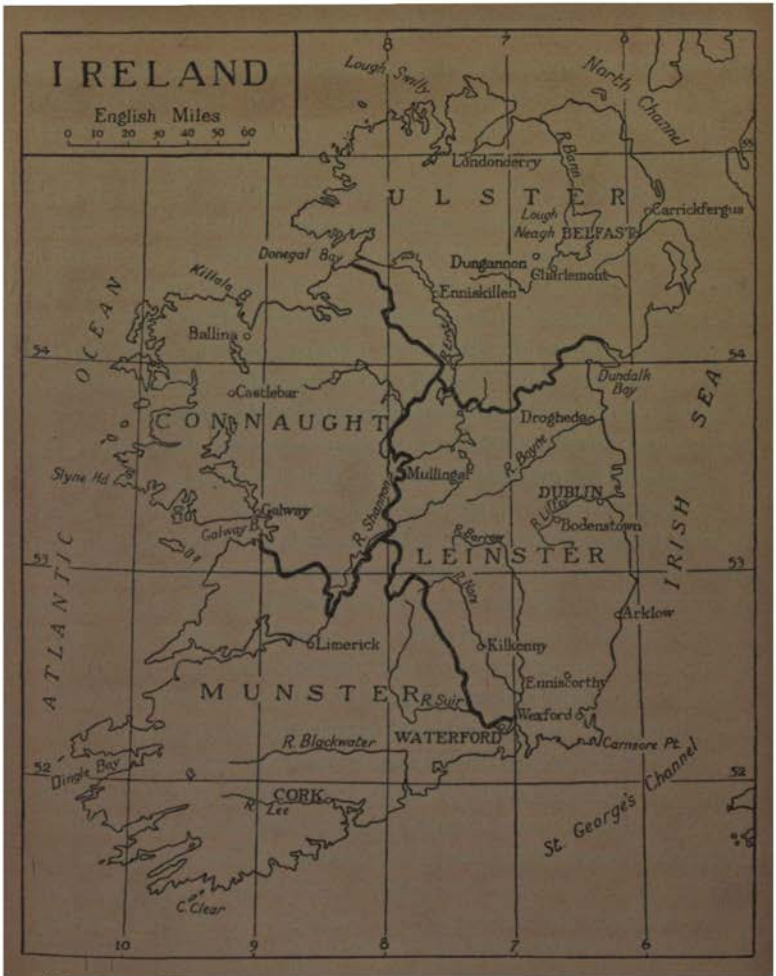
On June 21 the rebels were defeated by Lord Lake at Vinegar Hill near Enniscorthy in County Wexford. The new Viceroy, Lord Cornwallis, had only just arrived. The rebellion was almost over. In August the French General Humbert landed a very small force from a French squadron at Killala Bay, and defeated General Lake's disaffected militia at Castlebar; but Cornwallis and Lake rounded up the French at Ballina, and took them all prisoners. Another French squadron was sailing for Ireland, but it was destroyed on the way by the English fleet; the *Hoche* was made a prize, and its crew and officers taken prisoner. Wolfe Tone was among the captured. He escaped notice at first, but was recognized when the officer prisoners were being entertained at Lord Cavan's house on Lough Swilly. He was tried by court-martial at Dublin, for treason and rebellion, and sentenced to be hanged; but John Philpot Curran, an able and high-minded Dublin barrister, applied for a writ of Habeas Corpus, on the ground that no court-martial had jurisdiction in Ireland while the Four Courts were still sitting. The case was not perfectly clear either way, and passion, prejudice, the desire to vindicate public order, all counted against the rebel; but the spirit of the law is fair, and does not give itself the benefit of a doubt. For the honour of British Justice, the writ of Habeas Corpus was granted, and Wolfe Tone was reserved to be tried by an ordinary court of law. He committed suicide in prison before the trial took place, and was buried in Bodenstown churchyard, which is now almost a scene of pilgrimage. The Irish have long considered him a martyr for his country, but the story only reflects credit on the English. There is nothing splendid in conspiring with the King's enemies in the middle of a great war, as Wolfe Tone conspired with the French. But there is something noble and grand in giving an opponent the most scrupulous fair play.

§ 4. The Union

The leaders of the Irish Parliament had taken no part in the rebellion; and it may be, that a Parliament freely and openly elected, by Catholics and Protestants, would have kept Ireland quiet. Who can say? All that Pitt, who was Prime Minister in England, could see, was that the Irish had made a savage rebellion when Britain was at war and in danger of a terrible invasion. He decided that England and Ireland must be tied closer together; that the Irish Parliament must be abolished, and the Irish called to share the labours and responsibilities of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. This was not a method of coercion; it was a noble summons to partnership and kindly association.

When the rebellion of '98 was ended, the Irish Parliament still remained. The British Parliament could have re-enacted the statute of 6 George I, and then have abolished the Irish Legislature by a Bill. Practically, however, England had made a compact with Ireland to allow self-government to her; and compacts can only justly be changed with the consent of both parties. So the Irish Parliament had to vote for its own abolition, if the union was to take place.

A General Election was held in 1799, and the greatest efforts were made by both sides to secure a majority. 'The South of Ireland', wrote Cornwallis, 'are well disposed to union, the North seem in a state of neutrality, or rather apathy, on the subject, which is to me incomprehensible; but all the counties in the middle of the island, from Dublin to Galway, are violent against it.' The Government was able to command the votes of the nomination (or 'pocket') boroughs; and where people were not honestly in favour of union, bribery was employed. Lord Cornwallis sickened of the task. 'My occupation', he wrote, to Major-General Ross in June 1799, 'is now of the most unpleasant nature, negotiating and jobbing with the most corrupt people under heaven. I despise and hate myself every hour for engaging in such dirty work, and am supported only by the reflection that



without an Union the British Empire must be dissolved.' Lord Castlereagh, who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland, was equally active. Finally, the Roman Catholic bishops were in favour of the Union, moved no doubt by the prospect of Catholic emancipation which was held out before them. The Government accordingly was able to secure a majority

in the House of Commons, although the county members, who represented the most free constituencies in Ireland, as a whole were against the Union.

On February 5, 1800, Lord Castlereagh, to whom Pitt had entrusted the task of piloting the Bill through the Lower House, arose to propose the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. Like most of his speeches, this was a long and conscientious effort, sensible and even forcible, but somewhat tedious to listen to. After a careful explanation of the financial, commercial, and political clauses of the measure, he passed on to consider its more general aspect—'One State, one Legislature, one Church, these are the leading features of the system, and without identity with Great Britain in these three great points of connexion we can never hope for any real and permanent security.' The Union plan, he added, in his peroration, 'is one that, by uniting the Church Establishments and consolidating the Legislatures of the Empire, puts an end to religious jealousy, and removes the possibility of separation. It is one which places the great question which has so long agitated the country, upon the broad principles of imperial policy, and divests it of all its local difficulties.' The fight was prolonged, but the Government steadily gained support, and when Grattan rose on May 26 to oppose the second reading of the Bill, his cause was already lost. His magnificent oration concluded with an appeal and a prophecy, which Castlereagh said were simply an encouragement to rebellion. Ireland's Constitution was lost, he admitted, but not for ever.

'Liberty may repair her golden beams, and with redoubled heart animate the country. . . . I do not give up the country. I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead; though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheeks a glow of beauty:

> Thou art not conquer'd; beauty's ensign yet
> Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks,
> And death's pale flag is not advancéd there.'[1]

[1] Grattan's *Speeches*, iv. 23; Lecky, op. cit., viii. 489. The quotation is from *Romeo and Juliet*, Act v, Scene iii.

The Bill passed the Irish House of Commons with a majority of forty-six votes. It likewise went through the Irish House of Lords. There were sixteen new peerages which Cornwallis undertook to have created, as soon as the Bill was passed.

The Irish Parliament came to an end on January 1, 1801, and the Governments of Great Britain and Ireland were united. Ireland was to be represented in the House of Commons in London by one hundred elected members, and in the House of Lords by twenty-eight elected peers and four bishops. The Protestant Church of Ireland was joined to that of England, and the two were to be known as *The United Church of England and Ireland.* The administration of Ireland was entrusted to the Viceroy and his Chief Secretary, either or both of whom might be members of the British Cabinet. A notable feature of the Act was the abolition of eighty nomination boroughs, for which the owners were compensated by a payment of £15,000 each ; thus the Irish borough owners received more favourable treatment than did their English and Scottish compeers in 1832, who received no compensation. It was understood that with the Union, the Catholics would be freed from their political disabilities, and would be allowed to take a share in Parliament. Pitt honestly meant to bring this about. It is well known that George III refused to sanction such an act, for ' he had sworn at his coronation to preserve the Protestant religion '. Pitt resigned, and the Union was blighted from the start, for it was poisoned with a sense of grievance which nothing has yet extinguished.

SCOTLAND

Contrast of Scottish and Irish Union. The union made between Scotland and England in 1707 suited the needs of each country, and has been a lasting success, prospering in mutual comfort and support.

The reasons for the difference between the results of the Scottish and Irish Unions are plain. In the first place, the

Scottish Union, although registered as an ordinary Act of Parliament, was made by a treaty between the representatives of England and Scotland. There was no suggestion of inferiority on either side. The Scots and English made a fair compact with each other, and entered upon their union on equal terms.

In the second place, there was no very deep religious difference between the Scots and English. One nation was chiefly Presbyterian, the other was chiefly Episcopalian; but both were Protestant, and in each country the faith of the majority of the people was the faith of the legally established Church.

Thirdly, owing to the absence of any feeling of difference in religion, or even any special difference of race, the Scots passed freely into England and the colonies, and made great careers there. Not so with the Catholic Irish: they were not anxious to come to England; those who did come were not particularly successful; England was never a home for them. But Scots filled the highest posts in England and the Empire: the Church, the Universities, the Law, the Cabinet, the East India Company, the great mercantile houses, provided them with careers, honours, emoluments, in exchange for their probity, their industry, their idealism, and their courage. For the Scot is not, as stories so often describe him, shrewd, cautious, slow in thought. He is brave, adventurous, enthusiastic; he has still the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum*; and the wealth of England, the spacious fields of the Empire, have given his spirit the range which his own poor country could not offer. Therefore the Union has suited him. It has suited England too, for it has added to her the elements of strength which the Scots provide alongside of the sterling worth of the Anglo-Saxon.

The Years after the Union. It is true that at first the Union was unpopular in Scotland. The citizens of Edinburgh disliked the loss of their Parliament. The Legislature in London was too far off to be much influenced by local Scottish opinion; when the Scots Parliament sat in the High Street of Edinburgh, the people, as the old woman says in the

Heart of Midlothian, 'could aye peeble them with stanes'. There were rankling memories of the 'Massacre' of Glencoe, where on February 13, 1692, thirty-eight Highlanders were killed and the rest of the inhabitants driven into the mountains by the soldiery of William III.

Gradually, however, the Union won its way. When the Jacobite rising occurred in 1715 (see p. 440) considerable support was given not merely in the uncultivated Highlands, but in the well-to-do Lowlands. As late as 1736, much ill-feeling was shown against the Government in London, during the Porteous riots. These occurred at Edinburgh. Two smugglers, imprisoned in the Tolbooth, had attempted to escape, but one of them, Andrew Wilson, a stout man, had stuck in the grating, and so prevented the other, George Robertson, from escaping likewise. Next Sunday, when the two prisoners were taken to St. Giles's, to hear the 'condemned sermon', Wilson seized hold of the guard, and shouting 'Run, Geordie, run for your life', gave his companion the chance to flee. Robertson escaped; Wilson was taken back to prison, and then hanged in the Grassmarket on April 14. Some disturbance took place at the execution, and Captain John Porteous of the City Guard gave orders to fire; and some sixteen men and women were killed or wounded. For this act, Porteous himself was condemned to death, but was reprieved. The mob, however, furious with this interference from London, broke into the Tolbooth prison and murdered him. Walpole at first meditated a severe punishment of Edinburgh, but feeling ran very high in Scotland, and the Union itself almost seemed in danger. He therefore contented himself with getting the city fined £1,500 for the benefit of Porteous's widow. In 1745,[1] however, the Lowlanders had learned their lesson. They had found that England was a splendid market for their cloth; and they had experienced the just and mild rule of the Hanoverian Government. Therefore, while the Highlands, even then almost a foreign country

[1] For the history of the Rebellion of 1745, see pp. 468–75.

which had learned nothing and forgotten nothing since the days of Montrose and Dundee, rose to the call of Prince Charlie, the Lowlands did not move. The port of Glasgow was growing great on the profits of the American trade, and was typical of the new Scotland, eager, commercial, staunch in the cause of law and order.

Intellectual life. It was not merely the flesh-pots of the Empire which attracted the Scot. He has never been a mere business man. There was a thriving, keen, intellectual life in the country. The Scottish legal profession has always been dignified and learned ; in the eighteenth century it was great. A fine radiance of mellow wisdom shines in the faces of the old judges whom Sir Henry Raeburn painted, as it does in the face of old Lord Glenalmond in Stevenson's *Weir of Hermiston*. Lord Monboddo, who became a Scots judge in 1767, wrote a book on *Antient Metaphysics* in which he traced the development of men from animals, thus in some degree anticipating the work of Darwin. Lord Mansfield was the younger son of a Scots lord, and became Chief Justice of the King's Bench in England in 1756 ; in this position he gave some of the most notable judgements in the history of English law. Another Scotsman, Thomas Erskine (afterwards Lord Chancellor), was at the end of the eighteenth century easily the leader of the English bar.

In theoretical studies the Scots were equally distinguished. David Hume, who lived from 1711 to 1776, was, after Clarendon, the greatest of the philosophical historians till Gibbon came ; in economics he was only second to Adam Smith ; in ethics and political philosophy he was second to none. It was Hume's *Inquiry concerning the Human Understanding* which Kant said ' woke him from his dogmatic slumber '. And following Hume came the great figure of Adam Smith, whose wholesome influence has made for peace and prosperity wherever sound economics are studied. Adam Smith was a Snell Exhibitioner of Balliol College, who became tutor to the young Duke of Buccleugh, and published *The Wealth of*

Nations in 1776. He showed how the richness of one country does not necessitate the poorness of another, but that, on the contrary, the wealth of nations consists in each doing only what each can best do, and then in mutual exchange of the fruits of their labour. *The Wealth of Nations* is history, economics, philosophy, and romance, none the less romantic because every word of it is true.

In Art Scotland was no whit behind what she achieved in the speculative studies. British portrait-painting reached its highest achievement in the work of Sir Henry Raeburn,[1] whose magnificent men—judges, and lords, chiefs with sword and musket, and soldiers with splendid chargers—equal the majestic pictures of Velasquez or the grave and lofty portraits of Vandyke. Sir David Wilkie's[2] charming pictures of rural life are as justly celebrated as those of Teniers or Van Ostade. The graceful houses, with beautiful ceilings and mantels, which still stand serene in the old squares of Mayfair, were designed by two Scotsmen, the brothers Robert and James Adam, towards the end of the eighteenth century.

In literature progress has been continuous, and all those who were distinguished for learning or speculation wrote with a style which is singularly pure and wholesome. Hume's style is a model, beautiful, clear, impressive. It was at the end of the eighteenth century, however, that the greatest glory was to come when the Ayrshire peasant Robert Burns kindled the lamp of lyric poetry in its purest flame. The flame rose, burned brightly, then died an early death. This rare genius was only thirty-seven when he died, in 1796. He has left a heritage of song which will endure as long as hearts beat and eyes see. There is no purer expression of feeling in the English language than the lyrics *O my luve's like a red red rose*, or *Ye Banks and Braes o' bonnie Doone.* To Burns succeeded Scott, after Shakespeare, the deepest and the widest literary genius of our people. Here, then, on the threshold of the nineteenth century, we may leave the

[1] Raeburn, 1756–1823. [2] Wilkie, 1785–1841.

northern land, which Scott describes so well, with its lairds and its farmers, its Nantie Ewart the smuggler, and its Gifted Gilfillan the ranter; its world of heroes, grave and gay, brave and humorous, idealistic and shrewd. Scott's novels are the Tragedy and Comedy of the old and new Scotland, the complete picture of her life.

CHAPTER XXVIII

INDIA

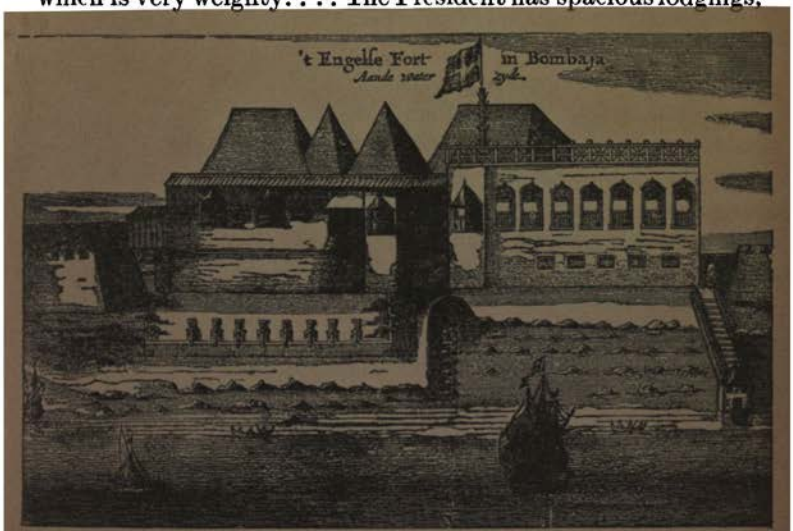
§ 1. The Rise of the British Power

India was not completely unknown to Europe in the Middle Ages, but it was not till Bartholomew Diaz sailed round the Cape of Good Hope in 1487, and Vasco da Gama actually reached India by sea in 1498, that a steady direct traffic became possible. The Portuguese, those daring navigators who ranged the seas in the sixteenth century, were the first European Power to make permanent settlements. The union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal in 1580 was one of the chief causes of the ultimate failure of the Portuguese in their attempt to found an Empire in the East. The Dutch, bold sailors and keen traders, devoted their attention chiefly to the spice trade of the Indian Archipelago, where they succeeded in excluding competition. Their settlements on the mainland of India never were important, and offered little hindrance to their French and English rivals in the seventeenth century.

The Honourable East India Company. The British East India Company was an association of traders, formed in 1600. On the last day of that year Queen Elizabeth gave to certain merchants of London a Royal Charter, which authorized them, and none but them, to trade with India. They began business in a warehouse at Surat (on the Tapti, 160 miles north of Bombay), built on land occupied with the sanction of the local Indian prince. The next hundred years saw their trade and factories increase, but they remained practically

without political power. The Surat settlement is thus described by Dr. John Fryer, an English traveller who visited it in 1673 :

'The house the English live in at Surat, is partly the King's (Moghul's) gift, partly hired ; built of stone and excellent timber, with good carving . . . very strong, for that each floor is half a yard thick at least, of the best plastered cement, which is very weighty. . . . The President has spacious lodgings,



BOMBAY FORT FROM THE SEA, 1720

noble rooms for counsel and entertainment, pleasant tanks, yards, and an hummum [Turkish bath] to wash in. . . .

'Here they live (in shipping time) in a continual hurly-burly, the Banyans [native agents] presenting themselves from the hour of ten till noon ; and then afternoon at four till night as if it were an Exchange in every row ; below stairs the packers and warehouse-keepers, together with merchants bringing and receiving musters [samples], make a mere Billingsgate. . . .

'The whole mass of the Company's servants may be comprehended in these classes, viz. merchants, factors, and writers ; some Bluecoat boys also have been entertained

under notion of apprentices for seven years, which being expired, if they can get security, they are capable of employments. The Writers are obliged to serve five years for £10 per annum, giving in bond of £500 for good behaviour, all which time they serve under some of the fore-mentioned offices. After which they commence Factors . . . and lastly Merchants . . . out of whom are chose chiefs of Factories.' [1]

The Moghul Empire. The Moghul Empire began in 1526 with the conquest of Delhi by Baber, a great Tatar warrior. Under him, and under the ablest of his descendants—Akbar, who was a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, and even under Aurungzebe (when the Moghul Empire began to decline)—India was, to a large extent, a united country. Aurungzebe died in 1707. In the Moghul Empire the great provinces were held by viceroys and governors under the orders of the Emperor at Agra or Delhi.

With the death of Aurungzebe, the Moghul Empire began to fall to pieces: anarchy and confusion spread over India. The viceroys converted themselves into local sovereigns, and as none had any definite right, internecine wars raged intermittently over all the country. In Central India the Mahratta tribes began to create their system of military States, which were usually little more than armies living by plundering the peaceful population: 'the Indian people were becoming a masterless multitude swaying to and fro in the political storm, and clinging to any power, natural or supernatural, that seemed likely to protect them.' It was in this crisis of Indian history, when the native structure of society was dissolving into atoms, that the English East India Company, bereft of the strong protection which the Moghuls had formerly given to it, began to extend its influence from commerce to politics. That its neighbours should be peaceful and orderly was a vital interest of the Company: otherwise its trade could not be carried on and its factories could not exist. Once involved in Indian politics, the Company

[1] Fryer, *A New Account*, &c., ed. Crooke, Hakluyt Society, 1909, vol. i, pp. 214–16.

could neither go back, nor stay still. Order and disorder cannot exist side by side. So as the Moghul system dissolved, the Company's predominance advanced, till the British peace reigned throughout the land.

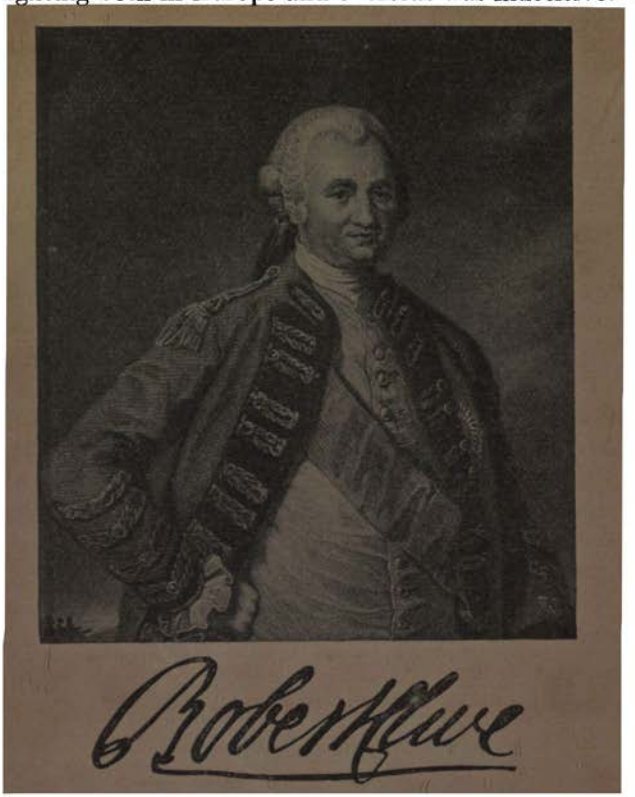
§ 2. Foundation of British India

The British and French Companies. The year 1739 was fateful for three continents. When the over-prosperous and impatient English forced Walpole to declare war on Spain, a struggle for Empire was started between France and Britain, and was continued with brief interruptions for seventy-five years. Europe, India, and North America were the fields of this titanic contest. When the struggle ended at Waterloo France had been made powerless for harm in Europe, and had lost North America, while India had passed almost wholly under British control.

By the year 1739 neither the British nor the French Company had gained much influence in the country. The British held Bombay, Madras, and Fort William near Calcutta. The French held Chandarnagore on the Hooghly, and Pondicherry on the east coast about a hundred miles south of Madras. In 1739 Nadir Shah, the Persian, had invaded India and sacked Delhi. This was the last blow needed to cut the reins of government, still feebly held by the 'Great' Moghul. The Deccan, the southern viceroyalty, became independent under its own 'Nizam', while its eastern province, the Carnatic, assumed practical independence likewise under its 'Nawab'.

The two Companies during the War of the Austrian Succession. When the war with Spain merged into the War of the Austrian Succession, and French and English armies met on the battle-fields of Europe, it was not to be expected that their overseas traders and colonists should remain at peace. In the North American backwoods and on Cape Breton Island they were soon at war. An expedition of New Englanders captured Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton (June 17, 1745). In India fortune went the other way; Labourdonnais,

the governor of Mauritius, came with a squadron of ships and captured Madras. It was in Europe, however, that the fate of India and of the North American colonies was settled. The fighting both in Europe and overseas was indecisive. At



the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) Louisbourg was exchanged for Madras, and France and England were for a moment at peace officially.

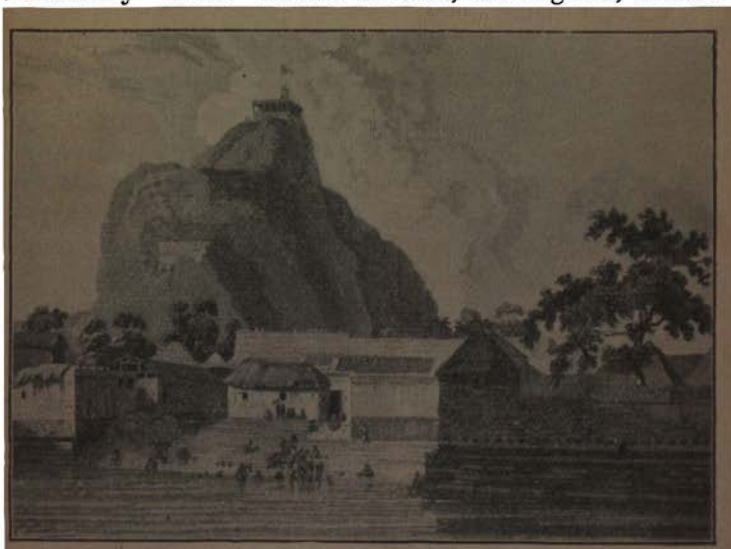
The War of the Coromandel. In India, however, there was no peace. In the Carnatic—the south-eastern or 'Coromandel' coast of the Deccan—two claimants arose for the Nawab's throne. One was called Mohammed Ali, the other,

Chunda Sahib. The French Governor-General of Pondicherry, Joseph, Marquis Dupleix,[1] saw that by supporting one claimant he might gain for France a paramount position in the Carnatic, and might expel the English. He found that the assistance of one or two thousand trained French troops would decide any native battle. So he intervened in the War of the Coromandel (or Carnatic) on the side of Chunda Sahib. The English Company, threatened with destruction (for Dupleix was undermining their influence on every hand) allied themselves with Mohammed Ali. Thus began the action of the English on Indian politics. It was in this unofficial War of the Coromandel that Robert Clive first showed his genius, as may be read in the sober history of Orme, or the more glowing pages of Macaulay's essay.

Clive. Robert Clive was born at Market Drayton in Shropshire on September 29, 1725. His father was a small landed proprietor of an old but undistinguished family. Robert was sent to school at the Merchant Taylors' and Hemel Hempstead and proved 'out of measure addicted to fighting'. When he was eighteen, his family procured for him the post of a 'writer' in the East India Company's service. In 1743 the Company was still only a trading body; and the duties of its writers were purely mercantile—checking invoices, arranging the advances of money to weavers, or to Indian merchants, and, generally, looking after the year's 'investment' of the Company's funds. The young officials were boarded in the 'Writers' Buildings' at Madras; their accommodation was poor, and their pay—about £80 a year—was scarcely able to provide them with clothing and the ordinary comforts necessary in India. Clive's harsh and melancholy nature would have withered under that system, had he not found some solace and refreshment in reading. The Governor had a library and allowed Clive the use of it.

[1] There is a touching and informing account of the career of Dupleix by the descendant of one of his fellow sufferers, Lally Tollendal, in the *Biographie Universelle* (Paris, 1819).

With Clive, however, any life but a life of action was insupportable. When the War of the Austrian Succession sent ripples of battle from Europe over the Indian Ocean, Clive obtained a temporary commission in the Company's forces, and soon distinguished himself by his physical courage, as well as by his enthusiasm and resourcefulness. The melancholy 'writer' became an alert, clear-sighted, decided



VIEW IN THE FORT OF TRICHINOPOLY

soldier. After the Peace of 1748 he had to go back to the desk again, but soon volunteered for the War of the Coromandel. He was given a Company. At this moment (1751) Dupleix was carrying all before him in the Carnatic. The English candidate for the Nawab's throne—Mohammed Ali—was besieged in Trichinopoly by Chunda Sahib and the French. Clive, however, made a dash at Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, seized it and then held it against all comers. The Sepoys, or Indian soldiers trained in European fashion, who formed this small garrison under Clive, recognized in

him a leader of men ; they endured privation with the simple determination of heroes, and the assaults of the enemy were of no effect. Orme tells how, when food ran short, they offered their rice to Clive and the English soldiers, saying they themselves could live and fight on the water it was boiled in. Against such a spirit, the numbers of Chunda Sahib, the subtle genius of Dupleix, could not prevail. The siege was raised after fifty-three days. The defence of Arcot, in the judgement of the historian, Colonel Malleson, was 'the turning-point in the Eastern career of the English'. Soon the cause of Mohammed Ali triumphed everywhere. The English Company obtained the lead in the Carnatic, and Dupleix was recalled to France. The Seven Years' War ruined his property in India, and he died in poverty in 1763.

The Conquest of Bengal. After a period spent in England, Clive returned to India in 1755 as Lieutenant-Governor of Fort St. David near Madras. Next year Surajah Dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal, a young man about twenty-eight years of age and of dissolute character, descended upon the factory of the Company at Calcutta, and captured the inmates after a brief siege. 'Then was committed that great crime, equally memorable for its singular atrocity, and for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed.'[1] One hundred and forty-six British prisoners were put into a cell which was only twenty feet square. Packed together in this narrow chamber, they suffered awful agonies from thirst and heat, through the summer night. Many lost their self-control and fought like madmen, while their jailors laughed at them through the window-bars. 'At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and moanings.'[2] Only twenty-three of the prisoners survived the horrors of that night (June 21, 1756).

The news of the capture of Calcutta and of the tragedy of the Black Hole reached Madras in August. After two months' delay the Madras Government got together a force of nine hundred English soldiers and fifteen hundred sepoys under

[1] Macaulay, *Essay on Clive*. [2] Ibid.

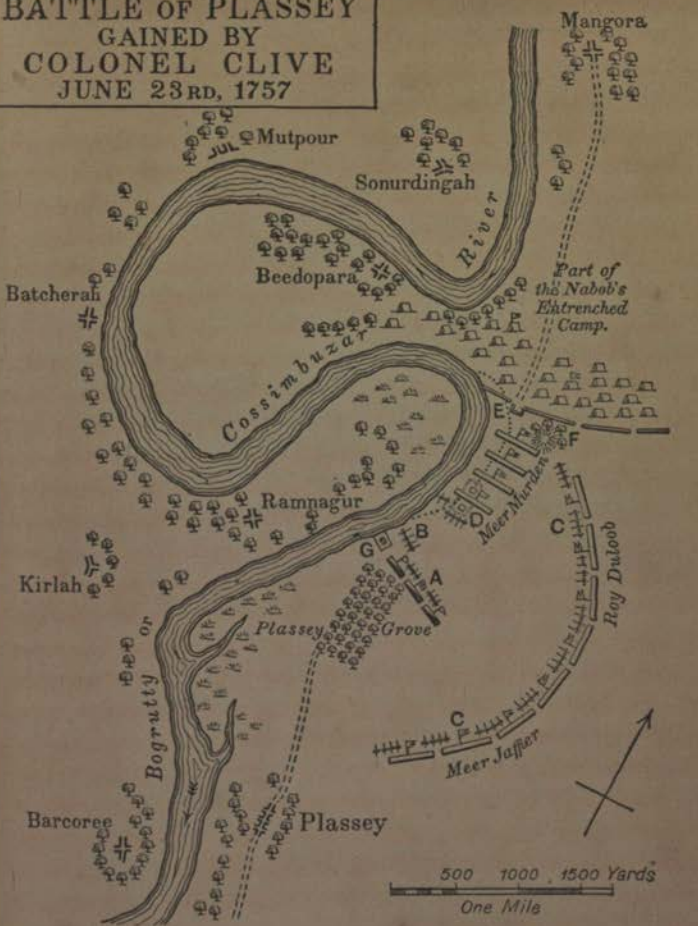
the command of Clive, 'to punish a prince who had more subjects than Lewis the Fifteenth or the Empress Maria Theresa'.[1] A squadron commanded by Admiral Watson conveyed the expeditionary force to the Hooghly. Some time was spent in negotiations until hostilities were brought on by an ultimatum from Clive. The two armies drew near each other on June 23 (1757) at Plassey. Clive's force, even with all its reinforcements, numbered only about 3,000 men, of whom nearly 1,000 were English. The Nawab had about 50,000 foot and 18,000 cavalry, with 50 heavy guns directed by French officers. The story, although of doubtful authenticity, is well known, how Clive held a Council of War, the only one he ever consulted; how the Council gave its advice for a retreat; and how Clive sat down in the shade of some trees by the camp, to turn the subject over in his mind. At the end of an hour, he is said to have arisen strengthened and refreshed, with the fixed determination of fighting a battle. Such is Orme's account of the decision to which the existence of British India is due.

The battle of Plassey lasted from daybreak until about four o'clock in the afternoon. The Nawab's troops were badly led, and dejected in spirit. Several of his highest officers had treacherously come to an understanding with the enemy. At first, indeed, they gave no open help to Clive, but when his determined attack began to spread confusion among the Nawab's troops, they began to withdraw their contingents. The defection of Mir J'afar completed the discomfiture of Surajah Dowlah's army, and Clive held the field with the loss of only twenty-two soldiers killed. The Nawab fled, and Mir J'afar was placed by Clive on the vacant throne. Some time afterwards Surajah Dowlah was caught and hacked to death by the men of the new Nawab. In February 1760 Clive sailed for home.

Before the Seven Years' War was far advanced in Europe, the French Government made a vigorous effort to conquer

[1] Macaulay, *Essay on Clive.*

BATTLE OF PLASSEY
GAINED BY
COLONEL CLIVE
JUNE 23RD, 1757



A. *Position of the* British Army *at* 9 *in the Morning.*

B. *Four guns advanced to check the fire of the* French Party *at the tank* D.

C. *The* Nabob's Army.

D. *A Tank from whence the French Party cannonaded till* 3 *in the Afternoon, when part of the* British Army *took Post there, and the Enemy retired within their Entrenched Camp.*

E & F. *A Redoubt and mound taken by Assault at* ½ *past* 4, *and which completed the Victory.*

G. *The Nabob's Hunting House. The dotted line* BE *shows the encroachment of the River since the Battle.*

the English power in India. A distinguished officer of Irish descent in the French service, the Count de Lally Tollendal, was sent to Pondicherry, with a well-supplied force. He is described by a contemporary as a man of 'a savage ferocity', and 'a contempt for every person that moves in a sphere below that of a general'. Lally's attack upon the English in Madras in 1758 was foiled by the splendid defence of Colonel Stringer Lawrence; and in 1760 he was signally defeated by Colonel Eyre Coote at Wandiwash. After sustaining a long siege in Pondicherry with the utmost heroism (May 1760 to January 1761), Lally was taken prisoner by the English forces. He was sent back to France in 1763 at the close of the Seven Years' War, and, after two and a half years' confinement in the Bastille, was most unjustly executed as a traitor.

The military history of British India is the story of great things done by small bodies of soldiers led by officers who, unknown though many of them remain, showed the most heroic qualities in courage, endurance, self-sacrifice, and devotion to duty. In September 1764, shortly after the establishing of the British power in Bengal, the Nawab of Oudh, supported by the Emperor of Delhi, and the Nawab of Bengal who had turned against the English, came with a large army against the Company. They were met by Major Hector Munro at Buxar on the Ganges; Munro had 7,072 men (857 being European) against about 50,000. The fight lasted from nine in the morning till noon, and then the enemy broke and fled. 'The victory, which was absolutely decisive, completed the work of Plassey.'[1] The Emperor of Delhi accepted British protection. The Nawab of Bengal ceased to have any power in the country. Oudh next year (1765) entered into alliance with the Company, and remained henceforward most closely connected with the British 'Raj'.

The Government of Bengal. When Clive quitted India for the second time, in 1760, he left the Company in the possession of power without responsibility. It controlled Bengal

[1] Vincent Smith, *The Oxford History of India* (1919), p. 501.

through the Nawab, but was still only a trading corporation. The agents of the Company, poorly paid, were permitted to make the bulk of their income by trading on their own account. They could exercise power through the nominal government of the Nawab, and yet had none of the responsibility attaching to officials in a regular civil service. It is to this period that the abuses belong, from which at other times the British administrators in India have been free.

In 1763 Clive, now Baron Clive of Plassey, returned to Bengal as Governor, and at once took the steps necessary to produce honourable dealing by the British agents in India: he absolutely forbade the officials of the Company to engage in trade on their own account; and (so that no excuse for private trading should be left to them) he increased their salaries by using the proceeds of the salt monopoly for this purpose. At the same time he obtained a grant from the Moghul Emperor at Delhi, to allow the Company to collect all the revenues of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa; and, as compensation, he arranged that the Company should pay to the Nawab a fixed annual sum. The Nawab thus became merely a wealthy pensioner, and passes out of history. The East India Company from that time was forced to take up the work of political administration. Henceforth its functions were of two kinds; firstly, to manage the export trade of India; and secondly, to administer the country. The second function soon became the more important and in the end superseded the other.

From Clive's first visit to India (1743), says Macaulay, dates the renown of the English arms in the East. From his second visit (1755) dates the political ascendancy of the English. From his third visit (1765) dates the purity of the administration of our Eastern Empire.

The crisis in British India. When Warren Hastings, the most able official in the Company's service, was made Governor of Bengal in 1772, two things in particular had to be done: the attacks of formidable Indian Powers had to be met; and

a regular civil administration had to be created out of an organization which had been constructed simply for trading purposes. These two things Warren Hastings, amid incredible difficulties, successfully accomplished.

There have been three especially severe crises in the history of British India; one in the time of Warren Hastings, between 1772 and 1783; one in the time of the Marquess Wellesley, between 1800 and 1805; the third in 1857 was the Mutiny. In the Mutiny, however, the final result was never in doubt, although the personal fate of the British residents in India at the moment was at stake. In the time of Wellesley, too, it was not so much the existence of British India as the extent of it which had to be fought for; but in the time of Warren Hastings it was nothing more nor less than the existence of British India which was in jeopardy. The Company's military and administrative power was still weak; while the Mahratta Confederation and Haidar Ali of Mysore might, with a lesser man than Warren Hastings in India, have swept the English into the sea.

The Mahrattas. The Mahrattas were all supposed to be under a nominal sovereign called the Raja of Satara, who was indeed little better than a prisoner. The Raja's Prime Minister, the Peshwa, had become practically sovereign at Poona, and had in fact founded a regular dynasty of hereditary Prime Ministers. On the outskirts of the Peshwa's State, other Mahratta States were being founded, like those of Sindia and Holkar.

The Mahratta soldiers lived by levying plunder or taxation on the countries they had conquered, or on their neighbours. The Mahratta warrior did no peaceful work; in general, a musket, a lance, and a horse were his only property. To maintain their military hordes, the Mahratta chiefs made regular incursions into the provinces of Central India, and levied blackmail on the peaceful inhabitants. A number of clever Brahman officials kept the accounts at Poona, and gave some sort of semblance of civil administration to this very

loose State or confederation of military chiefs. Such a plundering State was bound, of course, to come into collision with the Company, whose interest was commerce and the suppression of violence and robbery.

The Mahratta War. The First Mahratta War began with a rash and unauthorized act of the Administration of the Bombay Presidency. The authority of the Governor-General of Bengal over the other Presidencies was then vague and not clearly recognized. In 1774 the Bombay officials, without consulting Bengal, espoused the cause of a Mahratta pretender to the Peshwa-ship. They dispatched a military force against Poona. The Mahrattas met it at the battle of Arras in Gujarat; victory remained with the British only at a very heavy cost (1775). Some complicated negotiations followed, Hastings at this time being involved in a serious quarrel with his council in Bengal. When he recovered power, he retrieved the British reputation in Central India by sending Colonel Goddard with a force of 6,000 fighting men right across from Bengal to Bombay. This march, admirably conducted, was followed in the beginning of the next year (1779) by the capture of Ahmadabad by Goddard; but the most brilliant exploit was the capture of Gwalior (one of the finest fortresses, natural and artificial, in India) by Major Popham (August 1780). This operation was carried out at

WARREN HASTINGS AS A YOUNG MAN

night, without the loss of a single man; the news of it went like magic throughout India. In 1782 the Treaty of Salbai was concluded with the Mahrattas. They were not forced to accept the pretender to the Peshwa-ship, and Bombay was gratified by the cession of the little island of Salsette.

The Mysore War. It was not the Mahratta War alone which threatened the existence of the British in India; it was combined with a war against Haidar Ali of Mysore. Haidar

THE FORT OF GWALIOR FROM THE NORTH-WEST

Ali, who was born in 1722, had started his active career as an officer in the service of the old Hindu dynasty of Mysore. Becoming a successful general, he had gradually got all the power of the Mysore State into his own hands, and had then displaced the old dynasty. Haidar, an able and energetic soldier, was a man of shrewd, penetrating mind. Colonel Wilks, who was Resident at Mysore from 1803 to 1808, and the author of an old-fashioned and most interesting history of Mysore, gives many instances of Haidar's shrewd sayings. One of the finest is: 'The defeat of many Brathwaites and Baillies will not destroy them [the English]. I can ruin

their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea.' So said Haidar on his death-bed. He had won a notable victory over a British force under Colonel Baillie, and another over Colonel Brathwaite (whose contingent was destroyed); but Haidar knew that the sea was Britain's, and that as long as this was so, she was invincible. Able and shrewd as he was, tolerant too, in religion (he was a Mussulman himself), he was no better than a brute when his passions were roused.

HAIDAR ALI

He punished one of his Prime Ministers, Kandē Rās, by imprisonment for life in a cage.

The great menace to the existence of the British in India came after 1777. In that year General Burgoyne capitulated to the American General Gates at Saratoga Springs in the colony of New York. The war in America turned against England, and France immediately joined the insurgents. It was not to America only, however, that her fleets and soldiers were sent; French officers came to India to rouse the princes against the Company, and a fleet under France's best admiral appeared in the Indian Ocean. Hard pressed on land, in

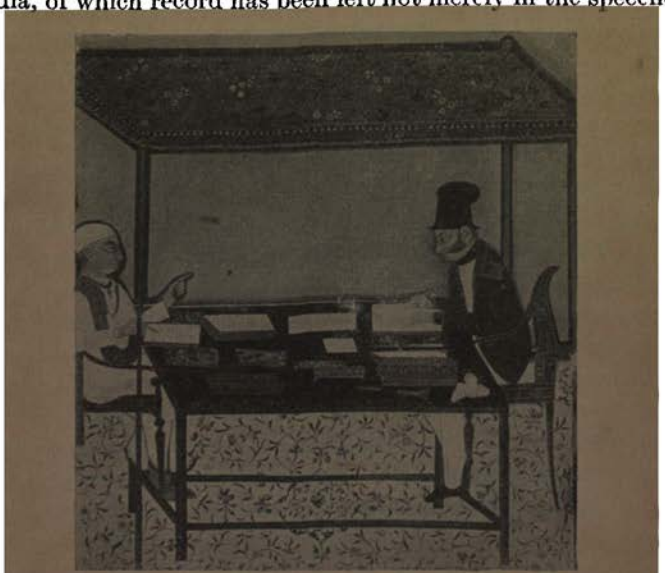
danger of losing communication by sea, Warren Hastings may indeed be said to have had his ' back to the wall '.

In 1780 Haidar descended upon the Carnatic with 80,000 men, among whom were a number of capable French officers. General Munro, the hero of Buxar, had now lost all energy, and allowed a body of 3,700 Company troops under Colonel Baillie to be isolated and cut down near Conjeveram. The Madras authorities miserably failed to deal with the awful invasion, and the weight of all the duties which other people should have performed fell upon Hastings. Harassed with overwork, in straits for money, men, and supplies, he got together a small army, and sent it, poorly supplied with transport and equipment, under Eyre Coote to Madras. For months the veteran general, who was often too ill to ride on horseback, waged a war of defence against Haidar. On July 1, 1781, he got the chance of a decisive fight at Porto Novo on the Madras coast. Haidar was defeated with the loss of 10,000 men. Another battle at Pollilore completed the defeat of the Mysore forces; Madras was saved, and, with it, India.

Hughes and Suffren. Meanwhile Admiral Pierre André, Bailli de Suffren, had been waging an honourable fight for command of the sea with Sir Edward Hughes, the English admiral. Suffren was a fine sailor, and his squadron was the most powerful which France had equipped for the East Indies. Hughes, although not brilliant, was sound, capable, and determined. He could not destroy Suffren's fleet, but, in five separate actions severely handled the French, and kept his own fleet in being. Suffren nearly starved Madras, which began to suffer from actual famine; and yet he could not wrest command of the sea from the unbeaten Hughes, whose flag was still flying at the end of the war. These operations, although not on the grand scale of European warfare, were so important in the world-wide struggle for command of the sea that the naval historian Mahan devotes a whole chapter to them in his *Influence of Sea Power upon History*.

Haidar died in December 1782. Next year the French and English made peace (Treaty of Versailles, 1783); India was saved for the British, though the American colonies were lost.

The Regulating Act. It was during the period of Warren Hastings that Parliament began to take the keen interest in India, of which record has been left not merely in the speeches



AN EARLY ENGLISH TRAVELLER. An Indian Portrait

of Burke and the two famous essays of Macaulay, but also in the Reports of Select Committees of the House of Commons. The work of Select Committees in general has a great and deserved reputation in English history, and the Reports on Indian affairs are no exception. The Fifth Report (published in 1812) is full of sound judgement and is a priceless mine of information on the social, judicial, and financial life of India in the time of Warren Hastings and Cornwallis.

Macaulay says that the attention of Parliament was directed to Indian affairs by the sight of men returning from that

country with stupendous fortunes. These were the so-called **nabobs,** so often represented in literature as being peppery, liverish, vulgar, and incredibly rich, East India traders or officials. Whatever the reason, Parliament, when Lord North was Prime Minister, did become most attentive to Indian affairs; and in 1772 two Select Committees were appointed to inquire into the condition of the Company and of British affairs in the East. The Government too became interested, and no wonder, as it was receiving £400,000 a year from the Company, a tribute used to lighten the expenses of the English taxpayer. This tribute, it must be noted, was only paid from 1765 to 1770, the year of the great famine in Bengal, when it stopped and has never been renewed.

Till 1773 the East India Company had no Parliamentary title. Its charter had been renewed from time to time by the Crown, with which the Company negotiated as one great Corporation with another. In 1773, however, Lord North's Ministry renewed the Company's charter by Act of Parliament, and changed its Constitution, thus affirming the right of Parliament to control all the British possessions in India. This Act—Lord North's Regulating Act, as it is generally called—is the basis of the Constitution of British India to-day. It established a Governor-General of Bengal with four councillors. The Governor-General was to have £25,000 a year, the councillors £10,000 each, and they were forbidden to trade or to receive presents. A Supreme Court of Judicature was also established, with a Chief Justice, on a salary of £8,000 a year, and three Judges with £6,000 a year each. The Act thus aimed at getting well-paid officials, who should give their whole time to their work, without fear or favour. The Bengal Presidency was declared to have supremacy over the other two Presidencies. The defects of the Act lay in not defining what this supremacy meant; and also in putting the Governor-General in a weak position in his Council, for he had only one vote, like the other councillors, with a casting vote when they were equally divided. Thus the strong man

in a turbulent land might have his hands tied, as Warren Hastings's were tied, by factious colleagues. Not till 1780, when the most troublesome member of his Council, Philip Francis, retired to England after fighting a duel with Hastings, did the Governor-General have peace in his Council.

The work of Warren Hastings was not merely to save British India from being overwhelmed by the Mahrattas and Haidar Ali. He also gave the country, in so far as it came under British rule, something like a regular administration. The Company, in the words of the Fifth Report, had resolved '*to stand forth as Diwan*'—that is, to become the collector of revenue in Bengal, but it had no real control over the expenditure. Hastings remedied this; he transferred the revenue affairs from the old Mohammadan capital at Murshidabad to Calcutta, which thus became the capital of British India till 1912, when Delhi took its place. The careful, efficient, all-pervading administration, which impresses all visitors to India, really began with Hastings; but in his time a vast amount of the work fell on his shoulders alone. He worked long, all day and every day, only leaving Calcutta, even at the worst seasons, on official business. He learned Bengali, Persian, and Urdu, in order to understand the people he governed. He encouraged travel, learning, and education. He was fearless, honest, lofty, a great man, worthy of the English name.

Macaulay's Essays. Macaulay's two essays on Indian History—*Clive* and *Warren Hastings*—are splendid works, which cast a brilliant light over a country too little known to Englishmen. Too easily, however, he accepted the charges against Hastings, which are chiefly four—the Rohilla War, the trial of Nundkomar, the affair of Chait Singh, and the fining of the Begams of Oudh.

The Rohilla War. The Rohillas were an Afghan tribe who had occupied for a few years the country on the north of Oudh between the Upper Ganges and the Himalayas. In order to preserve their territory from Mahratta invasions, they had made a defensive treaty with the Nawab Vizir

of Oudh, agreeing to pay a subsidy in return for military help (1772). In 1773 the Mahrattas invaded Rohilcund, and the army of Oudh threatened war with them on behalf of the Rohillas. The Mahrattas were forced to withdraw, but the Rohillas, although they had thus been saved, refused to pay the subsidy for the assistance received. The Nawab asked Hastings, in accordance with treaty engagements, to co-operate in compelling the Rohillas to keep their bargain. Hastings accordingly lent an English brigade, and in 1774 Rohilcund was invaded; the Rohillas resisted with the utmost courage, but were defeated and their land was annexed to Oudh. The result was to give Oudh, the ally of the English, a safe frontier on the north. It is, however, a matter of deep regret that this was done by shedding the blood of the Rohillas and by taking away their independence, although by their bad faith they had brought their fate upon themselves. Macaulay's impassioned description of the devastation of Rohilcund is not borne out by the facts.

Nundkomar. Macaulay next makes a severe charge against Hastings for the trial and execution of Nundkomar. The truth is simply that Nundkomar, a Brahman of bad character, had forged a letter to show that Hastings took bribes. It was not for this forgery, however, that he was tried in the Supreme Court under the Presidency of Sir Elijah Impey, but on a charge brought by a private person, arising out of an old law-suit. This had no connexion whatever with Hastings. Nundkomar was given a very fair trial for eight days (June 9–16, 1776). In the height of the Calcutta summer, the jury and judges sat from 8 a.m. till late at night; in the end Nundkomar was clearly convicted of forgery by the jury; and execution followed inevitably on the verdict. Everything goes to show that Impey was a just, laborious judge. British India owes to him, among other things, the compiling of a code of law.

Chait Singh. Chait Singh, Raja of Benares, was a great landowner in a high feudal position, but was not a sovereign prince. In 1778 and in 1779 Hastings made him pay

two special contributions of about £50,000 each to help towards meeting the heavy expenditure incurred during the Mahratta War. In 1780 the Raja refused to pay any more, and revolted. The revolt was quelled, and a new Raja was put in Chait Singh's place. There is no doubt that the Company was justified in asking for special war-contributions from the Raja, and the amount asked for is said by competent authorities not to have been excessive.

The Manny Begams. The Nawab Vizir of Oudh received the support of a brigade of the Company's troops to guard his territories. In return he was supposed to pay a subsidy, which, however, was frequently in arrear. In 1781, the Mahratta and Mysore Wars having made a great drain on the Company's revenue, Hastings told the Nawab Vizir to get some of the required money from the royal treasure which had been left in the hands of his mother and grandmother, who were known as the Begams (princesses) of Oudh. It appears that some violence was used on the Begams' servants to make them produce the treasure. Hastings may be censurable in allowing the Nawab Vizir to employ such means as he chose, but the amount of violence used must have been slight, for the Begams and their eunuchs bore Hastings no ill will afterwards.

After Hastings retired from the position of Governor-General in 1785, he was impeached in Parliament for certain of his acts done in India. The trial lasted from 1788 to 1795, and in the end he was acquitted. The great pro-consul lived meanwhile the quiet and dignified life of a country gentleman, on the small estate of Daylesford in the Cotswolds, which as a boy he had dreamed of buying back for his family. He died at Daylesford, on August 22, 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

§ 3. Cornwallis and Wellesley

Pitt's India Act. Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773, while establishing the principle that Parliament was supreme

over the Company and its territories, had set up no permanent organ of the Imperial Government to control India. In 1784, however, Pitt had a Bill passed through Parliament, establishing a *President and Commissioners for the Affairs of India*. The Commissioners—commonly known as the Board of Control—scarcely ever met, but the President of the Board, who was always a Cabinet Minister, became the London head of British India. When the Company was abolished in 1858 the President of the Board of Control was replaced by the Secretary of State for India.

TIPPU SULTAN

Lord Cornwallis. In 1786 Charles Cornwallis, 2nd Earl Cornwallis, went to India as Governor-General, and is thus the first of the long series of distinguished noblemen who have governed the Dependency. Except Warren Hastings, Sir John Shore, and Sir John Lawrence, no commoner, no member of the Civil Service, has been Governor-General, unless for brief periods to fill an unexpectedly vacant period between one nobleman Governor-General and another.

Cornwallis was nearly 48 years old when he went to India. Till then he was known only as a soldier, having fought well in the American War; after many successes he had been forced to capitulate at Yorktown in 1781—a disaster which practically ended the war. He was a man of perfect physical and moral courage; and in India, as throughout his career, was conscientious, honourable, laborious, and self-sacrificing.

One of the first things he did on becoming Governor-General was to insist that the Civil Servants should be adequately paid, and should be at the same time absolutely forbidden to make money in any other way. The modern type of Indian Civil Servant, well-trained, well paid, and efficient, may be said to date from this time.

In spite of his honest desire for peace, Cornwallis was forced, in consequence of the invasion of our ally Travancore by Tippu Sultan, son of Haidar Ali, to make war on Mysore. Want of supplies prevented him from besieging Seringapatam, but he signally defeated the Mysore army, and deprived

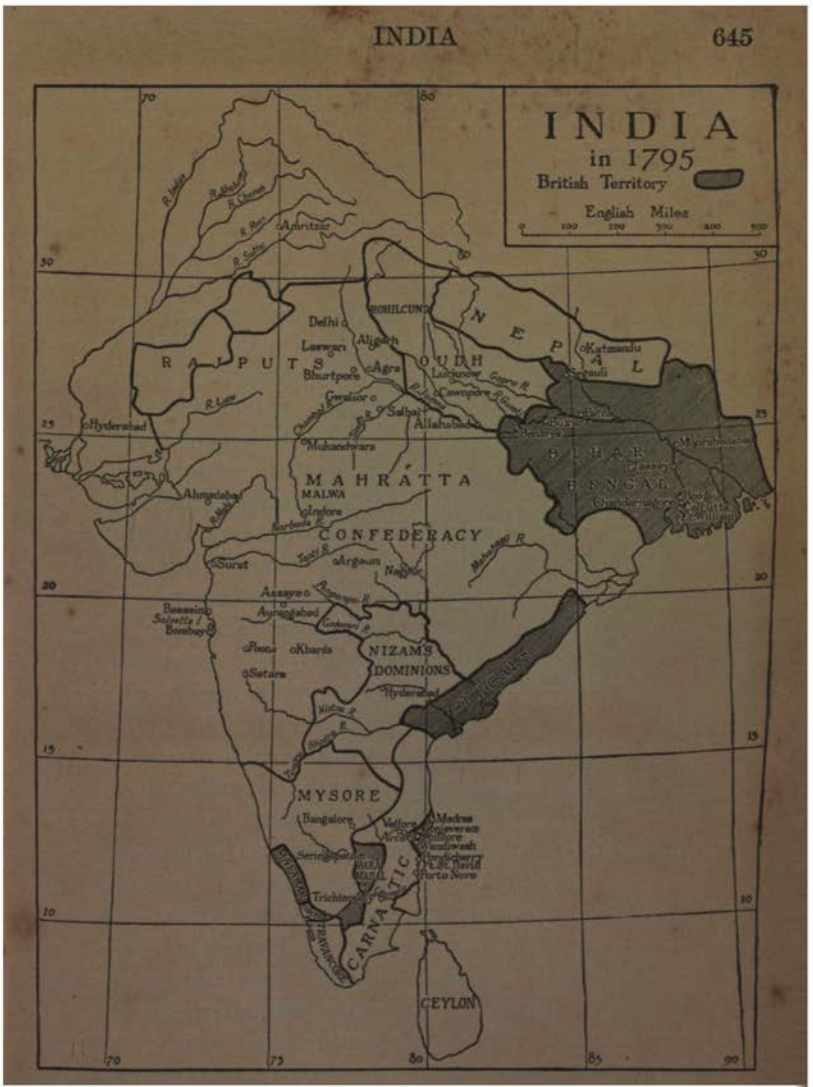
NORTH-EAST VIEW OF SERINGAPATAM

Tippu of half his dominions (1792). It is for his land policy, however, that Cornwallis is chiefly remembered.

Permanent Settlement. The revenue of the State in India—whether of the Moghul Empire, of the British 'Raj', or of the many native States—has always rested chiefly on the land. Land was formerly regarded as belonging to the State, although occupied and cultivated by peasants who were not disturbed so long as they paid their tax. This tax was generally about one-fourth of the produce, sometimes more; and it was the only form of rent which existed in India. The Moghul's officials valued each peasant's land at a certain sum, and took a certain proportion of this value every year. A fresh valuation was made from time to time, after five, ten, or even fifty or seventy years. To save trouble substantial local

people were employed to collect the revenue and allowed to keep 2½ per cent. of it for themselves. These local collectors were called zemindars.

When the East India Company stood forth as Diwan', it inherited the Moghul system of land-revenue in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Warren Hastings had a summary valuation made of the land-holdings, to last for five years. To value the holdings fairly was a work of extreme difficulty and complexity; naturally conditions changed every few years—some land might become more valuable, some less. Cornwallis, when he came to deal with the matter, proposed two things: firstly, to treat the zemindars as the proprietors or landlords of the areas in which they had collected the land-revenue; and secondly, to value all the holdings for taxation once and for all. Sir John Shore, one of the ablest of the Company's Civil Servants and afterwards Governor-General from 1795 to 1798, pointed out the unreasonableness of making a hasty *permanent* settlement, but Cornwallis, supported by the British ministry, had made up his mind. He thought that the landholders—both zemindars and peasants—would be induced to spend money and labour on improving their land all the more if they knew that the increased yield would go to themselves and not to the State treasury. So the Permanent Settlement was made (1793). The land was necessarily valued at a low figure, because the famine of 1770 and other causes had temporarily reduced its value. The zemindars became a class of wealthy proprietors paying a comparatively small fixed rent to the State, with a permanent and legal hold on the land, but it is only in comparatively recent years that the customary rights of the peasant cultivators have been properly secured. The State has been deprived of much revenue, which it ought to get from the increasing value of the land, but which instead it must make up from other sources. The mistake of the Permanent Settlement has been generally recognized and has not been repeated in any other province.



Sir John Shore. Lord Cornwallis left India in October 1795 with the reputation of being a straightforward, hard-working, high-minded public servant. He was succeeded by Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth), a distinguished Indian

Civil Servant, although not a success as Governor-General. The Company was under a moral obligation to support the Nizam of Hyderabad, yet Shore allowed him to be attacked and defeated by the Mahrattas at the battle of Kharda in 1795. Shore had honestly convinced himself that the words of the treaty with Hyderabad did not absolutely bind him to take sides in this instance. Nevertheless, he would have done better had he given the Nizam the benefit of the doubt and shown the generosity as well as the strength of Britain. The next Governor-General had to pay for Shore's mistake by meeting an over-strong Mahratta confederation.

The Marquess Wellesley. Richard Colley Wellesley was born at Dangan Castle, County Meath, on June 20, 1760. His father Garret, second Baron Mornington in the peerage of Ireland, died at the age of 46; his mother, a daughter of Arthur Hill Trevor, Lord Dungannon, lived to be ninety, and to see four out of her six sons become famous servants of the State—Richard, who became Marquess Wellesley, Arthur Duke of Wellington, Henry Lord Cowley (Ambassador at Paris), and William Baron Maryborough (Chief Secretary of Ireland).

All the Wellesley boys went to Eton. Richard started at Harrow, but was withdrawn after taking part in the barring out of the new head master, Mr. Heath. So from Harrow he went to Eton, where a beautiful portrait of him as a boy, by Romney, is still to be seen in the Provost's Lodgings. In 1778 Wellesley went into residence at Christ Church, Oxford. There he won the Chancellor's prize for Latin Verse, and became a Student (the Christ Church equivalent for Fellow) of the House. He was a brilliant classical scholar, and all through life read with close attention the Latin and Greek writers; their influence on his style may be clearly seen in his elaborate splendidly written dispatches. Before going to India as Governor-General in 1798, he had studied Eastern affairs for years; no one ever went to a great position with a better intellectual equipment than did Wellesley. His big

ideas, his enthusiasm, his extraordinary industry, made him an exceptional man in every way. He was noble, dignified, and somewhat haughty; his high manner, especially his rather contemptuous treatment of the East India Company directors, frequently caused offence, but no one could deny that he was a great statesman and a magnificent Governor-General.

THE MARQUESS WELLESLEY

Wellesley's work in India may be summarized under three heads: the extension of the Company's political influence by means of *subsidiary alliances*; the overthrow of Sultan Tippu's cruel and aggressive government at Mysore; and the shattering of the Mahratta Confederacy.

The Subsidiary Alliances. The British power in India, and the existence of peace and quietness over the whole land, depend partly upon the direct administration of the Crown, and partly on a series of treaties concluded with some hundreds of native princes and rulers. Such treaties existed before the time of Wellesley, who extended and improved the system. His method was to make a defensive treaty with a powerful Indian prince, to give him the support of a certain number of trained soldiers under British officers, and to receive in return just so much territory as would supply enough revenue to support the regiment or brigade. Such subsidiary treaties he made with Oudh, the large native State which covered the northern

frontier of Bengal; with Hyderabad, which he brought back into the Company's close alliance after Shore's unfortunate neglect of it; with Mysore after he had overthrown Tippu and restored the old dynasty; and, finally, with the premier Mahratta power, the Peshwa of Poona, after the defeat of the Mahrattas at Assaye. This system of subsidiary alliances helped to spread peace over the whole peninsula. The objection to it was that it took away from each allied native prince the responsibility of securing his own peace and order. To-day the system has been improved; the Native Rulers have their own military contingents and manage their own police, with the advice of a British Resident.

Mysore, 1799. Haidar Ali's son Tippu, who succeeded his father in December 1782, hated the English, and was determined to have no peace with them. He entered into an alliance with the French Republic, which was at this time engaged in war with England, and received French officers into his army; in 1792, however, he was defeated by Cornwallis (p. 643). Wellesley demanded that he should dismiss these officers, and on Tippu's refusal sent an army into Mysore. Seringapatam was stormed, and Tippu, fighting bravely at a gate of the town, was killed. Some of the Mysore territory was given to the Nizam, some was annexed to the British dominion, and the rest was restored to the old Hindu dynasty which Haidar Ali had dispossessed.

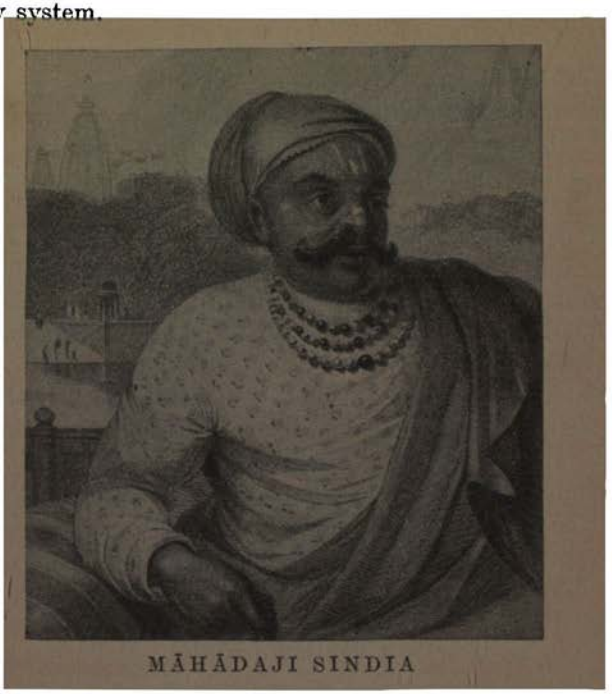
The Mahrattas. The Mahrattas were still the leading power in Central India, and if they had remained quiet no one would have disturbed them there. Unfortunately the Mahratta social and political system did not permit of this, for they lived only by plunder and the levy of blackmail upon their neighbours. It was Wellesley's object to induce the Mahratta States to enter into subsidiary treaties with the Company, so that they should receive a British garrison and give up their predatory habits. The premier Mahratta State still had its centre at Poona under the Peshwa. The other two chief Mahratta States were Sindia's, with its capital at Gwalior,

and Holkar's, with its capital at Indore. These States had no fixed boundaries. In 1802 Holkar and the Peshwa quarrelled; a battle took place outside Poona, and Holkar's irregular horse swept the Poona battalions off the field. The Peshwa fled to Bombay for protection, and was glad to sign a subsidiary treaty, the famous Treaty of Bassein, December 31, 1802. A British force was stationed within his territory, and a British adviser guided his affairs. It is from the Treaty of Bassein that the substantial supremacy of the British over India may be dated.

Sindia, however, was not going tamely to see the British gain control of all Central India. He had a fine army of about 50,000 men, well trained by regular French officers whom he had taken into his service. He had actually occupied Delhi and kept the 'pageant' Moghul emperor for his own purposes. Together with the Raja of Nagpore, another formidable Mahratta chief, Sindia, was threatening the frontier of the Nizam of Hyderabad, when General Arthur Wellesley, the Marquess Wellesley's famous brother, told the Mahratta chiefs that they must retire. Their refusal brought about a swift campaign, concluded by the victory of Assaye (September 1803) over Sindia, and of Argaum (November) over the Nagpore Raja. Meanwhile, farther north, General Lake was advancing on the contingents of Sindia which were defending Delhi. In November, at Aligarh and Laswari, he defeated them in hard-fought actions, in which the Mahrattas displayed all their best fighting qualities. Delhi was taken; the Moghul emperor was brought under the control of the British again; Sindia was made to cede his fortresses and to give his adhesion to the Treaty of Bassein.

Holkar, who more than any other chief had kept up the ancient predatory ways, and the swift irregular fighting methods of the Mahrattas, was still defiant. He was very difficult to bring to bay; and the army which pursued him was never safe from some terrible surprise. It was by such a surprise attack that Colonel Monson's column was all but

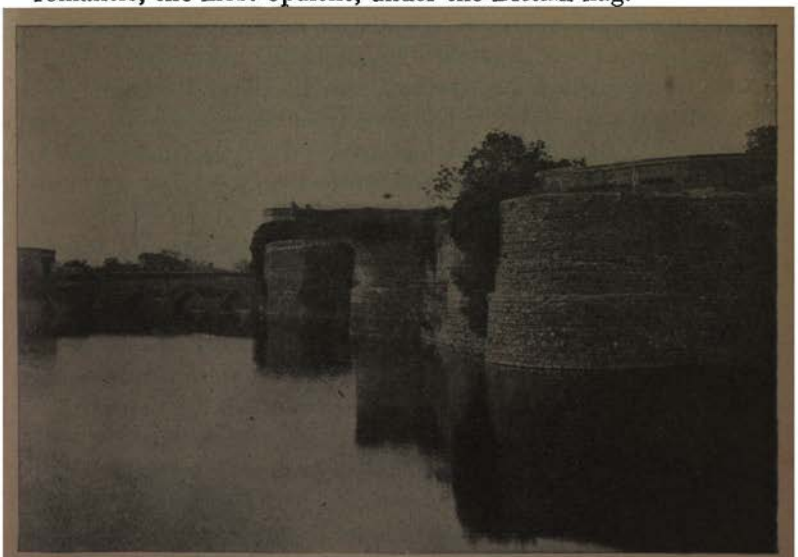
annihilated in his retreat from the Mukandwara Pass in Malwa. General Lake, however, carried on the campaign against him with more caution throughout the autumn of 1804; and although he failed in the assault on Bhurtpore (the famous fortress city of Holkar's ally), he wore down Holkar's resistance, and compelled him too, at last, to come into the subsidiary system.



MĀHĀDAJI SINDIA

The results of Wellesley's Administration. The Marquess Wellesley left India in July 1805. His work was undoubtedly a great achievement. He had extended the British power over Mysore, as well as over large parts of the Mahratta country; and had confirmed it in Hyderabad and Oudh. He had utterly broken and expelled the dangerous French influence, and prevented Bonaparte's grandiose Asiatic schemes from having any chance of success. He had helped to bring

forth the military genius of his great soldier brother, and had gathered round himself a band of able Civil Servants, like the future Lord Metcalfe, whom he trained in the higher flights of administration. Splendid in deed and in word, he was one of the most magnificent of England's governors, a worthy ruler of that teeming continent, the most varied, the most romantic, the most opulent, under the British flag.



BHURTPORE FORT

The last years of Struggle with Napoleon. When the Marquess Wellesley left India, Europe was still convulsed with the great Napoleonic wars, although these had been finally prevented from spreading towards India. The aged Cornwallis, who was sent out to succeed Wellesley, with instructions to adopt a strictly pacific policy, held the Governor-Generalship for a brief and inglorious two months. His successor, Sir George Barlow, a civil servant, has been called 'the meanest of the Governors-General', and the epithet is not undeserved, although the main lines of his

policy were prescribed from London. During his period of nineteen months in office, the Mahratta States were again allowed to get out of hand. Under Lord Minto, however, a more energetic, though at the same time cautious policy, was resumed. Minto, as Sir Gilbert Elliot, had gained experience, both in the House of Commons and in foreign affairs, having been Governor of the Protectorate of Corsica from 1794 to 1796 during the British occupation, as well as Minister-Plenipotentiary at Vienna. In India he dealt successfully with trouble which had arisen both inside and outside the British territory. A terrible mutiny of Sepoys at Vellore in Sir George Barlow's time had resulted in the massacre of two companies of white soldiers (July 10, 1806). Lord Minto settled this difficulty by a judicious combination of firmness and moderation. Next, the great Sikh power of Ranjit Singh threatened the peace of British India, but by skilful diplomacy (Treaty of Amritsar, April 25, 1809), the Governor-General induced him to withdraw his forces to the Sutlej, which remained the frontier till the extinction of the Sikh State. In 1811 came Lord Minto's most brilliant exploit, the expedition to Java, the magnificent Dutch island which Napoleon had annexed. The Governor-General himself accompanied the expeditionary force. On August 28 Batavia was stormed by troops which Colonel Gillespie (a hero who had been chiefly instrumental in suppressing the Vellore rebellion) personally led. Java was then taken over by the British administration, and put under Stamford Raffles as Governor, whose régime proved to be an unqualified success. The wealth of the country and the social condition of the people had made immense progress by the time the island was handed back to the Dutch (1815).

After Lord Minto came the Earl of Moira (afterwards Lord Hastings) as Governor-General (1813). He soon found occasion to exercise the distinguished military gifts which he had shown over thirty years earlier in the Carolinas (see p. 526). The Gurkhas of Nepaul were giving great trouble on the

Northern frontier of Bengal, and in 1814 a regular war took place. The British at first suffered considerable disasters, and Colonel Gillespie was killed in a rash attack on a Gurkha stockade. In 1815–16, however, separate operations conducted by General David Ochterlony and Colonel Nicholls forced the Gurkhas to sign the Treaty of Sagauli (March 1816), by which they ceded a strip of territory which safeguarded Bengal, and accepted a British Resident at Katmandu. Since then Great Britain and Nepaul have been friends; Gurkhas have freely joined the Indian army and form some of its most renowned regiments.

Besides dealing with Nepaul, the Marquess of Hastings had to settle with the Mahrattas, and their allies, the Pindaris. The Pindaris were hordes of plunderers who had arisen in recent years amid the disorders of Central India, and they spread disorder far and wide, and especially in Malwa and Rajputana. Many of these freebooters were Mahrattas; men of all classes and religions, however, might join the Pindari bands. These bands followed each their chosen leader, and are said to have included between 20,000 and 30,000 men in the early years of the nineteenth century. The Peshwa, the Bhonsla of Nagpore, Holkar, and Sindia were not free from complicity with these robbers. When Sir George Barlow was Governor-General no attempt was made to check them, and even Lord Minto did nothing to stop their ravages. Lord Hastings, however, dealt seriously with the problem, which was all the more pressing as the Pindaris had, since the year 1812, been making incursions into the Company's territory.

In the year 1817 Lord Hastings set on foot an army of 120,000 troops, of whom about 13,000 were British soldiers. This army was divided into a northern and a southern corps. The northern corps under Hastings himself was to close upon the Pindaris from the side of Bengal, the southern under General Hislop was to come up from the Deccan. The operations were completely successful, and by the early

months of 1817 all the Pindari bands had been rounded up and destroyed.

The Peshwa, Baji Rao, had, meanwhile, in spite of the Treaty of Bassein (p. 649), taken the opportunity of the Pindari war once more to challenge the British rule. He was met and overthrown at the battle of Ashti (February 20, 1818). The position of Peshwa was abolished and his dominions annexed to the Company's territory. Baji Rao spent the rest of his days as a wealthy pensioner at Cawnpore; his son was the infamous Nana Sahib.

Two months before the battle of Ashti, the forces of the Bhonsla, who had begun the war by an attack upon the British Resident at Nagpore, were defeated outside that city on December 16, 1817. The Bhonsla was deposed and that part of his territories which lay north of the Narbada was annexed. On December 20 (1817) General Hislop overthrew Holkar's army at the battle of Mahidpur.

The Mahratta power was thus completely broken. The States of Sindia and Holkar have survived, and their rulers are powerful princes. Satara and Nagpore, the other two Mahratta principalities, were annexed.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

TABLE TO SHOW THE DESCENDANTS OF JAMES I.

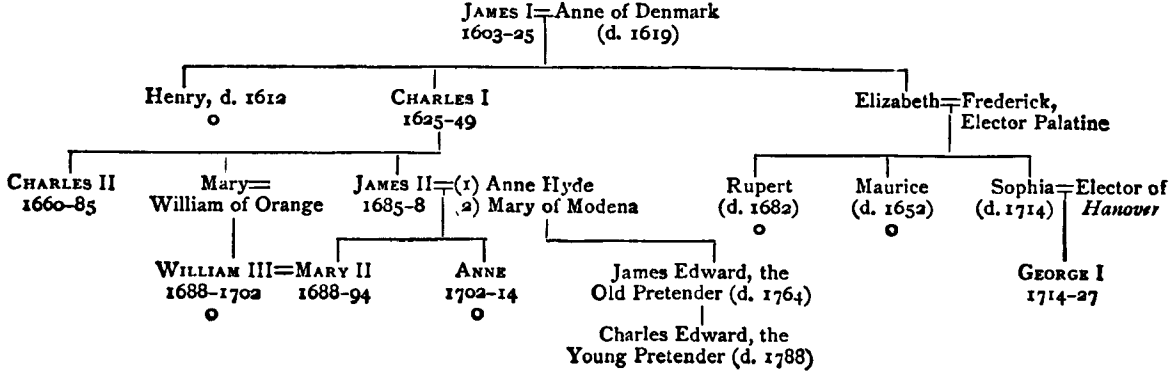
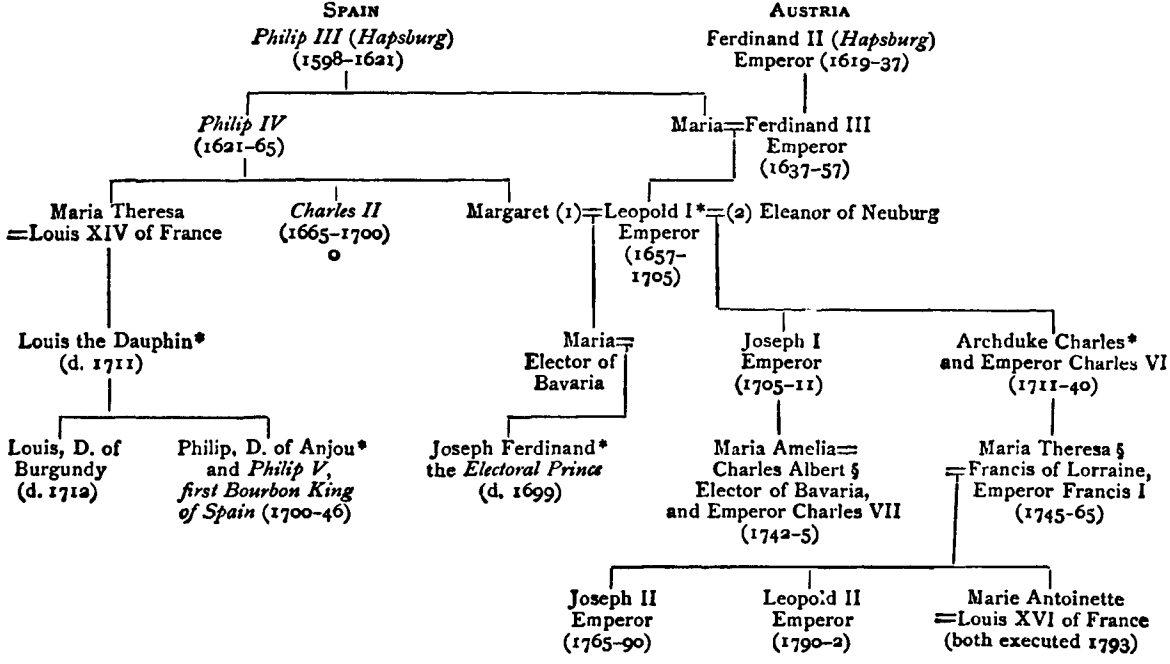


TABLE TO SHOW:—

(1) THE HAPSBURG EMPERORS AND SPANISH KINGS;

(2) THE CLAIMANTS IN THE WARS OF THE SPANISH AND AUSTRIAN SUCCESSIONS.

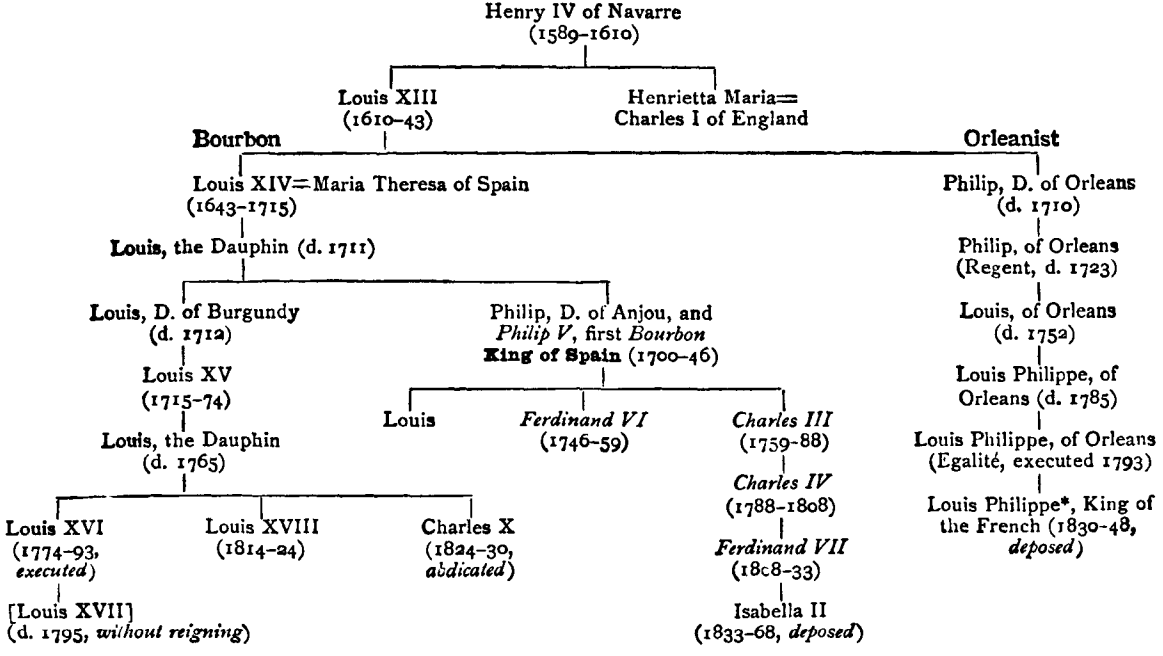


Note.—Kings of Spain *in Italics.* Claimants to Spanish throne *. Claimants to Austrian throne §.

TABLE TO SHOW:—

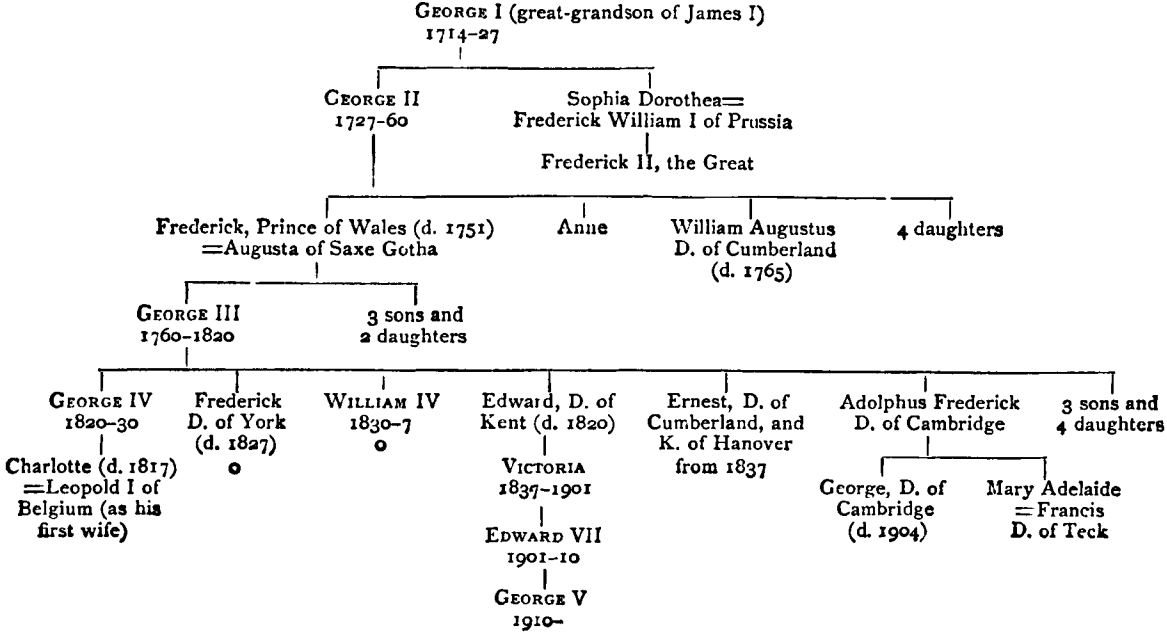
(1) THE BOURBON AND ORLEANS KINGS OF FRANCE (1589-1848);

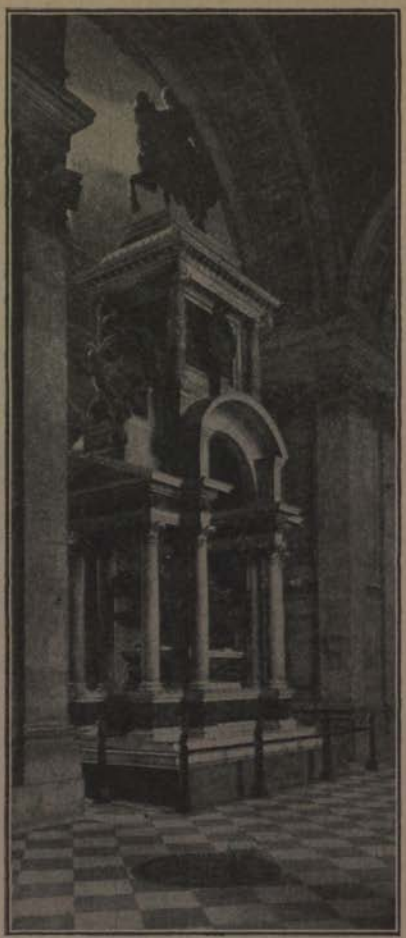
(2) THE BOURBON KINGS OF SPAIN (1700-1868).



Note.—Bourbon Kings of Spain *in Italics*. Orleanist King of France *.

TABLE TO SHOW THE HOUSE OF HANOVER OR BRUNSWICK.





THE WELLINGTON MONUMENT IN
THE NAVE OF ST. PAUL'S

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

PART III

CHAPTER XXIX

ENGLAND AFTER WATERLOO

The Nineteenth Century. The year 1815 is usually taken to mark a dividing line in English history. After 1815 is the period which people generally mean when they speak of the Nineteenth Century. It is a century of inventions, of advances made by mankind in controlling Nature. The railway, the telegraph, the steamship, established inter-communication between the most distant parts of the world. The growth of manufacture, the vast increase in the production of goods, employed ever-increasing masses of people, and caused the expansion of numbers which Malthus foretold in his *Essay on Population*.[1] With the growth of material, wealth, and population, came the need for the broadening of political institutions. Thus the nineteenth century is distinguished by the rise of democracy, to be seen, for instance, in the British Reform Acts ; and also by ' national ' movements—for instance, in the union of Germany and the rise of the kingdom of Italy. Nor must we forget the States of the New World—Canada, the South American Republics, the United States, Australia, especially the United States, which from a country of about three million at the opening of the century had grown, by the end of it, into a huge industrial nation of over a hundred million.

The Face of the Country. Macaulay, in his famous third chapter of the *History of England*, wrote : ' Could the England of 1685 be, by some magical process, set before our eyes, we should not know one landscape in a hundred or one building in ten thousand. The country gentleman would not recognize his own

[1] Published in 1798.

fields. The inhabitant of the town would not recognize his own street. Everything has been changed, but the great features of nature, and a few massive and durable works of art.' Something like this might also be said, in comparing the England of 1816 with the England of 1922. The great country-houses have not changed, and the villages, at any rate in the remoter parts of the country, are little altered. But the towns have been transformed out of all recognition. Teeming cities have arisen; the busy, industrial area of the 'Black Country' has been created; England has become a kind of workshop for the world.

HIGH STREET, BROMLEY, KENT, 1800

Economic Condition. During the Napoleonic Wars industry had been prosperous in Great Britain. The rest of Europe produced comparatively little, while the British factories went on working, and British ships, in spite of Napoleon's 'Continental Blockade', carried our goods far and wide. When, however, the Peace came, industry was seriously depressed. 'The markets were overstocked; great quantities of goods lay unsold or unpaid for, and numerous failures were the consequence.'[1] Therefore there was much unemployment; and this was all the worse because large numbers of people, who before the Industrial Revolution would have had small industries in their homes, now depended on the factories for work.

If manufacture was depressed, agriculture was in no better

[1] *Annual Register*, 1815

condition. During the wars, in order that production might be increased at home, a great deal of land, hitherto uncultivated or under grass, had been ploughed. Much of this additional land was really infertile, and the corn grown upon it could not compete in price with imported corn. So when the Peace came, a demand arose in the country for Protection for agriculture. Before 1815 there had been duties on imported corn, but it was really the wars in Europe which had excluded it. In 1815 a new Corn Law prohibited the importation of grain, so long as the price in Britain was less than eighty shillings a quarter. Yet this made employ-

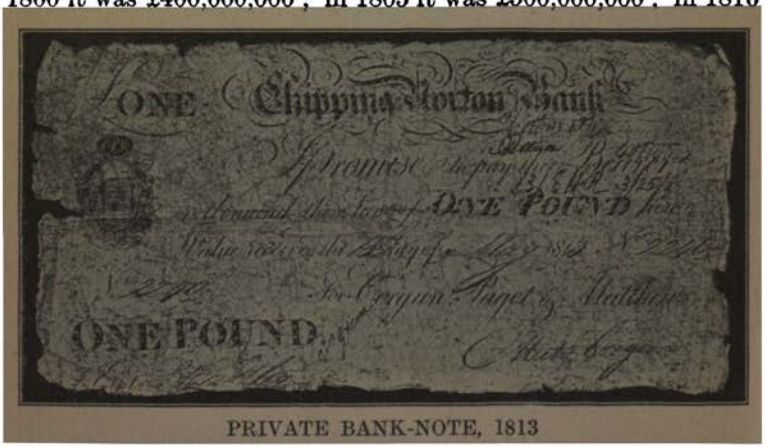
HIGH STREET, BROMLEY, KENT, 1900

ment no better in the farming industry. Many hands were idle, and the wages of those who obtained employment were so low that they had to be supplemented by Poor Law allowances. Although wages were low, prices showed no signs of falling. When the wars ended, corn stood at 75 shillings a quarter; the 4 lb. loaf cost 12 pence. By the year 1817 the price of corn had risen to 117 shillings, and the 4 lb. loaf was one shilling and fivepence.

Financial Condition. The wars had strained but not broken the finances of Great Britain. In the year 1797 it had been found that there was not enough money in the country to meet all the necessary demands that were being made: the country was solvent, but actual cash was scarce. Accordingly Pitt had taken the drastic step of forbidding by Order in Council the

payment of cash in exchange for notes; this Order in Council was in the same year made into an Act of Parliament. The regulation was meant only to be temporary, but it remained in force for the next twenty-two years; when the period of peace opened cash payments were still suspended at the Bank of England, and inconvertible bank-notes had to be accepted as legal tender.

The National Debt had also greatly increased. In 1793, when the war with France began, the debt stood at £227,989,000; in 1800 it was £400,000,000; in 1805 it was £500,000,000; in 1816



PRIVATE BANK-NOTE, 1813

it was £709,295,000. The annual interest on this debt was about £30,000,000. This was a heavy load for the country to bear, especially in the years of trade depression after 1816. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart (afterwards Lord Bexley), made no effort to pay off the debt, preferring to keep taxes low, so that trade, as he hoped, might have a chance to recover—as indeed happened by the year 1824. But although trade gradually revived, and the manufactures of the country increased, the condition of the labouring classes grew steadily worse, until the advent of free trade, with its cheap food and its increased exports, saved the situation.

The Men of Letters. Sheridan, the author of the *School for Scandal* and other delightful comedies, the last representative

of the Age of Johnson, Goldsmith, and Reynolds, died in 1816. This seemed to close a great literary era :

> When the last sunshine of expiring day
> In summer's twilight weeps itself away,
> Who has not felt the softness of the hour
> Sink on the heart, as dew along the flower ?

So wrote Byron, self-exiled on the shores of Lake Geneva, when he heard of Sheridan's death. In his eyes the future of the world, even now that the long wars were over, was filled with gloom : in canto III of *Childe Harold*, the poet makes his hero visit the field of Waterloo after the victory :

> Stop ! For thy tread is on an Empire's dust !
> An earthquake's spoil is sepulchred below !
> . . . . . .
> How that red stain hath made the harvest grow !
> And is this all the world has gained by thee,
> Thou first and last of fields, king-making victory ?
> (III. 17.)

Byron's friend Shelley, living at Naples, took an even gloomier view. This mood is reflected in the *Stanzas Written in Dejection near Naples*, and still more in the *Masque of Anarchy*,[1] in which he calls on the men of England to rise and destroy the rich governing class, which, as he thought, only exploited and plundered them. A more directly political writer was William Cobbett, who in 1816 was farming in Hampshire and at the same time editing the *Weekly Political Register*, the price of which he in this year reduced from 12 pence to 2 pence, thus rendering it accessible to the ordinary working man. Cobbett was very Radical (almost a Revolutionary), and the Tories scoffed at his paper as ' Cobbett's Twopenny Trash ', but it had a great influence in the movement for Parliamentary reform. His *Rural Rides* are still worth reading as descriptions of the England of his day. A saner view of politics was at this time being presented by the two great reviews which had been founded during the Napoleonic period—the *Edinburgh Review*, a Whig organ (soon to be illuminated by the genius of Macaulay), and the *Quarterly Review*, the literary

[1] The *Masque of Anarchy* was found among Shelley's papers, and was published for the first time in 1888.

mouthpiece of the Tory or Conservative element of English society. Sir Walter Scott had been one of the starters of the *Quarterly Review* in 1809; he was now in the heyday of his literary output, having produced *Waverley* in 1814, the *Antiquary* in 1815, and *Old Mortality* in 1816.

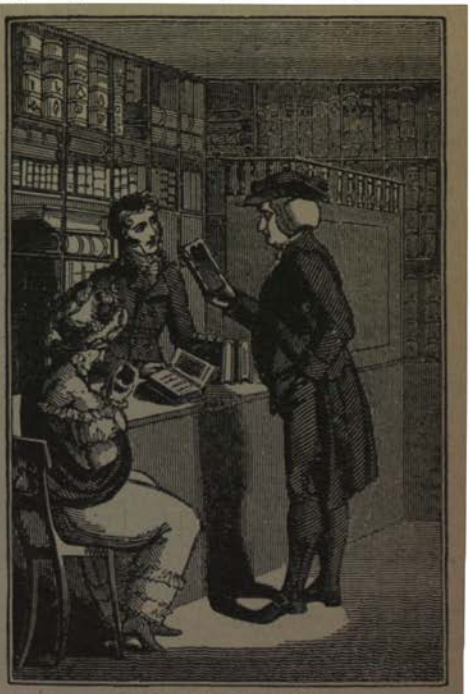
THE CONFECTIONER
From *The Book of English Trades*, 1818

Another great man of letters was Wordsworth, who had written, both in verse and prose, to uplift people's views during the Napoleonic Wars. At the end he was still in the fullness of his powers. He had retired to Rydal Mount in Ambleside, where he lived till his death in 1850.

The Tory Ministry. The Prime Minister in 1816 was Lord Liverpool, a Tory, who had held his high office since the assassination of Mr. Perceval in 1812. Robert Banks Jenkinson, second Earl of Liverpool, belonged to an old Oxfordshire family. He was born in 1770, and was educated at Charterhouse School in the City of London, as his father was before him. From Charterhouse he went to Christ Church, Oxford, where he made the acquaintance of George Canning. In 1789 he went down from Oxford and travelled on the Continent, visiting Paris, where he witnessed the fall of the Bastille and the early disorders of the Revolution; and this experience remained to influence his political outlook during the rest of his life. He was a man of blameless private character, and as a Minister was hardworking

and public-spirited. Disraeli, in *Coningsby*, calls Lord Liverpool the Arch-mediocrity of a Cabinet of mediocrities, but he was something better than that. An industrious, disinterested, and personally agreeable aristocrat, he was able to keep together a stable government through a period of very troubled politics.

Of the other members of the Cabinet at the opening of this period, the most influential were the two Secretaries of State, Lord Castlereagh, who led the House of Commons and was at the head of the Foreign Office, and Henry Addington, Lord Sidmouth, who held the position of Home Secretary. The leader of the House of Lords was Lord Eldon, the Chancellor, who, fearing revolution even more than the other Ministers did, was an uncompromising advocate of the policy of repressing any movement that might possibly lead to public disorder.

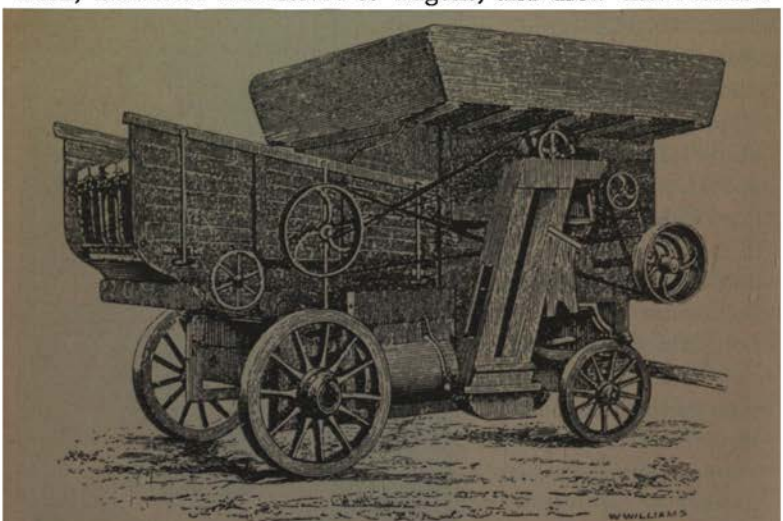


THE BOOKSELLER
From *The Book of English Trades*, 1818

A Period of Tumult. The Peace Treaties of Vienna and Paris had scarcely been signed when disturbances began to appear in the country. The *Annual Register* for 1816 chronicles that:

'The discontents . . . first began to assume a menacing appearance in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, where nightly assemblages were held, threatening letters were sent, and houses, barns, and rick-yards were set on fire, displaying melancholy proofs of the degradation of national character produced by long distress, and an interruption in the usual habits of industry.'

The harvest of this year (1816) was a failure. Unemployment was widespread, and this was wrongly attributed by many people to the use of machinery in industry. Hence arose the *Luddite Riots*[1] (named after an imaginary Captain Ludd) in Nottingham city—an epidemic of machinery-breaking which, before it was stopped or died out, spread to the counties of Leicester and Derby. More sensible workmen in the Midland collieries, to show the Government how anxious they were to work, harnessed themselves to wagons, and drew them loaded



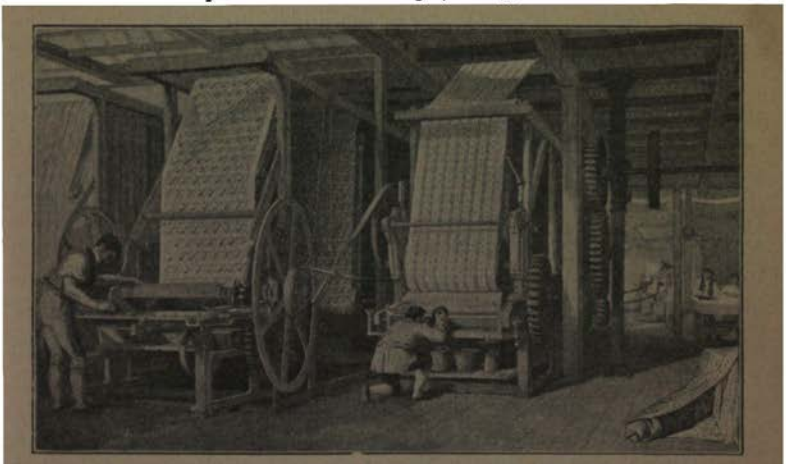
AGRICULTURE. A THRESHING MACHINE EXHIBITED IN 1851

with coal towards London. Lord Sidmouth, as Home Secretary, purchased the coal and sent the miners home.

A comparatively small but influential body of agitators among the working classes openly talked of revolution. On December 2 (1816) a tumultuous meeting took place at Spa Fields in London. The chief speaker, James Watson (1766–1838), urged the mob to seize the property of the rich : 'If they will not give us what we want, shall we not take it ? (shouts of Yes !)' The mob then stormed up Snow Hill and sacked a gunsmith's shop, but dispersed on the approach of troops.

[1] The Luddite Riots began as early as 1812.

The Blanketeers—Manchester men each carrying a blanket to sleep in—who set out to walk to London were not revolutionary, but the Government dispersed them with a troop of horse (March 1817). The abortive 'Derbyshire Insurrection', planned by a certain 'Captain Brandreth', may have had more behind it; it resulted only in the issue by the Home Secretary of the famous *Sidmouth Circular*, ordering lord-lieutenants of counties to seize all persons who published seditious libels. The Habeas Corpus Act had been suspended in February (1817), and remained in sus-



MANUFACTURE. CALICO PRINTING IN 1835

pense for thirteen months. Legal proceedings were taken against all writers whose works seemed likely to inflame public opinion. The most famous trial was that of William Hone, a bookseller, author of *John Wilkes' Catechism*, and the *Political Litany*. He was tried for blasphemy before the Chief Justice, Lord Ellenborough, but defended himself with such vigour and shrewdness that the jury acquitted him. In truth, it was the titles of some of Hone's pamphlets that were the worst part of them, and their popularity was perhaps as much due to George Cruikshank's illustrations as to their actual contents.

In August 1819 a terrible event took place. A political meeting, attended by about 50,000 people, was held in St. Peter's

Field, Manchester. It was addressed by 'Orator' Henry Hunt, a Radical Wiltshire farmer against whom a warrant had been issued for seditious agitation. The police tried to arrest him, and some commotion ensued. The Manchester magistrates, anxiously on the look-out against riot and revolution, feared the dreaded moment had come, and they ordered the Yeomanry to advance. The mob broke and scattered in terror; and although the soldiers behaved with calmness and restraint, one man was killed and about forty people were injured. This event—the so-called *Battle of Peterloo*—was magnified by being named the 'Manchester Massacre'.

The Six Acts. In 1819 Lord Liverpool's Ministry passed through Parliament a series of repressive Bills known as the 'Six Acts'.[1] These (among other things) forbade men to come together in bodies to drill themselves, authorized the police to search houses and to seize all arms found therein, and prevented any political meetings of men, if they came from more than one parish. This last measure, the 'Seditious Meetings Prevention Bill', was introduced in the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, in a speech which, as usual, was extremely prolix and tedious, but contained many wholesome truths.

'Was it to be tolerated [he said] that in a country whose constitution was so justly the envy and admiration of other nations, the whole of its industry was to be convulsed—the quiet part of the population were to be alarmed—not with childish fears but with just terror—that they were to be driven from their business—obliged to close their shops—that the public mind was to be kept in a state of continual ferment and agitation, by a set of itinerant orators, who marched large bodies of men 25 miles through the country in military array. The minds of the lower orders in this country were inflamed by artful tales about sinecures and pensions, and they were told that if these were done away, all their grievances would be at an end. He would take upon himself to say, that if the sinecures which had not been abolished, were done away—if the whole pension list were surrendered to their wishes, that the benefit derived would not in ten years give

[1] The Training Prevention Bill, Seizure of Arms Bill, Blasphemous and Seditious Libels Bill, Misdemeanours Bill, Seditious Meetings Prevention Bill, Newspaper Stamp Duties Bill.

the Manchester cotton-spinner, who could earn 30*s*. a week, the 5*s*. which he wasted in one day of idleness to attend a reform meeting. This he would prove to demonstration, and with equal ease could he show, that if the reformers could succeed in their dishonest and destructive scheme of annihilating the national debt, that the withdrawing of the interest of £29,000,000 of money from general circulation, though it might relieve some who now contributed largely to the taxes, would depress the markets of the country, augment the general distress, and carry ruin to the humble cottage as well as to the mansion of the great.'[1]

This speech was replied to by George Tierney, a man of wealth and education (he had been to Eton and Peterhouse, Cambridge), who had opposed Pitt and now opposed Sidmouth and Castlereagh in their drastic Acts :

'He saw on the part of the Government an evident determination to resort to nothing but force ; they thought of nothing else ; they dreamt of nothing else ; they would try no means of conciliation, they would make no attempt to pacify and reconcile ; force—force—force, and nothing but force : that was their cry, and it had been the same for years.[2]

George IV. The Trial of the Queen. On January 29, 1820, George III (who had been blind and incapable of governing for ten years) died in his eighty-third year, and was succeeded by his son George IV, who had been Regent for ten years.

George IV was a Tory in politics, and gave all possible support to the Liverpool Ministry. Through the influence which he was able to exercise with the Government, he induced Lord Liverpool to introduce a Bill for the divorce of Queen Caroline. This unfortunate Princess had married George in 1795, but became separated from him after the birth of their daughter in 1796. The Prince undoubtedly treated her very badly. For years Caroline travelled abroad, and there her unwise conduct (she was not careful concerning the people she consorted with) attracted attention in England. When George became King in 1820 he refused even to allow her name to be mentioned in the liturgy. The Queen suddenly returned to England and took up her residence at the house of Alderman Wood.[3] George, who would

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xli, p. 385. [2] *Ibid.*, loc. cit., p. 410.
[3] In South Audley Street, London.

have nothing to do with her, then induced Lord Liverpool to bring in the Divorce Bill as a Government measure (August 1820). At once the Queen became a popular, or at least, a much pitied woman, for every one thought that it was scandalous of George, a grossly immoral man, to fling stones at his wife. The Queen was magnificently defended by Brougham, who held the position of Attorney-General to her. The majority of the Government grew less at each reading of the Bill, and at last Liverpool abandoned the measure altogether.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON AS A SCORPION
From William Hone's *Political Showman*, 1821

The result of the trial of the Queen was to shake the loyalty of the people to the throne, and to cause a reaction against the political influence of the Crown. The Divorce Bill was the last measure promoted by the personal influence of the sovereign.

Queen Caroline was ill-advised enough, on the day of George IV's Coronation (July 29, 1821), to drive to Westminster Abbey and to claim admittance to the ceremony. She was turned away from the door, and died broken-hearted in the following month.

A Quiet Ending. In spite of the blow to the Government, caused by the affair of the Queen's trial, Lord Liverpool's Cabinet seemed to have got through its worst troubles by the year 1822.

Shortly before the trial of the Queen the police had discovered a desperate conspiracy, which had for its object to seize the Cabinet Ministers when they were dining at Lord Harrowby's in Grosvenor Square on February 29 (1820). The conspirators were discovered, and caught in Cato Street,[1] a slum off the Edgware Road. They were brought to justice and hanged.

[1] It is now called Homer Street.

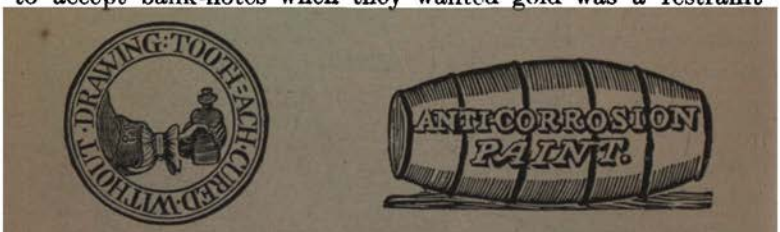
The public in general was becoming less agitated, and the Government accordingly became more moderate. Lord Sidmouth, who called himself *the last of the port-wine faction*, retired from office in 1821; and in 1822 (August 12) Lord Castlereagh, in whom overwork and anxiety had produced intense depression, committed suicide at his country-house, North Cray Place in

From the title-page of *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder*, by W. Hone, 1820, a scathing pamphlet directed against George IV

Kent. The Tory Government received fresh strength by the accession of three of the finest minds of that age—George Canning, who came back to his old post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; Robert Peel, who became Home Secretary; and William Huskisson, who became President of the Board of Trade.

Restoration of the Gold Standard. The suspension of cash payments, which had gone on since 1797, was not good for the

credit of England. Foreign merchants naturally preferred gold to paper, and would only accept our notes at a discount. In 1817 the Bank of England had voluntarily paid out almost six million in gold; but this, in accordance with 'Gresham's Law',[1] soon found its way out of the country. At this time the understanding of economic law had been greatly increased among thinking people by the publication, in 1817, of the *Principles of Political Economy* by David Ricardo, who had learned practical finance on the Stock Exchange, and who, like his great successor J. S. Mill, was an ardent student of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. The guiding principle of Ricardo's economic theories was that trade should be kept free in every possible way. To force merchants to accept bank-notes when they wanted gold was a restraint



THE BEGINNINGS OF PICTORIAL ADVERTISEMENT
Woodcuts by Bewick, about 1800

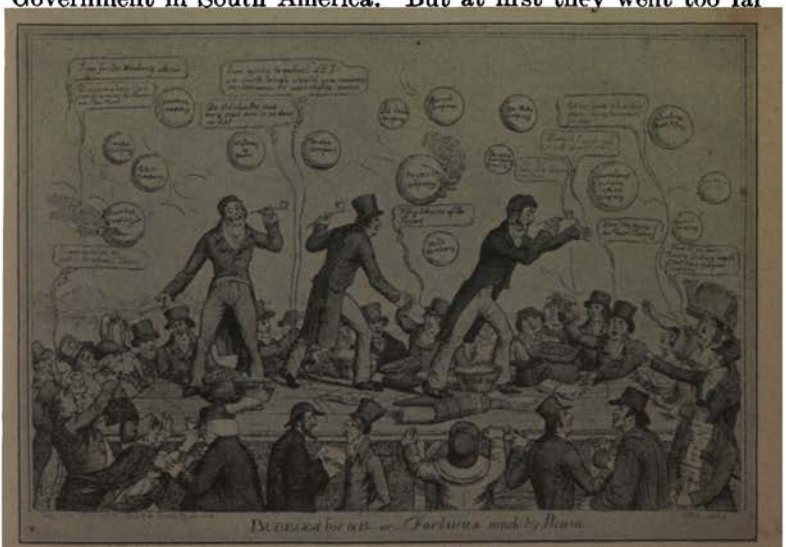
upon trade. In 1819 the Government appointed a Committee on which sat the three eminent economists—Ricardo, Huskisson, and Robert Peel. The Committee carefully examined the affairs of the Bank of England and found them to be in good order. They also considered the condition of trade and industry, and embodied the results of their investigations in a masterly Report to Parliament. Their recommendations were accepted, and an Act was passed next year obliging the Bank of England to give gold for notes on demand.

The Crisis of 1825. The restoration of the gold standard improved the credit of the country, and so helped trade. At the same time new markets were being opened through the rise of the

[1] 'Bad money drives out good.' Sir Thomas Gresham was a famous merchant in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and founder of the Royal Exchange. He died in 1579.

South American Republics. One by one, during the Napoleonic Wars, the Spanish colonies had revolted and set up independent States, helped partly by English volunteers and by loans from English merchant-bankers. One of the first republics to come into existence was the Argentine (July 9, 1816).

The enterprising British traders were not slow to take advantage of the removal of the repressive trade-policy of the Spanish Government in South America. But at first they went too far



FORTUNES MADE BY STEAM, 1825. From a satirical print

in their zeal: they speculated freely, and many trading companies were started which soon became unsound. The speculations of the year 1825 have been compared to the South Sea Bubble of 1720. At last, on December 5, 1825, the great banking house of Pole became insolvent, and dragged nearly a hundred lesser banks down in its ruin. Throughout 1826 the panic went on, but at last stability was again attained. It was then that the issue of notes for one or two pounds was prohibited for the future.

Nevertheless, in spite of the crisis of 1825–1826, the fact that London was now a free market for gold began to tell upon

Britain's financial position in the world. Mercantile bills were freely brought to London to be ' discounted ' against gold, and in the latter half of the nineteenth century the greater part of the world's financial business was transacted there.

Canals. The economic revival of Britain after the Napoleonic Wars was much facilitated by the magnificent system of com-

SPORTS AND PASTIMES. *The Old.* Bear-baiting in Charley's Theatre, Westminster, drawn by H. Alken. The sport was prohibited by Parliament in 1835.

munications which was now being established throughout the country.

Canals have been made and used from very ancient times, both in Asia and in Western Europe; but it was not till the advent of the Industrial Revolution, when masses of heavy goods had to be moved, that the need for them was felt in England. Even then it required years of faith and persistent effort on the part of the third Duke of Bridgewater before the public would believe in them. It was the Duke of Bridgewater, and the great engineer whom he employed, James Brindley (1716–1772), who constructed, entirely at the Duke's expense, the Bridgewater Canal, from Manchester to Runcorn. The canal took thirteen years to build (1758–1771), and exhausted all the money and credit of the Duke.

After the Bridgewater Canal, many others were constructed, so that practically the whole of England could be traversed by these now quiet, but once so busy, waterways. They did a great service to industry in their time. The last inland canal was made in England in 1834, just when the great railway era was beginning.

SPORTS AND PASTIMES. *The New.* A Fete and Regatta at Nuneham, August 1839

CHAPTER XXX

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION AND PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

§ 1. The Radical Influence

The Radicals. With the cessation of disorder and revolutionary agitation, the demands of the Radicals for a reform in the Parliamentary system became louder. Since the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, the Tory party had resolutely set its face against Reform. The other great historic party, that of the Whigs, had indeed by no means lost its interest in this

movement, but its faith in the people had been shaken by the popular disturbances of recent years. Accordingly a third party —the Radicals—was formed, which gathered great strength in the country, although it had few members in Parliament. The Radicals were found chiefly among the working classes, and their immediate aims were to get the franchise—the right to vote—extended to the masses, and to obtain the abolition of unrepresentative boroughs. The leading spirits of this party were William Cobbett [1] and Francis Place.

Francis Place. Francis Place was born in 1771. His father kept a 'sponging-house' (for arrested debtors) in Drury Lane. Young Francis received a fair education till his fourteenth year, when he was apprenticed to a maker of leather breeches. In 1789 he became a journeyman on his own account, married, and commenced business in a room off the Strand. The young tailor read hard—in history, economics, and law. When the leather-breeches makers struck work in 1793, he became the strike organiser. After this he became secretary of his trade's club, and for the next fifty years was in the front of the movement for obtaining better conditions, economically and politically, for working men, without resorting to violence; he was a thinker and writer, and became the friend and correspondent of many of the most progressive men of the time, for instance, Robert Owen, the socialist manufacturer, James Mill (the father of John Stuart Mill), Sir Samuel Romilly, the prison reformer, and Jeremy Bentham, the leader of the Utilitarian School, or, as they are often called, the Philosophic Radicals. In the period after the wars Place lived at number 16 Charing Cross, where he collected a library of political, economic, and other works. This apartment became the centre of political activity in Westminster, the most progressive borough of the 'unreformed' constituencies. His voluminous correspondence is preserved in the British Museum, and gives a vivid impression of his activity and connexions.[2]

Bentham. Jeremy Bentham was born in London in 1748. The father, a well-to-do lawyer, gave his son a good education.

[1] See p. 665.

[2] See Graham Wallas, *Life of Francis Place.*

At the age of four he began learning Latin, and, shortly afterwards, Greek. It appears that at the same early age he was able to read Rapin's *History of England*, which was the standard textbook before Joseph Hume published his more scholarly and philosophical work. In 1755 Bentham went to Westminster; five years later (in his thirteenth year) he proceeded to Queen's College, Oxford. At the age of sixteen he took the degree of

COSTUME IN THE PARK. A caricature by H. Alken (fl. 1816–1831)

Bachelor of Arts. A notable impression had been made on him by the lectures of Blackstone, who was then preparing his great work, *The Commentaries on the Laws of England*. In 1767 Bentham was called to the Bar, but he never made any success in his profession. He soon retired from practice, and, having sufficient private income, devoted himself to study—chiefly to law, theories of education, and political science. In 1776 he published the *Fragment on Government*, which was meant as a criticism of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, and an attack upon the great lawyer's antipathy to reform. The 'Fragment' marks a new

era in jurisprudence ; law was henceforth studied in a scientific and philosophical way.

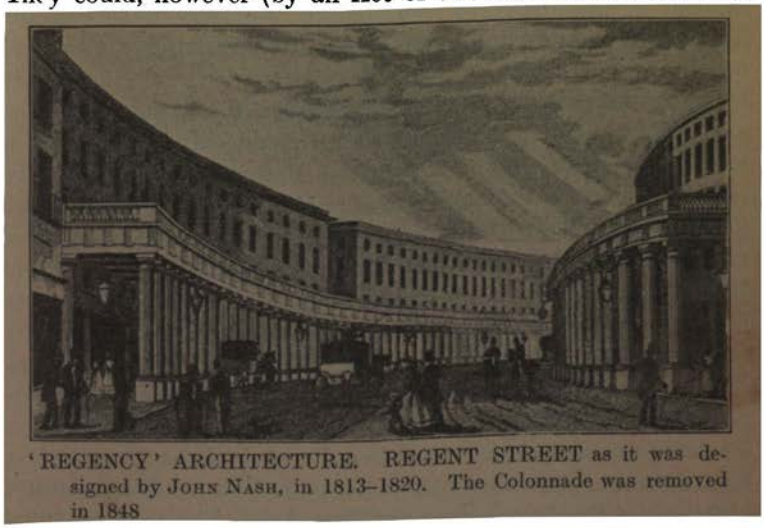
Bentham's next important work was on the theory of punishment, published first in French under the title of *Traité des Peines et des Récompenses* in 1811, and in its English form in 1825. Before 1817 he had travelled abroad, but in this year he bought Ford Abbey near Chard, and settled down. From this time till his death in 1832 it may be said that nearly every fruitful idea of the time either originated with Bentham, or at least was thoroughly

A FOLLY OF THE PERIOD, THE PAVILION AT BRIGHTON
built 1790–1795

examined by him, criticized, and handled either in letters or in printed work. He wrote on economics, on colonies, on prisons, on legal and parliamentary reform, on taxation. All the greatest living minds corresponded with him, and reformers and statesmen in Europe asked his advice. Towards the end of his life he lived in London, in Queen's Square, and every day had some guest at dinner—a philosopher like James Mill, a statesman like Lord Brougham—to whom he would discourse on some desired reform. His followers were called *Utilitarians*, for they threw aside preconceived ideas, and, like their master, tested every institution by its utility, by its capacity to further 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'.

§ 2. Catholic Emancipation

Position of Roman Catholics. Reform was in the air in the 'twenties—the Government, the men of thought and letters, the general public, felt the need for it. But the direction in which a large step was first made in Parliamentary reform concerned the voting of Roman Catholics. Their position at this time was curious. They could not sit in Parliament either as peers or commoners, nor could they vote in an English constituency. They could, however (by an Act of the old Dublin Parliament



'REGENCY' ARCHITECTURE. REGENT STREET as it was designed by John Nash, in 1813–1820. The Colonnade was removed in 1848

in 1793), vote in an Irish constituency, and thus, though incapable of being elected, they could elect. It was by using this right to elect that the Irish demonstrated the need of Catholic Emancipation.

O'Connell. The leading man in Ireland was Daniel O'Connell, who may justly be called the creator of the Nationalist party. He was born in 1775 at Cahirciveen in County Kerry, and was sprung from an ancient Irish Catholic family. After attending school near Cork he was sent abroad to the English College at St. Omer (since removed to Lancashire and known as Stonyhurst). In 1793 he returned to England, having seen something of the

French Revolution; and after studying law for some time in London (Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn) he was called to the Irish bar. Here he proved a great success, being a careful lawyer and a ready and witty speaker; after twenty years' practice he was making an income of £8,000.

The Situation in Ireland. For the first twenty years after the Union there were practically no politics in Ireland. The country was over-populated; the standard of life was low; the people were apathetic. It was O'Connell who first roused the Irish to an interest in the affairs of their nation, and who converted the ignorant peasantry into one of the most disciplined political forces of modern history.

Under the existing religious disabilities, the Irish people, who were predominantly Roman Catholic, could only be represented in Parliament by members of the Protestant minority. To remedy this was O'Connell's first public task; the second task (in which he failed) was to obtain the repeal of the Union. Year after year, by speech, by petition to the Government, he brought forward the question of Emancipation. In 1823 he formed a society called the Catholic Association, which had a secretary in every county and levied a 'Catholic Rent' of 1*s.* a year on all members. The peasantry joined by the thousand, and thus became conscious of their common religion and their common race. Their interest in politics was aroused, and Irish Nationalism was created and became one of the most potent forces of the century.

Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts. The political influence of the Catholics in Ireland was soon to make itself felt, even by the Tory Government. Lord Liverpool retired from the Cabinet in 1827 (February), after a paralytic seizure. Canning, who believed in Catholic Emancipation, then became Prime Minister, but died in less than six months' time (August 8, 1827). Lord Goderich, who succeeded him as head of the Tory Government, had no policy, at home or abroad, and resigned two months after the battle of Navarino, which occurred in October 1827. Then George IV offered the premiership to the Duke of Wellington, who accepted it, just as he would have accepted a command in the

army, because he felt it was his duty. Peel also took office, as Home Secretary (January 1828). When Parliament opened, Lord John Russell, already a prominent leader of the Whigs, moved for a Committee to consider the Corporation and Test Acts (see pp. 373, 386). A majority of the House of Commons agreed to the motion, and a Bill was passed through Parliament repealing the two Acts (May 1828). This was a distinct victory for the cause of religious toleration, although, in point of fact, the Corporation and Test Acts had scarcely been enforced for about a hundred years. Their repeal made it easier for Roman Catholics to hold civil or military offices, but had no effect upon their disability to vote for Parliament.

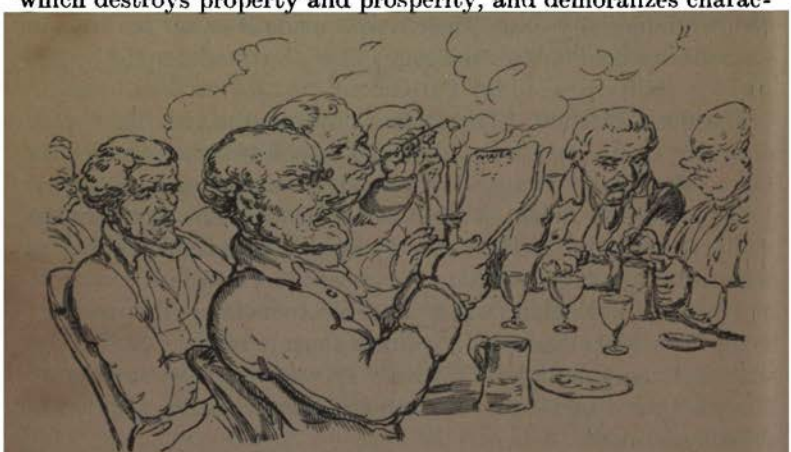
The Clare Election. The Duke of Wellington, who had some difficulty in forming a Cabinet, had appointed the member for Clare, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, a wealthy and liberal Protestant Irish landlord, President of the Board of Trade. This appointment made it necessary for Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald to stand again for his constituency. Daniel O'Connell opposed him and to the surprise of every one in England was at once elected. Some thousands of small freeholders marched into Ennis town to register their votes, without any tumult or disorder. It was the most impressive demonstration in favour of Catholic Emancipation that could possibly be made.

O'Connell was clearly the choice of the electors; yet as a Catholic he could not take his seat in Parliament. For the time being Ireland was quiet, but the electors had shown their strength and the reasonableness of their claim. If not listened to, they might shortly proceed to civil war.

This was the Duke's view at any rate, and he had reluctantly decided that a Catholic Relief Bill must be passed. Peel, who had previously opposed this, was now converted too. In March 1829 he introduced a Bill into the House of Commons to admit 'the Roman Catholic subjects of His Majesty' to sit in Parliament, to vote at elections or to hold office under the Crown, on taking the oath of allegiance to the King and Constitution. George IV was against the measure; so were most of the Peers. But the Duke's authority won them over; religious disputes, he

said, had brought Ireland into a state practically of civil war, which would endure so long as one religion did not get the same treatment as another.

'I am one of those (he said in the House, April 2, 1829) who have probably passed a longer period of my life engaged in war than most men, and principally I may say, in civil war; and I must say this—that if I could avoid, by any sacrifice whatever, even one month of civil war in the country to which I am attached, I would sacrifice my life in order to do it. I say there is nothing which destroys property and prosperity, and demoralizes charac-



THE VILLAGE POLITICIAN. A Cartoon by Rowlandson

ter, to the degree that civil war does; by it the hand of man is raised against his neighbour, against his brother, and against his father; the servant betrays his master, and the whole scene ends in confusion and devastation.'[1]

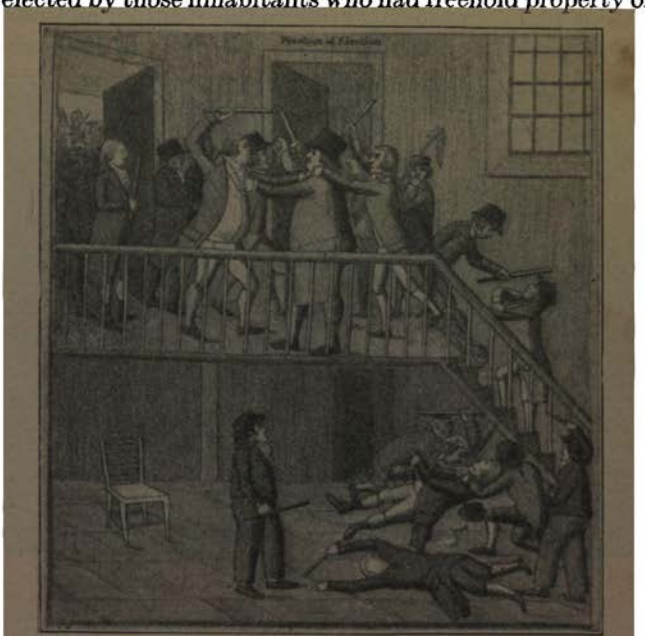
The Bill passed through both Houses; membership of Parliament was opened to Catholics; and they could now hold any public office except that of Regent, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord Chancellor of England or of Ireland.[2]

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. xxi, p. 46. The *civil war* in which the Duke said he had spent so much of his life must have been the Peninsular War, though it is not usually regarded in this light.

[2] Quakers (who refuse to take any oaths) were admitted to Parliament in 1833; and, under the influence of Benjamin Disraeli, the Government passed an Act to admit Jews in 1858. Thus religious bias disappeared from the British

§ 3. Parliamentary Reform

The Representative System. Our representative system at this time, although it did not work badly in practice, was very difficult to justify in theory. The House of Commons consisted of two members from every county and two (or in some cases one member) from every borough.[1] The county members were elected by those inhabitants who had freehold property of the



ELECTIONS, OLD STYLE. From Kay's *Portraits*

annual value of forty shillings[2]; any one who held his land by any other form of tenure was excluded from the county elections.

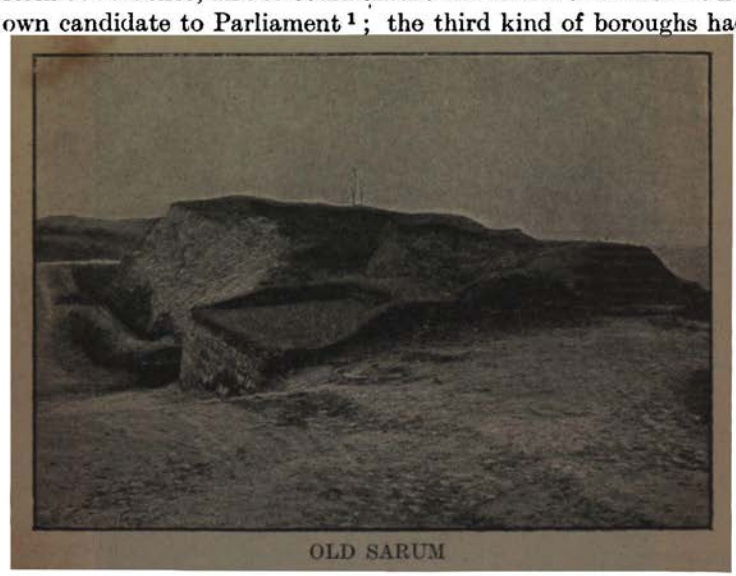
Boroughs were towns which had received a charter from the Crown declaring them to be legal corporations. All boroughs

electoral system. By an Act passed in 1921 the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland was thrown open to Roman Catholics. This was done in order to permit Lord FitzAlan to become Lord Lieutenant, in succession to Lord French.

[1] i.e. in England and Ireland. In Wales and Scotland there were slight differences from this system.

[2] According to the well-known statute of 1430 (see above, p. 179).

could send one member each, the greater number could send two, to the House of Commons. The chief kinds of borough were three in number: *nomination boroughs*, in which a single landlord owned the entire freehold in any one borough, and where accordingly he could simply nominate the member; secondly, *rotten boroughs*, where the inhabitants were so few that the chief landlord could practically secure all the voters by bribes or some other form of influence, and so could ensure the return of himself or his own candidate to Parliament[1]; the third kind of boroughs had



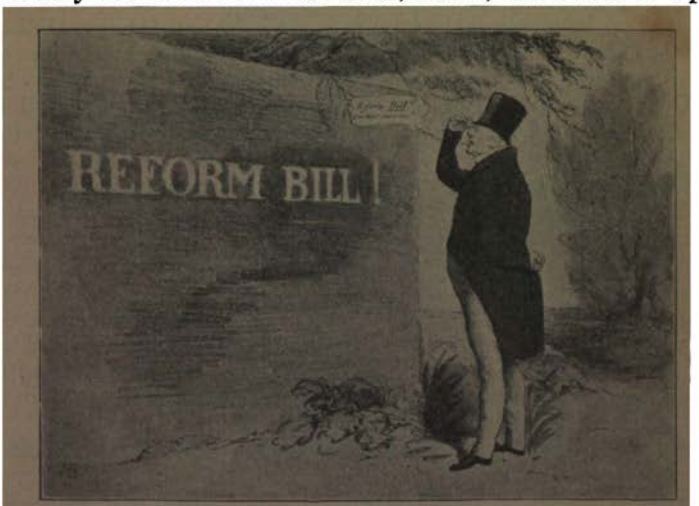
OLD SARUM

no special name: they might perhaps be termed (by contrast with the nomination boroughs) democratic constituencies, where the number of inhabitants with the right to vote was large enough to represent a fairly general public opinion. An extreme instance of nomination boroughs was Old Sarum, which for years had been simply a bare green hill, and yet continued to return two members, nominated by the landowner. Rotten boroughs existed in most parts of the country, especially in Cornwall: for instance, East and West Looe, each of which returned two mem-

[1] Nomination and Rotten Boroughs were sometimes collectively called 'Pocket Boroughs'.

bers to Parliament, the number of voters in each case being about fifty. Liverpool might be given as an instance of a democratic (or comparatively democratic) borough; it had two members elected by about one thousand voters (out of a population of 118,000 in 1825); in Westminster, which had a population of 182,000, the members of Parliament were elected by all the householders, to the number of about 12,000.

While some towns represented in Parliament were so decayed that they had few or no inhabitants, others, which had no repre-



WILLIAM IV SEES THE HANDWRITING UPON THE WALL 1831. Cartoon by J. Doyle

sentatives, had grown enormously with the Industrial Revolution. Such were Manchester, with 133,000 inhabitants in 1825, Birmingham, with 85,000, and Leeds, with 83,000. No one could seriously maintain that these great communities ought not to have members of Parliament for themselves, while stumps of trees and sand-banks[1] were still solemnly represented by two members each in the Legislature of the nation.

The New Reign. As long as George IV reigned, the reform

[1] Practically the whole of Old Dunwich had been submerged by the sea.

movement increased in impetus; but except for the Catholic Emancipation Act, no great step in advance was made. King George was against parliamentary reform, and supported the governing classes in their opposition to the movement. He died on June 26, 1830, at the age of 68 and was succeeded by his sailor brother William, Duke of Clarence. King William was liberal in his views, and anxious to act as a constitutional monarch. Greville thus describes the opening of the new reign:

'*July* 18.—King George had not been dead three days before everybody discovered that he was no loss, and King William a great gain. Certainly no one was ever less regretted than the late King, and the breath was hardly out of his body before the press burst forth in full cry against him, and raked up all his vices, follies and misdeeds, which were numerous and glaring enough.

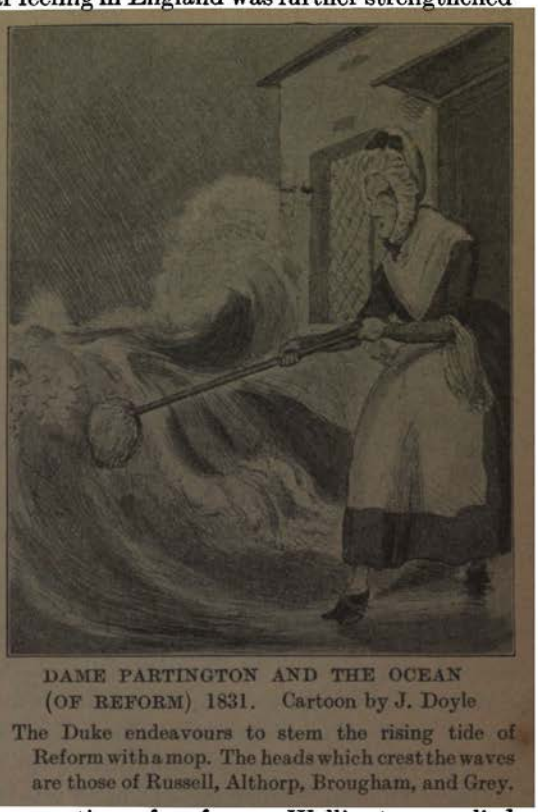
'The new King began very well. . . . Of course such a King wanted not due praise, and plenty of anecdotes were raked up of his former generosities and kindnesses. His first speech to the Council was well enough given, but his burlesque character began even then to show itself. Nobody expected from him much real grief, and he does not seem to know how to act it consistently; he spoke of his brother with all the semblance of feeling, and in a tone of voice properly softened and subdued, but just afterwards, when they gave him the pen to sign the declaration, he said, in his usual tone, "This is a damned bad pen you have given me." . . .

'A few days after my return I was sworn in, all the Ministers and some others being present. His Majesty presided very decently, and looked like a respectable old admiral.'[1]

Progress of the Reform Movement. The question of Reform was growing more and more pressing. Every month petitions were presented in Parliament, appealing for it. It was sought for not merely by the unrepresented people but by many members of the governing class. Men like Lord Grey, Lord Althorp (afterwards third Earl Spencer), and Lord John Russell (a future Prime Minister, son of the sixth Duke of Bedford) were themselves pressing for it. Wellington, however, and the bulk of the Peers and landed gentry were uncompromisingly hostile, and their rigid opposition provoked riots in many parts of the country.

[1] *The Greville Memoirs* (ed. 1875), vol. ii, pp. 2–3. Greville was Clerk to the Privy Council.

The windows of Apsley House, the Duke's residence in Piccadilly, were broken by stones, so that great sheets of iron had to be set up behind the railings to protect it. In the countryside a lawless spirit broke out, and rick-burning became for a time a bad feature of social life. Popular feeling in England was further strengthened by the Revolution of July 1830 in France, which overthrew the autocratic government of Charles X, and by the Revolution of August by which Belgium broke off the union with Holland. Yet the Duke's Government held fast, in spite of the lukewarm support which it received in Parliament. At last it fell, towards the end of the year 1830.



DAME PARTINGTON AND THE OCEAN (OF REFORM) 1831. Cartoon by J. Doyle

The Duke endeavours to stem the rising tide of Reform with a mop. The heads which crest the waves are those of Russell, Althorp, Brougham, and Grey.

Fall of the Wellington Cabinet. The Parliamentary Session had opened on November 2, 1830, and Lord Grey had brought forward the question of reform. Wellington replied with a speech that took the breath even of his supporters away.

'The noble Earl (said Wellington) had alluded to the propriety of effecting Parliamentary Reform. The noble Earl, however, had been candid enough to acknowledge that he was not prepared with any measure of reform, and he could have no scruple in saying that his Majesty's Government was as totally unprepared with any plan as the noble Lord. Nay, he, on his own part,

would go further, and say, that he had never read or heard of any measure up to the present moment which could in any degree satisfy his mind that the state of the representation could be improved, or be rendered more satisfactory to the country at large than at the present moment. He would not, however, at such an unseasonable time, enter upon the subject, or excite discussion, but he should not hesitate to declare unequivocally what were his sentiments upon it. He was fully convinced that the country possessed at the present moment a Legislature which answered all the good purposes of legislation, and this to a greater degree than any Legislature ever had answered in any country whatever. He would go further and say, that the Legislature and system of representation possessed the full and entire confidence of the country—deservedly possessed that confidence—and the discussions in the Legislature had a very great influence over the opinions of the country. He would go still further and say, that if at the present moment he had imposed upon him the duty of forming a Legislature for any country, and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions, he did not mean to assert that he could form such a Legislature as they possessed now, for the nature of men was incapable of reaching such excellence at once; but his great endeavour would be, to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results.' [1]

Every one knew that the British Constitution, full of anomalies though it was, worked fairly well; but no one before had ever claimed perfection for it, or had the boldness to say it gave complete satisfaction to every one. Meanwhile windows were being broken and ricks were being burnt. But the Duke's Government did not long survive this famous speech; its narrow majority in the House of Commons dwindled, and it was defeated on November 15, 1830, in a debate on the new King's Civil List. At last, after more than fifty years of opposition, the Whig party came into power. The task of forming a Cabinet was entrusted by the King to Earl Grey. He at once proceeded to introduce a Reform Bill.

Earl Grey. Among the Whig noblemen who supported the cause of parliamentary reform, none was to be more famous in that cause than Charles, second Earl Grey. Sprung from one of the oldest families in the north of England, educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, elected member of Parliament for his

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, Third Series, vol. i, pp. 52-3.

native county (Northumberland) at the age of 22 (1786), he began his public career with every advantage. Gifted with a fine and dignified presence, as his portrait by Lawrence in the National Portrait Gallery shows, a lucid speaker and fine debater, he had, in addition to these advantages, the qualities of conscientiousness and of industry. Yet he had no liking for public life. He was devoted to the attainment of certain great causes, but was without ambition for himself; he passed the smallest possible time in London, for his heart was always in his home at Howick in Northumberland, for he was devoted to country life and to the noisy society of his fifteen children.

Earl Grey's politics were 'Whig'; he believed in liberty and in maintaining the constitution of the country. The reform of the constituencies was the great aim of his public life. For this he worked during the years of his membership of the House of Commons, between 1786 and 1808. And when the chances of reform seemed at an end, he maintained his devotion to the cause through twenty-two years, during which he held no office in Government and had little influence on public policy. When the General Election in 1830 at last brought him to the front as Prime Minister he was sixty-six years old. But his principles had never changed, nor was he in any way embittered or unbalanced. Assuming office as a duty, he carried out his reforms with a calmness and moderation which disappointed the extreme democrats of the country, with whom indeed he had not the slightest sympathy. It was fortunate for England that at a time of excitement, when the reaction after a period of repression might have had disastrous consequences, the ship of state was guided by this unimpassioned nobleman.

The Struggle for the Reform Act. The majority in the House of Commons was Whig (a party which became known later as Liberal), yet it was not unanimously in favour of parliamentary reform. The greater number of the members of Parliament, even those of the Whig party, were either owners of, or members for, 'pocket boroughs', and were therefore strongly interested in maintaining the old abuses; while there were many members, like the Duke of Wellington, who honestly believed in the old

constitution as something stable and, on the whole, fair all round. It is therefore a great testimony to the force of public opinion that the Reform Act was ever passed in the unreformed Parliament. Greville describes the introduction of the first Reform Bill in the House of Commons:

'*March 2nd.*—The great day at length arrived, and yesterday Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in his Reform Bill. To describe the curiosity, the intensity of the expectation and excitement, would be impossible, and the secret had been so well kept that not a soul knew what the measure was (though most people guessed pretty well) till they heard it. He rose at six o'clock, and spoke for two hours and a quarter—a sweeping measure indeed, much more so than any one had imagined. . . . They say it was ludicrous to see the faces of the members for those places which are to be disfranchised as they were severally announced, and Wetherell,[1] who began to take notes, as the plan was gradually developed, after sundry contortions and grimaces and flinging about his arms and legs, threw down his notes with a mixture of despair and ridicule and horror.'[2]

The first reading of the Bill took place without the House dividing to vote on the question; but on the second reading, the Ministry secured only a majority of one; and when the House had resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole to consider the measure in detail, the Ministry were defeated by eight votes (April 1831). After some hesitation King William decided to dissolve Parliament, a decision which was received with wild excitement in both Houses.

The ensuing General Election, contrary to expectation, was quiet, and almost everywhere in favour of reform. The new Parliament met in June and a second Reform Bill was introduced. In the second reading the Government had a majority of 136 members. When the Bill went into Committee the Opposition disputed every point with unwearying determination, but without success; and finally on the third reading the Bill passed by 345 votes against 236 (September 21, 1831).

The Bill still had to go before the House of Lords, and the Peers made short work of it; it was thrown out by a majority of

[1] Sir Charles Wetherell (1770–1846), Attorney-General 1826, 1828.
[2] Greville, loc. cit., vol. ii, pp. 121–2.

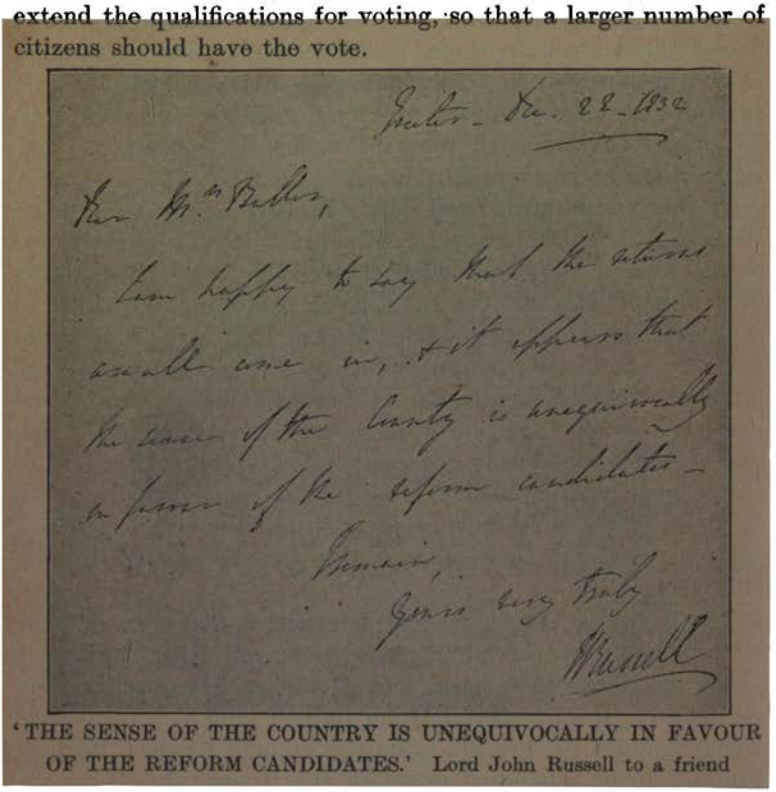
41. Meanwhile excitement had never run higher in the country. Nottingham Castle was burned ; in Bristol the prison was broken open, and the Bishop's Palace and the Mansion House set on fire. Lord Grey went on with his work. On December 12 a third Reform Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, and passed through all the stages there by March 1832 ; but again the Peers showed their determination, and although they passed the Bill's second reading (by nine votes), on the motion of Lord Lyndhurst they rejected the 'disfranchising' clauses in Committee by a majority of 35 (May 7).

Two days afterwards Lord Grey's Ministry resigned, and King William (who although personally in favour of reform, was nettled at Lord Grey's persistence) asked the Duke of Wellington to be Prime Minister. The Duke, as he always did, responded to the call of his sovereign, and tried to form a Ministry which would bring in another but more moderate Reform Bill. No one, however, would join him except Lord Lyndhurst, one of the greatest lawyers of the century, a recent convert from the Whigs, and hereafter the lifelong opponent of democracy. So, as a Tory Government was impossible, King William was obliged to recall Lord Grey, who only took office again on receiving the King's written promise to create enough new peers to pass the Reform Bill (May 17).

The House of Lords was still determined, and seemed ready to face even a creation of fifty new peers, but King William, to avoid the disagreeable task, sent a circular letter to the Tory peers asking them to abstain from voting. And so it happened ; when the third Reform Bill again was brought forward, Wellington and about a hundred peers left the House,[1] and on June 4, 1832, the Bill was passed by 106 to 22. Bonfires all over the country welcomed the result as if it were the end of a great war.

[1] It will be remembered that a similar scene was enacted in the House of Lords in 1911. The Liberal Government of Mr. Asquith had passed the Parliament Bill (to diminish the powers of the House of Lords) through the Commons. The Lords threw it out, and King George V accepted the advice of the Prime Minister to create as many new Liberal peers as were needed to carry the Bill. To prevent this, however, the Marquis of Lansdowne induced most of the Conservative peers to abstain from voting, and so the Bill passed through the House of Lords.

The Provisions of the Reform Act. The Act had two objects: the first was to redistribute parliamentary representation, so that places with few or no inhabitants should lose their members in favour of more populous centres; the second object was to extend the qualifications for voting, so that a larger number of citizens should have the vote.



'THE SENSE OF THE COUNTRY IS UNEQUIVOCALLY IN FAVOUR OF THE REFORM CANDIDATES.' Lord John Russell to a friend

To accomplish the first object, towns were divided by the Act into four classes. The first class, numbering 56—enumerated in *Schedule A* of the Act—were to cease outright to return members to Parliament; among them were Old Sarum, Gatton, East and West Looe, Castle Rising, Minehead, Dunwich, Fowey, Haslemere, and others. The second class, numbering 30, and included in *Schedule B*, were to return one member each instead of two. Among them were Wareham, Woodstock, Malmesbury,

Reigate, Lyme Regis, Arundel, Rye, Wallingford, Dartmouth, and others. The third class, called *Schedule C*, consisted of towns which hitherto had no members of Parliament at all and were now each to have two. Among these were Birmingham, Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, and others, mostly in the North. The fourth class, in *Schedule D*, contained places which hereafter were to be counted as boroughs, returning one member each to Parliament; such were Chatham, Cheltenham, Huddersfield, Wakefield, and

AFTER THE REFORM BILL. William Cobbett (first) and Place (third) enter the House while the Duke of Wellington and the aristocrats stand in the background. Cartoon by J. Doyle

Merthyr Tydfil. There were still sixty-five members left unallotted after the disfranchisement of the pocket boroughs. These sixty-five were given as additional members to the counties. Thus the members of Parliament were redistributed. Similar Bills were passed for Scotland and Ireland. The total number of members in the House of Commons (658) remained the same as before 1832.

The second object of the Reform Act was to simplify and extend the right to vote. The old customary qualifications for burgess voting, which varied from borough to borough, were done away with, and the right to vote was given to all males of full age owning or occupying a house worth £10 a year. In the counties all men

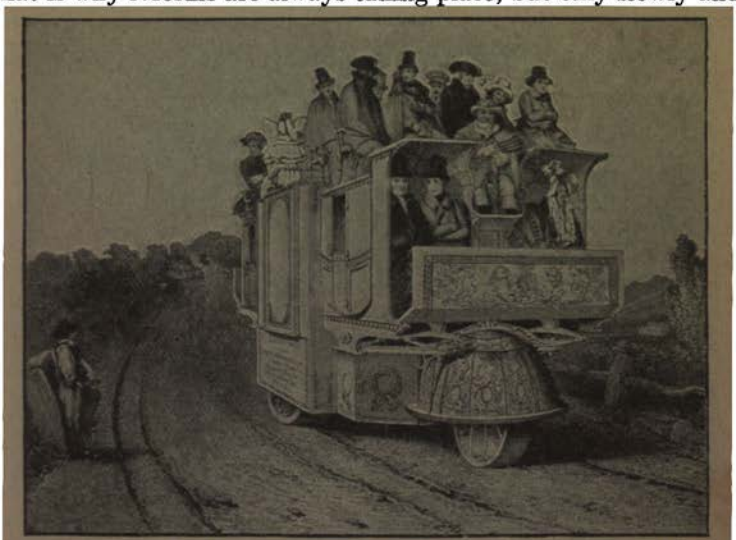
were given the franchise if they held land for the term of their life, or on a lease for 60 years, of the annual rental of £10, or if they held land on a yearly tenure, and paid a rent of £50.

The Results of the Reform Act. The Reform Act marked a revolution in our history, but a revolution of a very English kind. It was passed by constitutional means, and was loyally accepted and put into effect by the whole people, both those who had pressed for it, and those who had resisted it by every means consistent with the law of the land. No compensation was given

A PASSENGER COACH RUNNING BETWEEN OXFORD AND CHELTENHAM

to those who were deprived by the Bill of their power of appointing members for nomination or rotten boroughs; and though Lord Eldon and thirty-one other Tory peers recorded their protest against this as 'against the sacred rights of property' and as being, in fact, an 'unqualified and unconditional destruction of such rights', no further attacks on property followed, and the solid bases of English society remained. The Reform Act indeed was no very democratic measure; it destroyed, it is true, the monopoly of political power hitherto wielded by the landed gentry, and forced them to give a share of it to the middle classes. But the franchise was still beyond the reach of artisans and

agricultural labourers, and it was not till thirty-five more years had passed that a beginning was made by including some of those. The Whigs of Earl Grey's and Lord John Russell's school were no 'proletarians'. They intended the Reform Act of 1832 to be final, and in subsequent years there were no more determined opponents than they to proposals for its modification. The genius of English politics is good sense and moderation; and that is why reforms are always taking place, but only slowly and



STEAM CARRIAGE RUNNING BETWEEN LONDON AND BIRMINGHAM, 1832

piece-meal: they are first resisted for long, then passed with mutual give-and-take, then accepted for good and all.

§ 4. Communications

Roads. The reign of George IV and the fifteen following years were the palmy days of stage-coaching. As canals, before the advent of railways, took the heavy goods traffic of England, so stage-coaches took the passenger traffic. The inns all along the chief roads kept fresh well-fed horses; and by thus getting fresh horses every 'stage', the coach could travel, almost without

interrupting the pace, for a hundred and more miles. In the last half of the seventeenth century stage-coaches were running regularly between London and Oxford, but it was not till 1784 that Pitt arranged for the mails to be taken by coach instead of by post-boys on horseback. The average speed at this time was five miles an hour; from London to Bristol by the Bath Road took about twenty-two hours.

In 1815, however, the Scotsman, John Loudon Macadam, was made Surveyor-General of the Bristol Roads and began to metal

LONDON. THE SOUTH-EASTERN RAILWAY STATION. Opened 1844

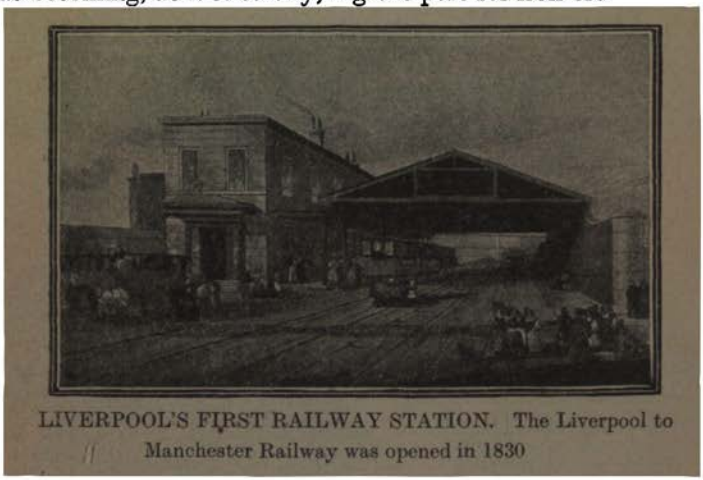
them with a hard smooth surface of crushed stones. Then began the great days of stage-coaching. Nothing better (certainly not the asphalt track of the motorist) has been discovered for horse-driving than the macadamized road. A steady rate of ten miles an hour could be maintained along it. George IV patronized coaching, and a large amount of capital was invested in the business. It became the fashion for rich young gentlemen to drive their own coaches, and the Brighton Road, or the Great North Road, or the Bath Road was, between 1820 and 1840, a brilliant and stirring sight in fine weather. Stage-coaching has brought fresh air into many stories: Mr. Pickwick, David Copperfield, and almost all Dickens' heroes travel by stage, and the inns

BRITANNIA TUBULAR BRIDGE OVER THE MENAI STRAITS.
Built 1846–1850 to the designs of R. Stephenson and Fairbairn

THE AGE OF BRIDGE-BUILDING. THE CLIFTON SUSPENSION BRIDGE. Designed by Brunel and completed, after more than 20 years, in 1864

are lovingly described; and all boys will remember how Tom Brown goes to Rugby, and leaves it, in a stage-coach, and how noisy and troublesome the schoolboys on the top were with their pea-shooters. The brilliant days of coaching ended about 1840: railways killed it.[1]

Railways. There were railways in England before locomotive engines were run on them. From the beginning of the eighteenth century rails were laid on the ground and heavy traffic was hauled along these by horses. At first the rails were of wood, but in 1739 a 'plateway' of iron rails was laid at Whitehaven, which was becoming, as it is to-day, a great port for iron ore.



LIVERPOOL'S FIRST RAILWAY STATION. The Liverpool to Manchester Railway was opened in 1830

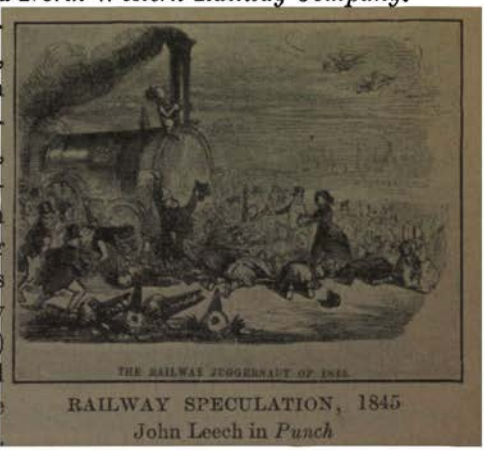
The invention of the steam-engine came in 1765, but it was a stationary engine. It was not till 1813 that William Hadley made a locomotive engine, 'Puffing Billy', which ran on the plateway at Wylam Colliery, eight miles from Newcastle. It was at the Wylam Colliery also that the greatest of the early railway engineers, George Stephenson, was born in 1781. George Stephenson thought out the method of using the waste steam of an engine, and so made the success of the locomotive assured. When, in 1823, some of the business men of Yorkshire were con-

[1] Railways killed stage-coaching, and accordingly, one might add, stage-coaching ceased to kill horses, for the pace had been cruel.

templating the building of a plateway for horse-traffic along the Bishop Auckland valley, George Stephenson suggested that it should be made into a locomotive railway. This was the origin of the Stockton and Darlington, now the *North-Eastern Railway*.

The next railway constructed was the Liverpool and Manchester line. It was at the opening of this railway (a double line), on September 15, 1830, that Huskisson was killed while standing on one track and speaking to the Duke of Wellington who was in a coach on the other. The Liverpool and Manchester grew into the great *London and North-Western Railway Company*.

In 1823 the *Great Western Railway* was begun, with Isambard Kingdom Brunel as chief constructor. The beautiful bridges, viaducts, and tunnel-heads of this line, from London to Cornwall, bear the stamp of Brunel's genius. In 1835 the Derby and Leeds (now *Midland*) railway was begun, and between 1847 and 1851 the *Great Northern* was built.



RAILWAY SPECULATION, 1845
John Leech in *Punch*

The only thing which marred the steady development of the British railway system was the 'Railway Mania' in 1845, which may be compared with the South Sea Bubble of 1720. Large numbers of speculative railway companies were formed, most of which never were able to construct a foot of track, and a great deal of money was lost. But the wave of speculation passed, and the solid results of British enterprise remained.

The British railways were costly to build (about £44,700 per mile), but they are the best constructed lines in the world. Every penny that went to the making of them was subscribed privately, with no assistance from the State. That good value resulted from the high expenditure is proved by the really marvellous way in which British railways stood the long strain imposed upon

them by the European War, when the railway service, while satisfying all the demands of the War Office, was able also to provide for all the needs of private travelling and of trade.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE FIRST REFORMED PARLIAMENT AND THE EARLY YEARS OF QUEEN VICTORIA'S REIGN

§ 1. The First Reformed Parliament

The first General Election held under the Reform Act produced an avalanche in the world of party politics. When the Reformed Parliament met in January 1833, the Whigs numbered 486, and the Tories only 172. Yet more striking than the change in the balance of parties was the change in the personnel of Parliament: there were 300 new faces on the benches of the House of Commons.

The Work of the Reformed Parliament. The Government of Lord Grey was, however, a disappointment to the country. The constitution had been changed, and yet the millennium did not follow. But in spite of the disappointments occasioned by over-expectation, in spite of intrigues and vacillations, the five years that followed the Act of 1832 were not barren of result. Lord Grey, the Premier, Lord Brougham (Lord Chancellor), Lord Althorp (Chancellor of the Exchequer), and Lord John Russell were men who, although they did not go far enough to satisfy the Radicals, were inflexibly bent on seeing fair play to every section of the nation; and without expecting by Acts of Parliament to make a new world out of the old, they nevertheless accomplished admirable work.

'Exclusive principles in the constitution,' says Disraeli in *Coningsby*, 'and restrictive principles in commerce, have grown up together.' So, one of the first things done by the Reformed Parliament was to throw the China trade open.[1] The Charter of

[1] In 1813, when Napoleon's 'Continental System' closed the ports of Europe to British merchants, Parliament had withdrawn the East India Company's monopoly of the India trade, but left the Company still in sole enjoyment of the China trade.

the East India Company came up for renewal in 1833 : Parliament continued the life of the Company as the governing corporation of British India, but abolished its commercial functions.

Emancipation of Slaves. In the same year came the momentous *Emancipation of the Slaves Act.* All children of slaves, if those children were born after the passing of the Act, and all slave children under six years of age, were made free. The rest of the slaves were bound as a kind of apprentices to their masters, receiving wages. The West India planters, the owners of the slaves,

On the left the liberated blacks dance round Sir T. F. Buxton. To the right John Bull is disturbed by the bill of £20,000,000. Cartoon by J. Doyle

were compensated with a Parliamentary grant of £20,000,000 ' that so great an act of justice should be generously completed '.

The First Factory Act. The year 1833 was an *annus mirabilis* in legislation ; for it saw not only the freeing of all slaves in the British Empire, but also the lightening of the load that, since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, had been oppressing the children of the poor. The concentration of industry in factories, and the increased use of machinery, had made the employment of women and children very profitable to the manufacturers. The hours worked were long ; and under the strain of factory life large numbers of children died, others grew up fearfully deformed. Women too suffered seriously in health ; and

their homes, often left in the charge of an unemployed husband, grew untidy and insanitary.

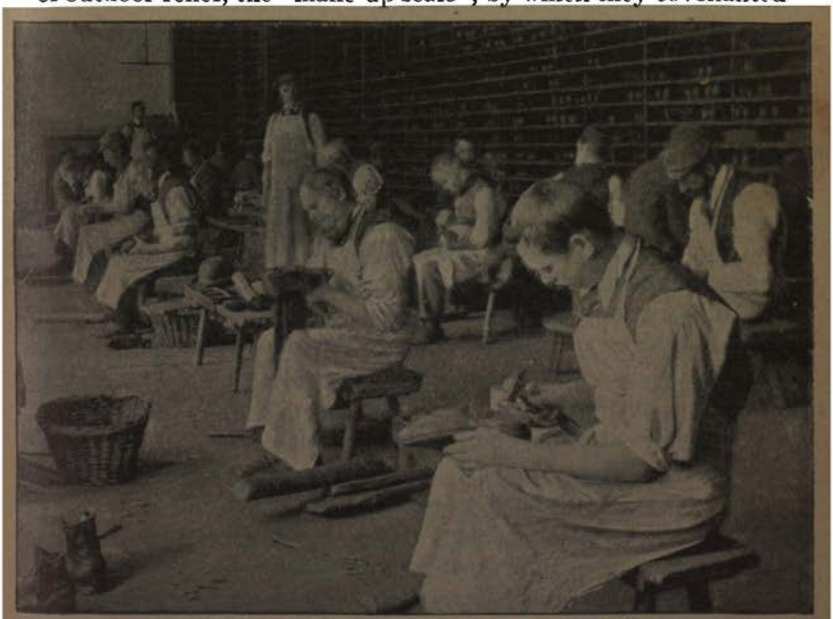
The conditions of life and work in the factories, especially in Manchester, Bradford, and other northern towns, attracted the attention of Lord Ashley,[1] who while a schoolboy at Harrow, had resolved to dedicate his life to the service of the poor. In 1833 Ashley, who sat in the House of Commons as member for Dorset, introduced a Bill, which, after it had passed into law, became known as the First Factory Act. It was not precisely the first of its kind, as a law passed in 1802 had reduced the hours to be worked by children to twelve per week. This Act, however, contained large exceptions. Ashley's Act of 1833 was a more thorough measure, although no one to-day would consider that it went very far. It prohibited night-work in textile factories to all persons under eighteen years of age; and limited the weekly hours of work for those between the ages of thirteen and eighteen to sixty-eight hours, and for those between nine and thirteen, to forty-eight hours. Government Inspectors were provided to enforce the law.

A LUNATIC EARLY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Poor Law Reform. In July 1834 Lord Grey, finding his unwieldy majority in a state of disintegration, resigned, and Lord Melbourne took his place. This Whig Government was not more stable than the last, but before it died it passed the Poor Law Reform Act, certainly one of the most effective pieces of legislation in the nineteenth century.

[1] 1801–1885. Succeeded his father as Earl of Shaftesbury in 1851.

The Old Poor Law. Since the opening of the Industrial Revolution a bad Poor Law system had been doing nearly everything possible to demoralize the working classes. In 1782 Gilbert's Act had abolished the 'workhouse test'. In 1795 the Berkshire magistrates had used the powers given them by Gilbert's Act to supplement inadequate wages by allowances. They issued a table of outdoor relief, the 'make-up scale', by which they covenanted



A WORK-ROOM IN A MODERN ASYLUM

to add whatever was necessary to a labourer's wages, in order to make it up to a living-wage. The example of the Berkshire magistrates was followed in other counties, with the most appalling results.

As the allowance system was extended wages diminished, and the condition of labourers has never been so bad as in the days of indiscriminate outdoor relief to the able-bodied, especially between 1815 and 1832. In 1760 the cost of poor-relief was £1,250,000; in 1804, it was £4,000,000; in 1813, £6,556,000; in 1818 it was £7,870,000 and from then till 1834 it never dropped

below £7,000,000. In some parishes, nearly the whole population was in receipt of relief.

Relief was given in various ways. One way was to exempt small houses from paying rates. Therefore a labourer owning his own house had only to let it get into really bad repair, and then he could claim relief from rates.

Another way was for the parish to pay a pauper labourer's rent. The result was that landlords turned out free labourers and took in paupers, because the parish was a better rent-payer than the free labourer. The Poor Law Commission in 1832 found that most of the cottages in Surrey, Sussex, and North Wales were tenanted by paupers with the parish paying the rents.

If wages were not enough to maintain a workman, the parish made up the difference. So the farmer paid less and less in wages, and the labourer, feeling that it was the parish, not the farmer, who was really paying him, gave less and less work.

'Make-up' of wages was claimed for children as well as parents; and children over fourteen years of age could earn wages and claim make-up for themselves. Every member of a family thus received a separate dole. If there was no work at all to be got, the parishes employed the paupers on relief-work, on the roads. Men soon found it possible to leave their employments, and to get better wages, with notoriously less work, on the roads.

The Poor Law Amendment Act. It was to investigate this lamentable state of affairs that a Royal Commission was appointed in 1832. Its chief members were Nassau William Senior, Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, and Edwin Chadwick, a barrister, and friend of Jeremy Bentham. The Report of the Commission, issued in 1834 (reprinted in 1905), gives a complete account of the state of affairs.

The Commission recommended that the situation of the able-bodied pauper should 'not be made really or apparently so eligible as the situation of the independent labourer of the lowest class'. The 'workhouse test' was to be re-established, and no outdoor relief was to be given to able-bodied people, except medical attendance in cases of necessity.

In consequence of these recommendations, the Poor Law

Amendment Act was passed in 1834. It contained no declaration of principles, but merely appointed new authorities, who, it was assumed, would put in practice the principles of the Report. The new authorities were a body of three Poor Law Commissioners, permanent officials, to supervise the whole system ; and in the local districts, Guardians, to take the place of the vestries or parish councils, which had managed the Poor Law of each parish before 1834. The Guardians were unpaid, and were elected in groups of parishes, called ' Unions '.

The Report of 1834 stopped the demoralization and degradation of the English labourer. Since then the number of paupers has gradually decreased, with occasional oscillations due to temporary changes of policy at rare intervals. The Poor Law is still the same, except that a new central board, the Local Government Board, replaced the old one, in 1871. In 1919, the Local Government Board changed its name and became, with greatly extended powers, the Ministry of Health.

Municipal Reform. In November 1834, Lord Melbourne had to resign, and Sir Robert Peel, who was enjoying the tranquil beauties of old Rome with his family, came back post-haste to form a precarious Conservative administration with ' the Duke '. This Government lasted less than four months, and then Lord Melbourne returned and passed the *Municipal Reform Act* (1835). By this the ancient corporations were remodelled ; in place of the old governing bodies, which were based on very narrow franchises, town councils were established, to be elected by all the ratepayers.

§ 2. The Early Years of Queen Victoria

The End of the Period. Three years later (June 20, 1837) King William IV died, at the age of seventy-two. When his reign ended, Britain may be said to have passed through, with difficulty but not without success, the troubled times which are the aftermath of a great war. He had lived just long enough to see his niece the Princess Victoria (of whom he was very fond, though he could not endure her mother) come of age.

The Victorian Age. The reign of Queen Victoria has inexhaus-

tible interest and instruction for the student of history. During the sixty-three years of her reign, distinct progress took place in the moral and material condition of the English people. Her age was not so great in art as the age of the Renaissance, nor in drama as the age of Elizabeth. Yet no period has surpassed that of Victoria in the variety and solid worth of its achievement. Notable results were gained by philanthropy, in bettering the lot of the poor; by mechanical enterprises, which conquered Nature through obeying her; in theology, liberal, never extreme; in architecture, which, if not of the highest order, was dignified and pleasing; in literature, where the glorious record of the English people in prose and verse was sustained and advanced. The flag of England was seen on every sea and in almost every corner of the earth, and was recognized as a symbol of justice and a guarantee of fair play. The spirit of the people, tried by several severe though comparatively short wars, showed no decline throughout a long period, which was, on the whole, peaceful. Such wars as took place were successfully isolated in their own parts of the world, and never disturbed the general progress of the country.

Parents. Alexandrina Victoria was born on May 24, 1819 in Kensington Palace, London. Her father was Edward, Duke of Kent and Strathearn, fourth son of King George III. The Duke of Kent had married late in life, at the age of 51; the Princess Victoria was born the year after; little more than six months later, her father died (January 23, 1820). Victoria accordingly remembered nothing of her father, although what she had learned about him later influenced her life. Her father had been a soldier, with service in various parts of the world; Victoria observed in after life, 'I was always taught to consider myself a soldier's child.' This was undoubtedly one of the influences which contributed to that strong sense of duty which was always so prominent in her character.

Victoria's mother was Victoria Mary Louisa, a princess of the house of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld. This lady had first married the Prince of Leiningen, who died in 1814, and by whom she had one son and one daughter.

Early Years. Until her accession to the throne, Victoria was brought up chiefly in Kensington Palace. This, after St. James's, is the most simple, and perhaps the most beautiful of the Royal Palaces. It is a dignified and not too large building, dating from the late seventeenth century, built of red brick, the windows set in white frames. The palace, which has a quiet, domestic appearance, is at the west end of Kensington Garden, which is planted with noble elms, and separated from Hyde Park by the Long Water or 'Serpentine'. The household of the Duchess of Kent occupied only a part of the Palace, and their life there was simple. At the age of five Victoria was put under the charge of a governess, Miss Lehzen,[1] who was very strict, and who succeeded, with some difficulty, in teaching the self-willed princess her letters. The family, although so near to the throne, was by no means rich : when Victoria's father, the Duke of Kent (an extravagant man, who could not live on his large Government pension), died at Sidmouth, the Duchess was so poor that she 'could not have travelled back to Kensington Palace, had it not been for the kind assistance of my dear uncle, Prince Leopold' (Queen Victoria's Letters [2]). Holidays were spent at quiet seaside or country places in the south-east or south of England : Ramsgate, Broadstairs, Tunbridge Wells. The family lived at these times in what the Queen afterwards described as 'small houses', hired for the occasion. The princess was taken for drives in a pony-cart with her governess. Sometimes the Duchess and her daughter were invited to Windsor by King William IV, often to Claremont, near Esher in Surrey, the stately mansion which the heroic and melancholy Clive had built when he returned from India ; at this time it belonged to Prince Leopold (afterwards King of the Belgians), who was the brother of the Duchess of Kent.

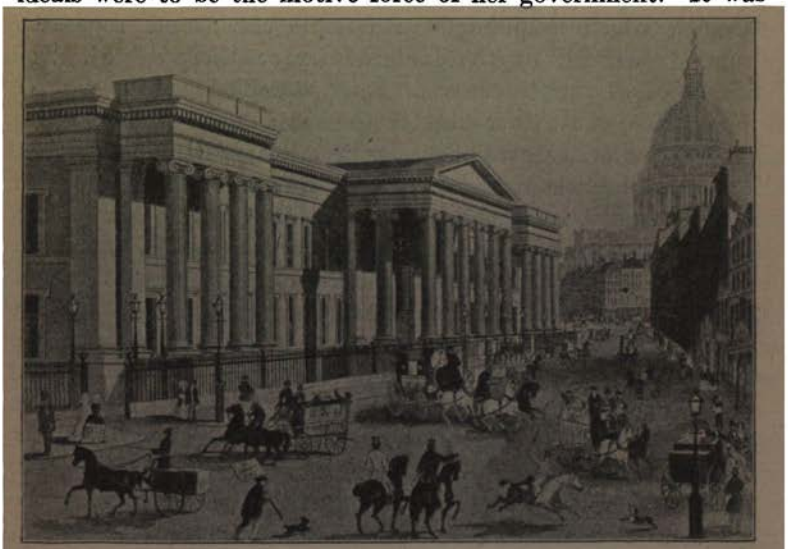
Life in the royal family in those days was really quiet, for none of the Georges had kept up much state ; the household of a wealthy nobleman, as described in Disraeli's novels,

[1] Louise Lehzen, daughter of a clergyman in Hanover. Created a Hanoverian baroness by George IV in 1827. Retired to Germany, 1842. Died 1870.

[2] *The Letters of Queen Victoria* (Benson and Esher), ch. ii.

was more ostentatious and luxurious than that of the royal family.

The simplicity of her surroundings, the quiet domestic life, the frugal household, enabled her to understand and sympathize with the great English middle class. This class was to be the chief political power throughout her reign, and its kindly, prudent ideals were to be the motive force of her government. It was



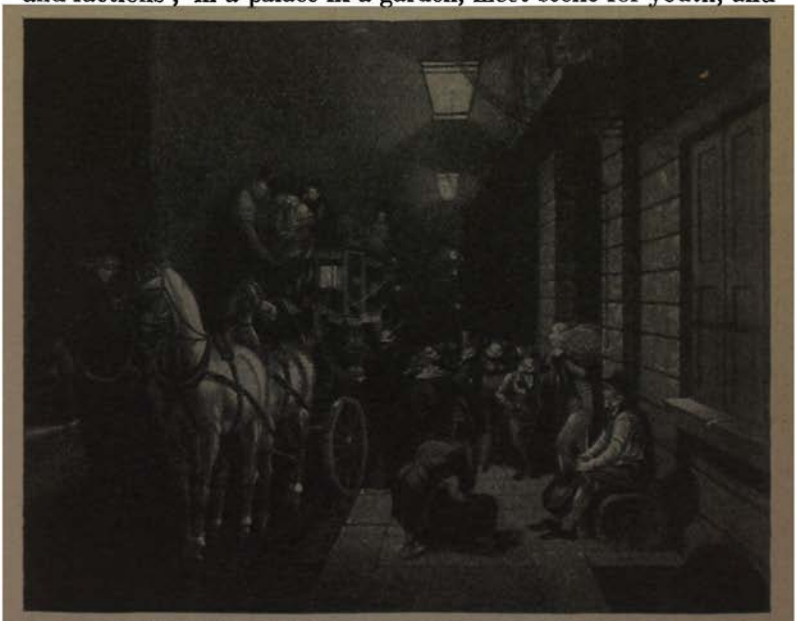
THE GENERAL POST OFFICE, BUILT 1818–1829

a great blessing for England that throughout this time a kindly, unaffected, sensible monarch should be at the head of the State.

The Queen's Accession. King William IV died in Windsor Castle at 2 o'clock in the morning of June 20, 1837. The chief official of the Court—the Lord Chamberlain—and the Archbishop of Canterbury, both of whom had been present beside the death-bed, at once left Windsor and drove straight to Kensington to inform the princess that she was now a queen. The imagination of the people was struck with the idea of the scene which then took place, a scene gracefully and touchingly depicted in the well-known picture in Buckingham Palace. The Queen had to be wakened from her sleep, to learn of her succession to the throne.

Disraeli's sentimental allusion to the event in *Sybil* was more in accordance, perhaps, with the taste of that day than it is with ours.

'In a palace in a garden, not in a haughty keep, proud with the fame but dark with the violence of ages; not in a regal pile, bright with the splendour, but soiled with the intrigues, of courts and factions; in a palace in a garden, meet scene for youth, and



DISPATCHING THE MAIL COACHES FROM THE G.P.O.

innocence, and beauty, came a voice that told the maiden that she must ascend her throne!' (*Sybil*, Book I, chapter vi.)

Thus at the age of 18 Victoria succeeded to the throne of the United Kingdom. The succession to the crown of Hanover in Germany was limited to males and consequently passed to one of her uncles, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, in whose line it remained until his son was expelled by the Prussians in 1866. Hanover had been under the same ruler as England since 1714, but neither country had exercised much influence on the other.

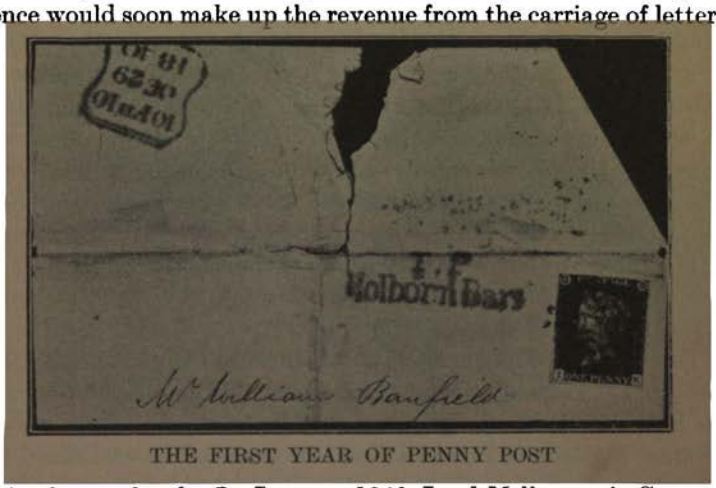
The Troubled Years. The condition of England at the Queen's accession, although improved since the Napoleonic Wars, was not good. Great distress prevailed among the poorer classes owing to the high price of food. The people, who had expected all their woes to end with the Reform Act, were disappointed, and political agitation was again becoming serious. The industries of the country were in a sense prosperous: the mines and the mills were working at high pressure, but the way in which people lived and worked still brought misery and disease to many women and to more children. Abroad, the 'Eastern Question' was again troubling Europe. In the empire, Canada was in revolt. Fortunately, Lord Melbourne, a very judicious and moderate Whig, was Premier at the time, and the young Queen gave her entire confidence to him.

The Whig Government. Lord Melbourne was not indeed in favour of sweeping legislative changes, and was content to leave much to be done by voluntary effort and by the strengthening of public opinion. The great Acts of the Reformed Parliament were things of the past—the abolition of slavery and the reform of the Poor Law and municipalities. Yet he carried through some useful work of a minor character. One was to extend the grant for education. Another was to establish the penny postage. He was also largely responsible for setting the Queen in the path of wise constitutional government. Thus he may, in a sense, be called the father of the Victorian Age.

The young Queen was entirely dependent on him. The country, on the other hand, was becoming tired of the Whig Government, and in May 1839 Lord Melbourne found his majority reduced to 5. He resigned, and Peel was offered the premiership. Peel, however, insisted that the Queen should dismiss the Whig ladies of her household (or bedchamber). The Queen refused, and so Peel declined office. Lord Melbourne was recalled, and was maintained in power for two more years by the influence of the Crown. This is the importance of the famous *Bedchamber* affair.

The Penny Postage. The reduction of the charge for carrying letters appears to be a simple measure compared with the difficult and complicated Acts which are required for any social

change nowadays. Yet it is doubtful whether any measure of the Government has done more for the happiness and enlightenment of the people. Till 1839 the charge for carrying letters through the post in Great Britain varied according to distance from 2*d.* to about 1*s.* 6*d.* Consequently, correspondence was small, and people were out of touch with each other. In 1837 Mr. Rowland Hill proposed that a uniform charge be established of one penny per half-ounce. The Post Office authorities were against the change, but Mr. Hill argued that the increase of correspondence would soon make up the revenue from the carriage of letters



THE FIRST YEAR OF PENNY POST

to its former level. In January 1840, Lord Melbourne's Government put the proposal into effect; the penny post became established in England, and within the next half-century was adopted by most of the chief peoples of the world.

Education. The education policy of the Melbourne Government was more tentative than their postal reform. In 1833 a grant of £20,000 a year of public money had been made to education, to be divided between the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. In 1839 Lord Melbourne increased the grant to £30,000, and at the same time established a committee consisting of the President of the Privy Council and five other Privy Councillors. This committee was to apportion the money between the various private associations which main-

tained schools for the working classes, and to appoint inspectors to see that the schools were good. It was the origin of the Board of Education.

It was about this time also that Public School education received a new and wonderful lease of life. Thomas Arnold, a Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Fellow of Oriel College, had in December 1827 been appointed Head Master of Rugby (then a small school of 200 boys) at the early age of thirty-two. Dr. Hawkins, Fellow, and subsequently Provost, of Oriel, had said, in recommending Arnold's appointment, that 'he would change the face of Public School education'. He fulfilled this prophecy to the letter in the fourteen years that followed. Mathematics, Modern History, French and German, were added to the ordinary school curriculum. But the most important reform of all was the monitorial system, according to which the charge of discipline was put into the hands of the older and more intellectual boys, and a new spirit of earnestness introduced into school-life. Arnold, who has been touchingly described in *Tom Brown's Schooldays* and Dean Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, died just before he reached the age of forty-seven.

The Queen's Marriage. The young Queen felt keenly her position of isolation at the English court. Her uncle, the King of the Belgians, had long ago planned that she should marry his own nephew, her cousin, Prince Albert, the younger son of Ernest, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Already in 1836, Albert and his brother Ernest had been brought by their father on a visit to London and introduced to the Princess Victoria.

The Princess Victoria to the King of the Belgians

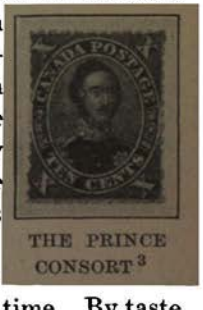
'My dearest Uncle, ——,

... Uncle Ernest and my cousins arrived here on Wednesday, *sains et saufs*. Uncle is looking remarkably well, and my cousins are most delightful young people. I will give you no detailed description of them, as you will soon see them yourself. But I must say, that they are both very amiable, very good and kind, and extremely merry, just as young people should be; with all that, they are extremely sensible, and very fond of occupation. Albert is extremely handsome, which Ernest certainly is not, but he has a most good-natured, honest, and intelligent countenance.

We took them to the Opera on Friday, to see the *Puritani*, and as they are excessively fond of music, like me, they were in perfect ecstasies, having never heard any of the singers before. . . .'[1]

At this time Albert was seventeen years old, and Victoria three months older. The subject of marriage was not mentioned and the Princess herself seems to have had then no idea of it; nevertheless the plan of King Leopold was considered so promising that Albert was placed under the care of Leopold's friend Stockmar, to be specially educated at Brussels for the position of Prince Consort of England: the chief subjects of instruction were history, modern languages, and the theory and practice of constitutional government.

Three years later the two Coburg Princes again visited England, and were entertained by the young Queen herself at Windsor. This time Victoria fell completely in love and on October 15, five days after his arrival, she summoned the Prince to her room and offered him marriage; for, as she remarked afterwards: 'he would never have presumed to take such a liberty as to propose to the Queen of England.'[2] The marriage took place in the Chapel of St. James's Palace on February 10, 1840.



THE PRINCE CONSORT[3]

The Prince Consort. Prince Albert was undoubtedly one of the most cultivated men of the time. By taste and training he had acquired a great knowledge of the international affairs of Europe; his interest in domestic affairs was no less keen; music, painting, learning, and commerce were all encouraged by him, and much of the fine achievements of the Victorian Age must be put down to his influence. The Queen and the Prince were well mated: Victoria was then a beautiful, spirited girl; Albert was tall and handsome, tactful and sympathetic. Both had a high idea of their position, and worked hard at their great task. The Prince acted as a private secretary and a trusted adviser to the Queen: much of her state correspondence was drafted by his hand. Many hours each day must

[1] *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, i. 48–9.
[2] Parker's *Sir Robert Peel*, vol. ii. p. 414.
[3] From the Canadian issue of 1859.

have been passed by the Queen and Prince at their writing-table, and the continuity of the Queen's correspondence shows how few holidays they took.[1]

CHAPTER XXXII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS 1816–1852

The Concert of Europe. The long drawn-out Napoleonic War ended with the 'General Act' of the Congress of Vienna, dated June 9, 1815, and the Second Treaty of Paris, dated November 20 of the same year. The Vienna Treaty resettled the boundaries and, to some extent, the constitutions of many of the European states, and the Second Paris Treaty finally fixed the peace terms with France. At the same time the victorious Powers were faced with the problem of maintaining the settlement which had just been made, and of ensuring, if possible, that another European war should not take place in the near future. With this object they entered into certain treaties with each other.

The best known of these 'insurance' treaties, as they might be called, is the Holy Alliance, concluded shortly before the Peace of Paris. By this Act, which was proposed by the Tsar Alexander I, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, in the persons of their monarchs, promised to support each other:

'Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting Monarchs will remain united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and considering each other as fellow countrymen, they will on all occasions and in all places lend each other aid and assistance; and regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers of families, they will lead them in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated to protect Religion, Peace, and Justice.' (Article I of the Holy Alliance, September 26, 1815.)

[1] The influence of Prince Albert has been clearly shown by Mr. Lytton Strachey in his biography of *Queen Victoria* (1921). The view is not altogether kindly; cf. 'To me the chief interest of Mr. Strachey's book is . . . its record of the gradual transference of English society from the category "flamboyant" to the category "drab"' (A. B. Walkley in *The Times*).

Kingdom of Sardinia
Austrian Dominions
Netherlands
Prussia
Germanic Confederation
Copenhagen
Danzig
Hamburg
Elbe
LONDON
HANOVER
BERLIN
WARSAW
Pripet
RUSSIA
POLAND
Antwerp
BRUSSELS
DRESDEN
Breslau
SAXONY
Dnieper
Rouen
PARIS
Seine
Strassburg
BADEN
BAVARIA
Cracow
Bug
Dniester
WURTEMBERG
Rhine
VIENNA
Pruth
FRANCE
Loire
Berne
Budapest
Theiss
Sereth
Bordeaux
Milan
Trieste
Drave
Maros
Bayonne
Rhône
Genoa
Venice
Save
Belgrade
TURKISH
Danube
Florence
PAPAL
SPAIN
Marseilles
Corsica to France
STATES
EMPIRE
CONSTANTINOPLE
Barcelona
ROME
Naples
KINGDOM OF TWO SICILIES
ATHENS
CENTRAL and EASTERN EUROPE 1815

Most of the Powers of Europe, including France herself, subsequently joined the Holy Alliance, but the British Government never became a party to it. It undoubtedly exercised great influence, especially upon the monarchs of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, who in the following years frequently exchanged views on the condition of Europe. But although the specific object of the Holy Alliance was to prevent the spread of revolution in Europe, it was really a statement of policy rather than a working *League*. The Austrian chancellor Metternich said, many years later, that no appeal was ever formally made to its terms.

More practical in its intention and in its effects was the Quadruple Alliance made between Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia on November 20, 1815, the same day as the Peace of Paris was signed. This Quadruple Alliance was the outcome of the common-sense mind of Castlereagh, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. By it Great Britain and the three other Great Powers who had brought the war with France to a triumphant conclusion, engaged (1) to maintain the Treaty of Paris and to see that its stipulations were properly executed, and (2) to meet from time to time for the purpose of consulting on their common interests. Out of this excellent treaty two valuable results issued: the delicate business of carrying into effect the terms of peace made with France was successfully accomplished, and by the end of the year 1818 the whole Army of Occupation had left French territory, the new boundaries had been marked, and the last million of the indemnity paid; and secondly the Powers met every few years in Congress (to which France was admitted)—meetings which, though frequently misused at the time, grew into the 'Concert of Europe' and helped to avoid wars.

The first practical outcome of the 'Concert' was the bombardment of Algiers on August 27, 1816, and the freeing of all the slaves there and in the other Barbary States. The expedition which achieved this was composed of British and Dutch ships, and was commanded by Admiral Sir Edward Pellew, who was made Viscount Exmouth for his services.

The Congress Period. The first meeting held under the terms of the Quadruple Alliance was the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle

in October 1818, attended by representatives of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. As France had managed to pay off the war indemnity two years earlier than the time allowed by the treaty, the Allies agreed to evacuate French territory. From this year France was treated as a regular member of the Concert of Europe.

The next Congress met at Troppau in Austrian Silesia, in October 1820. By this time the Tsar Alexander had abandoned his liberal outlook and had associated himself with Metternich in opposition to democracy. Three revolutions had broken out, one in Spain, one in Piedmont, a third in Naples, with the object of forcing the monarchs of these countries to allow representative government. Metternich proposed that the Congress should take action against those movements, to prevent them from spreading and from becoming general, like the French Revolution. The Tsar Alexander and Frederick William of Prussia agreed, but Castlereagh instructed the English representative at the Congress to protest against interfering with the domestic concerns of independent States. The other Powers, however, went their own way, and an Austrian army was authorized to suppress the revolutions in Naples and Piedmont, and this result was successfully achieved.

The Powers of the Holy Alliance had thus openly declared themselves in favour of intervention, while Great Britain had taken a decided stand on the principle of 'non-intervention'. Two years later another Congress was arranged by Metternich to meet at Verona (September 1822), to consider the Spanish Revolution, which was still dragging on, and the insurrection in Greece which had just broken out. The suicide of Castlereagh occurred at the moment when he was expected to be setting out for Verona. His place at the Congress was taken by the Duke of Wellington, who again declared to the Powers that England would not intervene in the internal political questions of independent States. Nevertheless the Congress allowed France to send an army into Spain, and the democratic movement there was put down.

Canning. On Castlereagh's death Canning became Secretary

of State for Foreign Affairs. Since the year 1809, when he had retired from the Ministry after quarrelling with Castlereagh, he had been Member of Parliament for Liverpool, Ambassador at Lisbon (1814), and President of the Board of Control at the India Office. In 1822 he had actually been appointed Governor-General of India and was only prevented from sailing for that country by the news of Castlereagh's death and by the offer of the Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs. This position most suited Canning's genius, and he at once gave up the splendid prize of India and accepted the Foreign Office.

Canning was at this time fifty-two years old, and still in the full vigour of his enthusiasm, his eloquence, and his energy. Almost his first act was to hold out a hand to the colonies of South America, which were struggling for independence against Spain, as the North American Colonies had formerly struggled against England. The Spanish Government, having, with the help of France, quelled the revolution at home, now looked as if, with the same help, it might quell the insurrections in its colonies. Canning would not tolerate this : he had not been able to prevent France from intervening at Madrid, but he took steps to see that she did not intervene at Buenos Aires. On October 17, 1823, he appointed duly accredited British consuls to the principal towns of the Spanish insurrectionary colonies, thus practically recognizing their independence. Less than two months later, President Monroe of the United States, encouraged by the dispatches of Canning, sent his famous Message to Congress (December 2, 1823), containing the principle now known as the Monroe Doctrine :

'In the wars of the European Powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparation for our defence. With the movements of this Hemisphere, we are, of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. . . . We owe it therefore to candour, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt, on their part, to extend their system to any portion of this Hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing Colonies or Depen-

dencies of any European Power, we have not interfered, and we shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose Independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition, for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any manner, their destiny, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.' [1]

The Monroe doctrine, in effect, was a declaration of ' hands off America ', and, coupled with Canning's recognition of the independence of the revolting Spanish colonies, it was sufficient to secure these their freedom. Thus, though unable at the moment to enforce his principle of ' non-intervention ' in Old Europe, Canning was completely successful in the New World. With pardonable pride he declared to the House of Commons :

' I sought materials of compensation in another hemisphere. . . . I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the old.'

The Greek War of Independence. Meanwhile another insurrection had started in Europe, and Canning's policy of ' non-intervention ' was again put to the test. Since the year 1460 the Greeks had been under Turkish rule ; but in 1821 a revolt was started by Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, a Greek exile who had served in the Russian army and had lost an arm in the battle of Dresden in 1813. The movement spread from Moldavia, where it had begun, to the Morea, and became, both on the Turkish and on the Greek side, almost a war of extermination. The greatest sympathy with the Greeks was manifested in England, and Englishmen took up arms in the Greek cause—among them Lord Byron, who died at Missolonghi in 1824, Finlay, the historian of Greece, who both fought and wrote in the land of his adoption, Lord Dundonald, who, having served in the Peruvian and Brazilian navies, accepted the command of the Greek navy in 1827, and Sir Richard Church, who became Commander-in-chief of the Greek land forces in 1827 and continued to serve Greece as a soldier till 1854.

[1] *State Papers* (1824), p. 4.

Officially Canning could do little to help Greece, because of his principle of non-intervention, and also because, although favourable to the independence of the subject peoples, the British Government desired still for commercial reasons to be friendly with the Porte. The war dragged on. At the end of the year 1825 the Tsar Alexander I died, and was succeeded on the throne by his brother Nicholas, a strong-minded autocrat, who meant to drive the Turks out of Europe. Canning had no idea of allowing this to take place, so he sent the Duke of Wellington to St. Petersburg. The Duke, like Nicholas, was a soldier, an aristocrat, and a conservative, and these two men made friends with each other. On April 4, 1826, the Duke signed the 'Protocol of St. Petersburg', by which Great Britain and Russia agreed to offer their mediation to the Porte, on the condition of Greece becoming a self-governing country, dependent on Turkey, and paying an annual tribute. The Protocol was converted next year into a regular treaty between Great Britain, Russia, and France (June 6, 1827). This was Canning's last act. He died on August 8.

Just two months later the battle of Navarino occurred, and the freedom of Greece was made certain. The three Powers—Great Britain, France, and Russia—as they had agreed to do, offered their mediation to the belligerents and proposed that an armistice should take place. The Greeks accepted the proposal; the Turks refused. The allied fleet, under the command of the senior admiral, Sir Edward Codrington, then sailed into Navarino Bay to parley with the Turkish commander Ibrahim Pasha, and to persuade him, if possible, to accept the armistice. From his ship Codrington opened negotiations with the Turkish admiral. The parleying did not last long. The Turkish guns were the first to open fire; a regular battle followed, and lasted for four hours; at the end of this time the Turkish fleet had been destroyed.

The battle of Navarino made it certain that the Greeks would at any rate be safe from the Turks at sea. A land campaign by the Russian army in 1829 completed the process. General Diebitsch crossed the Danube and advanced as far as Adrianople, where the Turks signed a Treaty of peace and agreed to give freedom to Greece (September 14, 1829). The final negotiations

took a long time, the discussions over boundaries being especially difficult. In 1832, however, the complete settlement was achieved by the Treaty of London, between Great Britain, France, and Russia on the one hand, and Bavaria on the other. The result of all these arrangements was that Greece became completely independent, not even paying tribute to Turkey, that the Bavarian Prince Otto was appointed King of Greece, and that the northern boundary of the new kingdom was fixed from Volo to Arta—a small territory, but one which has served as a base for subsequently building up a large Greek State in the mainland, in the islands, and in Asia Minor. The treaty of London of 1832 was one of the first successes of Lord Palmerston, who had become Foreign Secretary in Lord Grey's Ministry.

WILLIAM IV AND THE RIVAL CLAIMANTS TO THE PORTUGUESE THRONE. Cartoon by J. Doyle

Portugal. The twenty years which followed the Napoleonic War were full of the most difficult problems in foreign affairs, and it was fortunate for England—and for Europe—that there was a succession of such able Foreign Secretaries as Castlereagh, Canning, and Palmerston. In addition to Turkey, the Peninsula presented thorny questions.

Portugal had been the ally of England since the fourteenth century. This connexion naturally became closer still during the Peninsular War. During that war the royal family had withdrawn to the Portuguese colony of Brazil, and remained there till 1821, when John VI returned to Lisbon, leaving his elder son Pedro behind him at Rio. In 1822 Pedro made himself Emperor of Brazil.

In 1826 King John died, and Pedro, preferring to remain as Emperor of Brazil,[1] resigned his right to the crown of Portugal in

[1] The Empire of Brazil lasted till 1889.

favour of his daughter Maria. This act led to a long civil war, for Maria's uncle (Pedro's younger brother) Miguel set himself up as a rival and declared himself king (April 1828).

The English Government looked upon itself as in some degree the protector of the young Queen Maria, whose Government was pledged to uphold constitutional principles in Portugal. Canning, while he was Prime Minister, maintained a British force in the country; but the Duke of Wellington always took the view that war was war and peace was peace; and so, as the British Government was nominally neutral, he insisted upon withdrawing the British troops. Volunteers, however, were allowed to join the expedition which the ex-Emperor[1] fitted out at Belleisle, to recover the Portuguese throne for his daughter. Among these, Captain Charles Napier, who had been paid off from his last ship (H.M.S. *Galatea*) and had been left for a year without another, joined Pedro's forces with a commission as Vice-Admiral of the Portuguese navy (April 1833). On July 5 his squadron met the Miguelite ships off Cape St. Vincent and destroyed them in a dashing fight. After this Maria's cause steadily brightened, and the finishing touch was put by a treaty which Palmerston as Foreign Secretary negotiated in 1834. This was the second Quadruple Alliance,[2] between Great Britain, Queen Isabel of Spain, Queen Maria of Portugal, and King Louis Philippe of France (April 22, 1834). The effect of this union, which gave the recognition of the 'Western Powers' to Queen Maria, and which would inevitably have led to armed support, made Dom Miguel's position hopeless. He surrendered, and retired with a pension (which he magnanimously refused to draw), on condition of quitting the Peninsula for ever. Thus Maria was left as undisputed queen, and in 1836 she married Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, who founded a dynasty which ruled at Lisbon till 1906.

Spain. During a large part of the time of civil war in Portugal, a similar though much fiercer struggle was being waged in Spain. There Ferdinand VII had died in 1833 leaving a three-year-old daughter, Isabel, to be queen, under the regency of her mother

[1] Ex-Emperor, because he had abdicated the throne of Brazil in favour of his son in 1831.

[2] The first was made in 1815, see above, pp. 718–719.

Christina. Ferdinand's brother Don Carlos refused to accept this arrangement, claiming that women were by law excluded from the throne of Spain,[1] and that therefore he himself was the rightful king. The Liberals (or the Progressives, as they called themselves) and also the 'Moderates' (i.e. Moderate Conservatives) supported the Regent Christina, while the other parties, who upheld more autocratic and clerical principles, gave their adhesion to Don Carlos. The military strength of the Carlists was in the Basque provinces of the Western Pyrenees, where 'guerrilla' warfare was carried on with great skill by General Zumalacarregui. Against the Basque levies the regular forces of Christina could make little impression; on both sides the war was fought with great ferocity, and prisoners were nearly always, in spite of the efforts of the British minister-plenipotentiary, Lord Clarendon, butchered in cold blood.

In 1834 Palmerston, through the agency of Lord Clarendon, concluded the Quadruple Alliance, which included the Regent Christina's government of Spain (see above p. 724). This recognition of Christina and her daughter, Queen Isabel, was a great help to their cause, but it could not win battles. In 1835, however, the Spanish Government obtained permission from the English Government to recruit a 'British Legion' of 10,000 men. The force thus raised was put under the command of Colonel de Lacy Evans, who had fought during the Napoleonic War, in India, the Peninsula, Belgium, and America, and had survived an astonishing number of wounds. During the years (1835–1837) for which the Legion was recruited, Evans led it with the greatest courage and energy; in 1836 he defeated the Carlists in a twelve-hour battle at Fuenterrabia (being himself, as usual, severely wounded), and in 1838 he took Irun by storm. After two years of honourable

[1] In point of fact women *had* formerly ruled in Spain: e.g. Isabella of Castile (*d.* 1504).

service, during which the Spanish Government had most shamefully neglected it, the remnant of the Legion was shipped back to England by the British Government. The unconquerable Evans lived to fight and shed his blood again in the Crimea.

By the year 1840 the efforts of the Carlists had exhausted themselves, and General Espartero was able to re-establish a semblance of peace in the country, although the history of Spain remained very troubled for the next thirty years. In 1846 Queen Isabel married her cousin the Duke of Cadiz, and their line still rules at Madrid.

Belgium. The creation of the Kingdom of Belgium is the most successful piece of state-making in the nineteenth century. This

country in modern times was under Spain (in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), and then under Austria (in the eighteenth century). In 1815 it was joined to Holland by the Congress of Vienna, in the hope that the two countries would make one strong buffer state between France and Germany. The Belgians, however, never liked their association with the Dutch, and in 1830, when the 'July Revolution' occurred in France, they followed suit and in August declared their separation from Holland.

The greatest difficulty was experienced in settling this Belgo-Dutch question. The Powers, naturally, did not like breaches being made in the Vienna Settlement, and they regretted the failure of a union which in itself had many good points. The Dutch, too, refused to acquiesce in the Belgian separation, and started a war in order to assert their rights; and the English Government was desperately afraid that France would take the

opportunity to intervene in favour of the Belgians, and thus establish her influence at Antwerp. It has for centuries been a cardinal principle of British policy that no great Power can be permitted to menace our security from the Scheldt.

As it was clear that the Belgians would never consent to return to the union with the Dutch, the Powers agreed to recognize their independence, and a Conference was gathered together at London by Lord Palmerston. At this meeting a treaty was signed

between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Prussia, France, and 'the Kingdom of Belgium'. Belgium was recognized as an independent neutral State, under the sovereignty of Leopold I of the house of Saxe-Coburg. It took nearly eight years, however, before the Dutch could be induced to abandon their claims. At last on April 19, 1839, Palmerston was able to conclude another Treaty of London, between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, France, and Russia on the one part, and the Kingdom of the Netherlands on the other. This Act, which fixed the frontiers of the Belgian State, also, by clause II, guaranteed its perpetual neutrality. It was acting under this clause that Great Britain

declared war on Germany, when, on August 4, 1914, the German forces crossed the Belgian frontier.

Mehemet Ali. The Eastern Question was never more difficult than between 1830 and 1840, and there was no more successful effort of Palmerston's statesmanship than his handling of it. Egypt, then a province of Turkey, was governed by the able Albanian Mehemet Ali, whose army and navy, under his son Ibrahim, proved so useful to the Sultan Mahmud in the Greek War of Independence. After this war, dissensions broke out between Mahmud and his too powerful vassal, and in 1832 Mehemet's army, led by Ibrahim, advanced from Syria into Asia Minor and swept away the Sultan's troops at Konieh. Constantinople was only saved by the intervention of the Tsar Nicholas, who sent a navy and an army to the Bosphorus, and concluded a defensive alliance with the Sultan. This alliance was contained in the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (a palace on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus), by which the Tsar agreed to protect the Sultan, and the Sultan agreed to close the Dardanelles to all foreign warships except those of the Russian navy (July 8, 1833). Thus the Dardanelles became practically a Russian fortress.

Palmerston knew all about the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi and meant to undo it. His chance came in 1839. Another crisis had occurred between the Sultan Mahmud and Mehemet Ali, and at Nisib the Turkish troops were again swept off the field by Ibrahim, this time under the eyes of the great soldier von Moltke (then only a Captain in the Prussian army) who had become military adviser to the Sultan. The Tsar Nicholas would then have intervened under the terms of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, but Lord Palmerston made it clear that the matter was one for all the Powers to deal with. A British squadron was sent to the coast of Syria; and Charles Napier (who had returned from being a Portuguese admiral) took command of the Turkish forces. He first defeated the Egyptians on land, at Nahr-el-Kelb near Beyrout on October 10, 1840, and next month captured Acre from the sea. Mehemet Ali evacuated Syria, and made peace on condition that he should be hereditary pasha of Egypt, where his dynasty reigns to this day.

This intervention on the part of England had been carried out by arrangement with Austria, Prussia, and also Russia. The French Government, which sympathized with Mehemet Ali, at first stood aside, and even threatened to declare war on England[1]; but after the evacuation of Syria, France too joined with the others, and an important treaty was concluded between the Five Powers and Turkey.[2] This act, sometimes called the Convention of the Straits, established the rule that 'so long as the Porte is at peace, His Highness (the Sultan) will admit no Foreign ship of war into the said Straits'. Thus Russia gave up her special position and the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was at an end. The rule that no foreign warships may be admitted through the Dardanelles while the Porte is at peace was observed for the rest of the century,[3] and Palmerston's diplomacy bore lasting fruits. The tie between Great Britain and Turkey was immensely strengthened—a most important union, as with Turkey quiet and on our side, the Middle East, from Constantinople to the borders of Afghanistan, remained at peace.

Anglo-French Amity. After the crisis of 1841, the relations of Great Britain and France gradually improved again. In 1843 Queen Victoria paid a visit to King Louis Philippe at the Château d'Eu near Tréport—the first time an English sovereign had been to France since the reign of Henry VIII.

Tahiti. The harmony between the two Governments was again marred, this time by a dispute about Tahiti, one of the Society Islands in the Pacific. The first Europeans to take an active interest in these islands were the zealous and self-sacrificing ministers of the London Missionary Society, who went there in 1795. In 1842, however, a French admiral annexed them, and expelled the British missionary George Pritchard,[4] who was the adviser of the native Queen Pomarë and was strongly against the

[1] 'With that skill of language which I know you to be master of, convey to him [Thiers] in the most friendly and inoffensive manner possible, that if France throws down the gauntlet we shall not refuse to pick it up.' (Palmerston to Bulwer, Chargé d'affaires at Paris, September 22, 1840.)

[2] Treaty of July 13, 1841, between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia on the one part, and Turkey on the other. Signed at London.

[3] It was infringed when Turkey admitted the German cruisers Goeben and Breslau on August 11, 1914.

[4] 1776–1883.

annexation. The English Press took up Pritchard's cause, and induced the British Government to protest ; so that in September 1844 Louis Philippe withdrew the annexation,[1] and expressed regret for his treatment of Pritchard.

The Spanish Marriages. In October 1844 Louis Philippe returned Queen Victoria's visit, and was received cordially. In 1846, however, an event occurred which caused much resentment to both the Queen and her ministers. Louis Philippe carried through a double marriage-project, between the Queen of Spain and her cousin Francis, Duke of Cadiz, and between the Queen's sister, the Infanta Louisa, and his second son the Duke of Montpensier. It was expected that Queen Isabel and her husband, a man of weak constitution, would have no children, and that the Duke of Montpensier would therefore come to share the throne with the Infanta Louisa. The British Government (in which Palmerston was Foreign Secretary) felt that Louis Philippe (who had led them to suppose that he had dropped his marriage-project) had duped them, and that he was scheming to revive Louis XIV's dream of a union of France and Spain. Fortunately for Spain, a son was born to succeed Queen Isabel, so that England's fears were groundless. But Louis Philippe had lost our sympathy, and had suffered, too, in prestige in his own country. He was soon to join the shadowy line of Europe's exiled kings.

THE DETHRONEMENT OF LOUIS-PHILIPPE, 1848
John Leech in *Punch*

The Second Revolution of 1848 and the Second Empire. In

[1] Tahiti was finally annexed by the French in 1888.

February 1848 a Revolution broke out in Paris. Louis Philippe escaped to England.[1] The Paris rising was followed by others elsewhere—in Poland against the Russians, in Hungary and Vienna against the Habsburgs, in North Italy against the Austrian domination. Even Berlin was troubled with riots in favour of a new constitution. Only in France, however, did the Revolution result in any important change in government.

In December 1848 Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great Napoleon I, was elected President of the Republic. Three years later, on December 2, 1851, he had all the Republican leaders seized, and sent into exile. This famous *coup d'état* was successful beyond all expectations. A plebiscite or general vote of the French people, on December 21, gave the Government of Louis Napoleon power to remodel the Constitution; and in the following year, on November 21, 1852, another plebiscite decided in favour of a revival of the Empire. Thus arose the Second French Empire, which was to last till September 4, 1870, when it fell at the news of Sedan.

John Leech in *Punch*, Dec. 1851

CHAPTER XXXIII

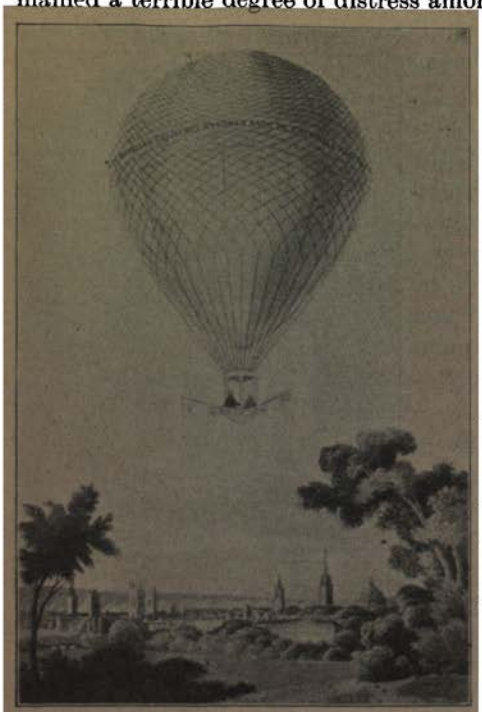
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORM

§ 1. The Condition of England

Significance of the Corn Laws. The statesman who was to bring about the most momentous reform in England during the nineteenth century was Sir Robert Peel. The physical well-

[1] He died in 1850 at Claremont.

being of the people was grievously impaired by the laws which imposed high taxes upon imports, especially on corn. Although the country rapidly recovered from the effects of the Napoleonic Wars, and made great advances in material wealth, there remained a terrible degree of distress among the people as a whole. Englishmen should never be allowed to forget 'the hungry forties' before the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. It is from this date that the wholesome comfort of Queen Victoria's reign may be dated, and according to Lord Morley 'it is a tolerably safe prophecy that no English statesman will ever revive a tax upon bread'.[1]



BEGINNINGS IN THE AIR
Ascent of Mr. Sadler over Oxford, 1810

The Corn Laws. Since the year 1463, a number of Corn Acts had been passed to regulate the import and export of wheat. They had not much effect, however, because until the last twenty years of the eighteenth century England produced sufficient corn for her own needs, and also a surplus for selling abroad. The increase in population which came with the Industrial Revolution put an end to this excess of production over consumption of corn. During the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, the country just managed to support itself; the price of wheat rose from about 60/- to 127/- a quarter, a large amount of new land was put under cultivation, and people

[1] *Life of Cobden*, 1881, vol. i, p. 162.

were at the same time adjured by Government proclamations to eat less bread. After the wars it was generally felt that the continuance of some form of protection was necessary for agriculture. Land had been put under the plough, which would not pay unless the price of wheat was between 60/- and 70/- a quarter, and for many reasons it was not considered wise to allow this land to go out of cultivation. Accordingly in 1815 the great Corn Law

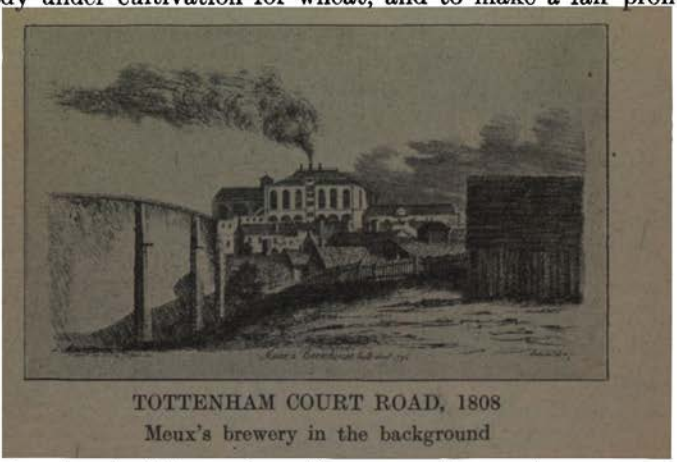
George Cruikshank on the drink problem of the nineteenth century. Cartoon issued 1834

was passed. This simply prohibited the importation of corn from abroad until the price of wheat produced at home rose to 80/- a quarter. Great Britain as a matter of fact could not produce sufficient wheat for her own needs, and every year more had to be imported. Thus the average price was nearly always above 80/- a quarter, and the 4 lb. loaf cost about 11*d*. or 12*d*.

The Sliding Scale. In 1828 the famous 'sliding scale' was made law by the Government of the Duke of Wellington, largely owing to the efforts of Huskisson, the Colonial Secretary. The object of this Act was to ensure that the price which the British

farmer received for his wheat should never be less than 64/-. When British wheat was at this price, the duty on imported grain was to be 20/- per quarter. As the price in Britain rose the duty on imported wheat diminished, until when wheat was 73/- a quarter the duty was only 1/-. Beyond this point the duty did not decrease.

The object of this law was to keep out foreign grain altogether when there was sufficient grown in England to be sold at 64/- per quarter; this would enable the farmers to keep all the land already under cultivation for wheat, and to make a fair profit.



TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, 1808
Meux's brewery in the background

If, owing to a bad harvest or other cause, less grain was grown, and the price at home rose above 64/-, the import duty would be lowered, and foreign grain could come in to help the home supply.

The result of the sliding scale shows how risky it is for Government to introduce complications in the delicate and already sufficiently complicated network of human society. The foreign corn markets were disorganized, they could not reckon upon a steady trade with England; in good years, when corn was plentiful, England would not take it from abroad; in bad years, when there was not much to spare, the English suddenly offered large sums for it. Finally, the sliding scale led to speculation and to the holding back of supplies. For instance, a merchant might import corn when the price in England was 69/- a quarter. The

duty would be 16/8 but would not be paid till the wheat was taken out of the bonded warehouse to be sold. If the merchant waited till the price at home rose to 73/-, he could then sell his corn at a higher price than when he imported it, paying duty only of 1/- instead of 16/8. On the other hand, if the price at home went down, he would have to sell at a lower figure than he expected, and yet would have to pay a much higher duty.

The Anti-Corn-Law League. The population of Great Britain was increasing rapidly, yet there was not enough work for it,

TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD TO-DAY
The chimneys of Meux's brewery in the background

because the manufacturers could not sell goods to the agricultural countries abroad in exchange for wheat. The free import of corn would not only make bread cheap and plentiful; it would immensely increase employment in all manufacturing industries. It was to explain such views as these and to make them familiar to every one in England that the Anti-Corn-Law League was founded in Manchester in 1839. The most able and energetic member of the League was Richard Cobden, the son of a Sussex yeoman farmer. He had entered the calico trade as a young man without any fortune, and within a few years, by reason of his energy, his ideas, and his integrity of character, was making a good

income. At the time of the foundation of the League he was only 35 years old, but was sufficiently well-to-do to devote a great part of his time to spreading his views on free trade throughout the country. By devoting himself to his business he could have made a large fortune. He preferred to give his time and energy to the cause which alone, he felt, would remedy the sad condition of England.

The Condition of England. The state of the country in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign was deplorable. The population was nearly sixteen millions (15,906,829) in 1843, and had increased by over two millions in the last ten years; but of this

CONDITIONS IN THE MINES
From the Report of the Royal Commission, 1842

population the enormous number of two million were in receipt of poor relief.

The 'brooding imaginativeness' of Disraeli, as Lord Morley says, saw the evils of England, but did not see the remedy. England, he said, consisted of 'two nations', the rich and the poor, who did not know each other; but he had no remedy, he could only lament that the Ages of Faith were past, that men no longer raised stately monasteries to the glory of God, which the people might see, and seeing, admire as expressions of the beautiful and good. There was sense indeed, in Disraeli's call to a romantic past, as there was in the romantic novels of Scott, the nature-poetry of Wordsworth, or the High Church movement; all these things were in the same vein, attempts to idealize life, to raise men's minds above sordid external conditions. Yet it would

be well if at the same time the sordid external conditions could be removed themselves ; and for this it was necessary that women and children should be protected, and that trade should be freed from the fetters in which misguided legislation had bound it.

Factory Legislation. The cause of the hard-driven women and children was pleaded eloquently by the statesman Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury) and by the poets Tom Hood and Elizabeth Browning. Hood's *Song of the Shirt* was published in

IMPROVED CONDITIONS
Working Coal in South Staffordshire, 1869

Punch, in 1843 ; Mrs. Browning's *Cry of the Children* in *Blackwood's Magazine*, in the same year.

Mines. Something was being done to lighten the burden of helpless children and women. Lord Ashley asked for and secured in 1841 that a Parliamentary commission should inquire into the conditions under which women and children were employed in mines. The report of the commission, as presented to Parliament in 1842, told a terrible story ; of children of four and five years old, hired out by their parents to work in the bowels of the earth, helping, upon their hands and knees, to push the trolleys full of coal. The women often had to

work in wet underground passages, where they could not stand upright, but had to crawl like beasts of burden, with the trolleys joined by a rope to their haunches. The cold, the dampness, the foul air, and severe labour caused dreadful suffering and ruined the lives, physically and morally, of many of these women and children. As the result of this report an Act was passed in the same year, 1842, prohibiting altogether the employment of females, or of boys under ten years of age, in mines.

Factories. This was followed by the great Factory Act of 1844, also due in a large measure to the efforts of Lord Ashley. Bills passed in 1802, 1819, 1825, and 1833 had already dealt to a certain extent with the sanitation of factories and the employment of women and children (see p. 703); the Act of 1844 proceeded more boldly along the same lines: no children under nine years of age were to be employed in a factory; those between nine and thirteen were to work for no more than six and a half hours a day. Persons between thirteen and eighteen years old were not to work more than thirteen hours a day, including one and a half hours for meals. Machinery was to be properly guarded by framework and other devices to prevent accidents. In 1847, through the efforts of John Fielden, M.P. for Oldham, the working day (as opposed to the night) was by statute defined as being of ten hours duration.

Progress of the Anti-Corn-Law Agitation. Cobden placed his faith in removing restrictions from trade rather than in putting new checks upon it. He supported the Act taking women and children out of the mines, but he objected to Government interfering with the hours of labour in which a man should choose to employ himself. In this respect Cobden's views were rejected then and have little weight to-day. With his views on free trade he stood on firmer ground, and in the long run he converted the majority of Whigs and Tories alike.

The Anti-Corn-Law League held meetings throughout the length and breadth of the country, and public opinion steadily grew in favour of repeal. The best minds in England supported it—Cobden, John Stuart Mill, John Bright, and lastly (though it took a long time to convert him), Sir Robert Peel.

No Conservative statesman, not even the younger Pitt, has a more inspiring record of solid achievement than Sir Robert Peel. After the Reform Bill, he made a great and enlightened political party out of the ruined fragments of Toryism, and when starvation and misery were the lot of masses of the people, he had the insight and courage, Conservative as he was, to cut away the system which was stifling the expansive forces of the country.

Robert Peel was born on February 5, 1788, at Chamber Hall near Bury, in Lancashire. He came of an old Yorkshire yeoman stock, strong in body, hard-headed, energetic. His grandfather, in the early days of the Industrial Revolution, had changed his home from Yorkshire to Lancashire, had learned the new mechanical methods of spinning brought in by Hargreaves, and began at Blackburn to acquire a modest fortune. His son Robert, the father of the statesman, built up a large business, and became a wealthy man.

The young Robert was brought up by his father to be a statesman. To be diligent and conscientious was always impressed upon him, and his memory was trained by his having to repeat to his father the contents of the morning and evening sermon each Sunday. Peel was educated first by the Vicar of Tamworth, and then in 1801 went to Harrow, which might at that time be called a nursery of statesmen. At this time there were at the school four boys who each became Prime Minister—F. J. Robinson (afterwards known as Lord Goderich and Marquis of Ripon), George Gordon (Lord Aberdeen), Henry Temple (Lord Palmerston), and Peel himself. The aristocracy was strongly represented ; among others were boys who in due course became the Dukes of Grafton, Devonshire, and Sutherland, besides young George Gordon, soon to become famous as Lord Byron. The time between the year 1801, when Peel went to Harrow, and 1804, when he left it to go to Christ Church, must be reckoned the most brilliant period of this famous school.

At the end of the year 1804 Peel left Harrow, and for a time read Mathematics with a tutor in his father's house. Next year, 1805, he went up to Christ Church, in the Michaelmas term, as

a gentleman-commoner. Like Gladstone at a later date Peel 'read double', Classics and Mathematics concurrently. In the examinations at the end of 1808 he was placed in the First Class in each subject.

In some respects Peel had the way to public life made smooth for him. He had no sooner left College than his father purchased for him the little borough of Cashel in Tipperary: the Tory leaders immediately availed themselves of his eminent gifts of industry and lucid judgement; and in 1810, the year after he entered the House, he became Under-Secretary for War and the Colonies in Mr. Perceval's Government.

The rest of his life was devoted to the public service. From 1812 to 1818 he was Chief Secretary for Ireland. During this time he struggled hard against the corruption which still prevailed in the public offices. He was careful of the peace and order of the country, and was himself the originator of the Constabulary —the 'Peelers'—as they were called, by whose means the peace was maintained with less friction than when the soldiers had to be kept throughout Ireland.

He was now only thirty years old, and had already held a high office, which is generally considered to be one of the most wearing and responsible in the kingdom. His next important work was to serve on the *Bullion Committee* appointed by the Government in 1819 to consider the state of the currency (p. 674). Here he showed his capacity for dealing with complicated figures and economic principles. In 1821 he became Home Secretary, and in 1826 carried through a great legislative piece of work, the reform of the Criminal Law. When the Earl of Liverpool ceased to be Prime Minister owing to ill health, Peel went out of office too. In 1828 Peel again became Home Secretary in the Government of the Duke of Wellington; it was in the next year that he established the Metropolitan Police Force.

Although, like Wellington, firmly attached to the principles and establishment of the Church of England, Peel supported the Duke in passing the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act. In consequence of this, the University of Oxford, which he had represented in Parliament since 1817, refused to re-elect him.

Peel found a seat in Tamworth, the borough adjacent to his country house, Drayton Manor. In 1830 he succeeded to the baronetcy, his father having lived long enough to see his son, after the Duke, the foremost Tory statesman in the land.

The next two years were occupied by the struggle for the Reform Bill. Peel was in opposition, resisting and deploring this momentous change in the English Constitution. The passage of the Reform Bill seemed to secure the Whigs in complete possession of power, and to mark the total and irretrievable rout of the Tory party.

'A PEELER AND A REPEALER.' PEEL ADVANCING, O'CONNELL RETREATING

Cartoon by J. Doyle

It is with this signal defeat of the Tories, the party of Sir Robert Peel, that his greatest period begins. The party had been shattered; its principles, as expressed in the unreformed constitution, had been definitely rejected by the country. Yet it is just at such a time, when one political party has gained a complete ascendancy in power, that a vigorous and intelligent opposition is needed. Peel's great merit was that he did not despair of the country, that he did not retire into private life to enjoy his wealth, the field sports, and the domestic life to which he was so much attached. He had only about 170 followers in the Reformed House of Commons, but he kept them together, and resolved to make the best of the new state of affairs. This is the period, therefore, when the great Conservative Party arose out of the ruin of the Tories of 1832. The party, as Peel said in his famous *Tamworth Manifesto* (issued in 1834), accepted the Reform Act as 'a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question'; and aimed at 'reforming every institution that really required reform; but

gradually, dispassionately, and deliberately, that the reform might be lasting '.

In spite of the Reform Act the Whigs after 1832 did not have such a complete ascendancy in the country as was expected. They were numerous but not united. In 1834 Peel was back in office for a short time, having been summoned in haste from Rome, where he had been enjoying a quiet holiday with his family. His ministry, however, fell in four months, and gave place to Melbourne's Whig administration, which lasted, with a brief interruption, till 1841. After a General Election which was held that year, the Conservatives came to the House of Commons with 367 members as against 286 Whigs.

Lord Melbourne did not at once resign, but waited till he was defeated in the House. Peel then became Prime Minister (September 1841), and began one of the most remarkable periods in Parliamentary history.

The Budget of 1842. When Lord Melbourne went out of office, the revenue of the country had for some years been less than the expenses. This was not because the country was bankrupt, but because the fiscal system was vicious. Eleven hundred and fifty different rates of duty were levied upon imports, but only some twenty or thirty of them were really remunerative. The duties were meant to bring in revenue and to protect home manufactures ; but they could not do both. They did indeed protect home manufactures by keeping out foreign goods, but the exclusion of foreign goods prevented any revenue from being paid on them. As few things were imported, few could be exported. Prices were high, but trade did not flourish.

One of the great virtues of Peel as a public man was reasonableness. He had upheld the protective system for years, but he was always willing to study facts afresh, and to amend his views. The Whig Government in 1840 had appointed a committee to consider the tariff. This committee reported next year, drawing attention to the badness of the existing system. Peel received the report of the Imports Committee with an open mind, went into it with his usual thoroughness, and finally resolved to revise the system. Ably assisted by Gladstone, he drew up a Budget

in 1842 which did away with most of the duty on the raw material of manufactures, and reduced the duty on corn by one half. To make up for the loss of revenue, an income tax of 7*d.* in the pound sterling was established. The Budget still left wheat and sugar subject to heavy protective duties, but it went a great way towards making the rest of trade free. The financial plan of 1842, says Lord Morley in his *Life of Cobden*, ' was the beginning of all the great things that have been done since '.

The Factory Act and Bank Charter Act. In 1844 two measures of first-class importance were passed. One was the Factory Act, (see p. 738).

The second was the Bank Charter Act, which established the rules according to which the Bank of England has ever since been conducted. Up till 1844 the Bank could issue notes at its own discretion which circulated throughout England like coin. Originally these notes could be converted into gold by any one who cared to go to the Bank and demand it, but there was not enough gold to meet every note. If all the notes were presented at once by the public, the Bank would have failed to pay them. Although ' Cash Payments ' had been resumed in 1819 (see p. 674), the Bank could still issue as many notes as it pleased. In 1844, however, the Royal Charter under which the Bank of England was authorized to carry on business fell to be renewed. Sir Robert Peel went into the matter carefully with the chief financiers in the country, and after a prolonged inquiry in which his severe mathematical training enabled him to grasp the difficult and complicated facts of high finance, he produced the *Bank Charter Act*, which still regulates the working of the Bank of England.

In the first place, the Act forbade any new issue of notes. The country banks which already issued notes could continue to do so, but they could not increase the issue, and if they were absorbed by a larger institution their note issue ceased, unless the Bank of England cared to undertake it. By the extinction or absorption of country banks, their issues have become insignificant, and the Bank of England now controls practically all the notes in the country.

In the second place, the Act of 1844 divided the Bank of

England into two quite separate departments. The first department was to be an ordinary bank of deposit, keeping the money of its customers and making a profit on this money by advancing it to traders and merchants. The second department merely issued notes, and for every £5 note issued above the sum of £14,000,000, £5 of gold had to be kept in the vaults of the Bank. The £14,000,000 of notes which were not covered by gold were secured by an equal amount of Government stock—'Consols' or other form of British Government loan stock—in possession of the Bank.

THE BANK OF ENGLAND IN 1852

Thus, as far as the Bank is concerned, there can be no inflation. The public knows that for every £5 note issued there are either five sovereigns, or Government stock. This is why, not merely in Britain, but all over the world, Bank of England notes exchange just as if they were £5 sovereigns of full weight.[1]

The Repeal of the Corn Laws. The Bank Charter Act and the Factory Act were notable pieces of legislation; they were to be followed only a little more than a year later by a still bolder and more sweeping change. The early years of the 'forties' were

[1] In time of commercial crisis, the Bank Charter may have to be suspended by the Government, in order to allow an extra issue of notes, to enable businesses to meet their liabilities. This occurred in 1857 and in 1866. In August 1914 a crisis was averted, not by the suspension of the Bank Act, but by the issue of additional notes by the Treasury.

darkened by bad harvests. There had been three in succession, including 1844. In 1845 the potato crop failed in Ireland. 'Will it be believed in future ages', said Cobden in the House of Commons, 'that in a country periodically on the point of actual famine—at a time when its inhabitants subsisted on the lowest food, the very roots of the earth—there was a law in existence which virtually prohibited the importation of bread?' The country as a whole began to feel it intolerable that the people should suffer famine, when by a stroke of the pen the ports could

THE GOTHIC REVIVAL

The Houses of Parliament, built to the designs of Sir C. Barry, 1840–1860

be opened and bread made cheap. Sir Robert Peel, old protectionist as he was, recognized this, and suggested at least the temporary suspension of the Corn Laws.

On November 26 Peel put his views before the Cabinet, but met with so much opposition that he resigned. Lord John Russell, who by the Edinburgh Letter[1] had declared himself a Free Trader, then tried to form a Whig Administration, but gave up the attempt on finding that Lord Grey would not serve with Lord

[1] November 22, 1845. Written from Edinburgh to his constituents in the City of London.

Palmerston. On December 20 Peel was to have taken formal leave of the Queen, and went down to Windsor Castle, but 'on entering the room, her Majesty said to me very graciously, "So far from taking leave of you, Sir Robert, I must require you to withdraw your resignation." '[1]

Peel therefore formed a new Cabinet and came back to office, determined to repeal the Corn Laws. Many Conservatives refused to support him, but the Whigs now gave him support in order to bring about Free Trade. The House of Commons, it is true, had been elected as a *Protectionist* House, and Peel has been blamed for not 'going to the people'; that is, for not having a general election to see if the people had changed their mind. The strong agitation outside Parliament was, however, sufficient indication that the repeal of the Corn Laws was acceptable to the bulk of the nation. In January 1846 Peel introduced a Corn Bill and a Customs Bill. The object of the Corn Bill was gradually to do away with the import duties on wheat, allowing three years for the process to become complete. After a great struggle in Parliament, during which the Protectionist group was most ably led by Lord George Bentinck and Disraeli, the Bill was passed.[2] At the same time, the passage of the Customs Bill into law provided for the removal of many protective duties on manufactured goods.

DANIEL O'CONNELL

Peel and Ireland: O'Connell. Peel, like other statesmen, found the condition of Ireland difficult to deal with. Between 1830 and 1840 Ireland was fairly quiet. By an arrangement made with Lord Melbourne in 1835 (known as the Lichfield House Compact), O'Connell was regularly consulted with regard

[1] Memoir by Peel, in Parker, iii. 283.

[2] At the end of three years, imported corn was to pay only a nominal duty of 1*s*. This shilling duty was abolished by Gladstone in 1869.

to the appointment of Irish officials. After 1840, however, O'Connell began to agitate for total repeal of the Act of Union. In 1843 he was to have presided over a gigantic meeting at the Hill of Tara, but at the last moment he cancelled the meeting, and so prevented a disturbance. Nevertheless, Peel had O'Connell prosecuted for sedition. He was sentenced to imprisonment, then liberated, and finally the judgement was reversed on appeal. After this O'Connell's influence waned. His health declined, and he died at Genoa, in 1847, aged 72.

THE HILL OF TARA

With a view to improve the education of the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood, Peel in 1845 had a Bill passed to increase the grant to Maynooth College (the seminary for priests) from £9,000 to £26,000. He also established three 'Queen's Colleges'—at Cork, Galway, and Belfast—to give unsectarian education to the laity.

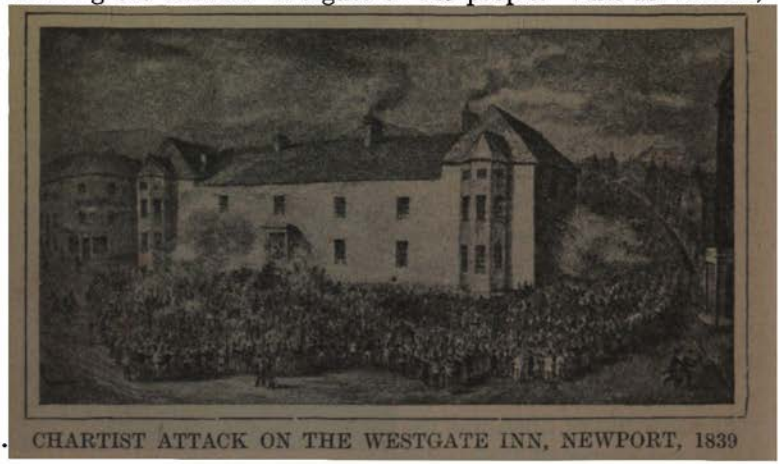
Peel's resignation; last years. The Corn Bill of 1846 was the last great service of Peel to his country. The Protectionists under Bentinck and Disraeli were a numerous and compact group against him: the Whigs under Lord John Russell voted for the Corn Bill, but, apart from this, were not going to support the policy of a Conservative Government. On June 26, 1846, the Government was defeated in the House in a vote of want of confidence by a majority of 73. 'There was a dead silence, and all eyes turned upon the fallen Minister. A colleague told him the numbers. Sir Robert did not reply or even turn his head.'[1] The fall of the great minister was sudden and was considered at the time to have been an act of revenge on the part of his former

[1] Parker's *Peel*, iii. 616.

supporters, the Conservative Protectionists. Peel, on his side, showed no rancour either against them or against the Whigs. He remained M.P. for Tamworth, and during the four years of life that were left to him regularly attended the sessions of the House of Commons. He died on July 2, 1850, of the effects of a fall from his horse.

§ 2. The Consequences of Repeal

Chartism. Concurrently with the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws, there was a movement in progress for greatly increasing the liberties or rights of the people. This movement,



CHARTIST ATTACK ON THE WESTGATE INN, NEWPORT, 1839

known as 'Chartism', was premature, and at the time it came to nothing; yet all except two of its specific demands have been subsequently made the law of the land.

Chartism arose out of discontent with the result of the Reform Act of 1832. People had thought that the passing of the Act would ease their condition, economically as well as politically. In effect wages became no higher, the cost of living no lower. Political power remained with the middle classes; the working people got none of it. The artisan accordingly (and Great Britain was now becoming largely a country of artisans and industrial labourers) became infected with political agitation. He wanted more political power in order to deal with the miserable condition of the people.

Poverty and Wealth. In spite of the Corn Laws the country was steadily becoming wealthier. The working classes, however, were still very badly off, as their numbers had greatly increased, and as (in the absence of a brisk export trade) they could not be continuously employed. Not merely was there much unemployment, which the masters could not prevent; there was also a good deal of sweating, by bad masters, in small businesses, particularly in tailoring.

The People's Charter. The demands of the working classes were voiced by Feargus O'Connor, a fiery Irishman, a barrister, and an honest, moderately able, but unbalanced man. He became the leader of a number of associations all over the country—especially in London, in the North, and in South Wales. After about three years of vigorous propaganda work, the *People's Charter* was drafted and issued. It contained six demands: (1) universal suffrage; (2) voting by ballot; (3) annual parliaments; (4) payment of members; (5) abolition of the property qualification for members of parliament; (6) equal electoral districts. In 1839 a petition in favour of the Charter was presented to Parliament. It was rolled up in the shape of a great cylinder, four feet in diameter, and on July 12 was pushed up to the Speaker's chair by twelve men. The House of Commons rejected the motion to go into committee to consider it.

Violence. On the rejection of the petition, the more violent spirits, who were known as the 'physical force' Chartists, broke out into riots. The results of tumults in Birmingham in 1839 were worse, said the Duke of Wellington, than he had ever seen in a captured town. In South Wales the riots developed once into street fighting. When order was restored in Newport, the leaders, of whom John Frost was the best known, were convicted of sedition and transported to Van Diemen's Land.

In August of the same year the less violent Chartists tried to organize a general strike. August was to be a 'Sacred Month', when no work anywhere was to be done. Fortunately the project, which, if successful, would only have ruined all the people, came to nothing.

The End of Chartism. In 1840 a National Charter Association

was founded to agitate for the Charter by speeches and writings, in the same way as the Anti-Corn-Law League was conducting its peaceful yet effective campaign. In May 1842 the Association presented to Parliament a second petition, signed by 3,300,000 people. The motion that the petition should be heard was rejected, after a powerful speech against it by Macaulay.

Meanwhile the Anti-Corn-Law League was doing more for Britain by spreading economic knowledge than the Chartists were doing by all their politics. In 1846 came the Repeal of the Corn Laws. This, however, did not bring much *immediate* de-

THE GREAT CHARTIST GATHERING TO PRESENT THE MONSTER PETITION

crease in the cost of living. Discontent continued. In February 1848 occurred the revolution in France, which expelled King Louis Philippe, and, for a time, gave the French working classes unlimited power. The experiment in state socialism which followed (with the 'right to work' and National Workshops for everybody) was a terrible failure. But before its results could be seen a Chartist convention in London had resolved to present yet another monster petition to Parliament. A great meeting was held on Kennington Common in London on the south side of the river; from there the petition was to be taken by a great procession to the House of Commons. The Government feared an outbreak of mob violence, and swore in 170,000 special constables

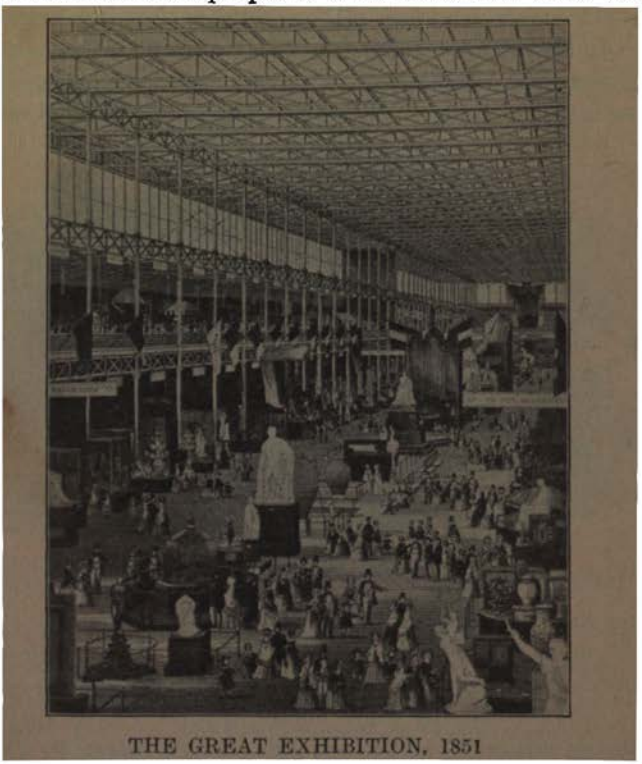
to keep the peace: among these was a young Frenchman of striking appearance, called Louis Napoleon, shortly afterwards to become Prince President of the French Republic and then Emperor of the French. The military arrangements were entrusted to the Duke of Wellington, on whom, despite his 80 years, Whig and Tory alike calmly relied in every time of civil crisis. O'Connor, who had hitherto hovered between the 'moral force' and the 'physical force' policies, now did his last service to the Chartist cause by calling off the procession, which accordingly *did not* cross the bridge. No scenes of violence occurred, and the

POLICE AWAITING THE PROCESSION IN HYDE PARK

Charter was peaceably sent up to the House of Commons. It was said to have 5,700,000 signatures, but the actual number on examination was found to be 1,975,469. A large number of these were spurious. Among other names appended as if they were genuine signatures were *Victoria Rex*, *Prince Albert*, *the Duke of Wellington*, *Sir R. Peel*, and other obvious attempts at fraud. Chartism did not survive these revelations. The working-class Radicals began more and more to join with one or other of the two great parties which controlled the State—the Conservatives and Liberals. These two parties, with their sphere thus widened, entered in time upon a series of reforms, which gradually incorporated the bulk of the People's Charter in the law of the land.

Disraeli for the Conservatives, Gladstone for the Liberals, took the lead along these lines. Finally the Act of 1917, which made the suffrage practically universal, was passed by a coalition ministry of both parties.[1]

The Exhibition of 1851. It was the belief of Prince Albert that Art and Commerce led people to understand each other better,



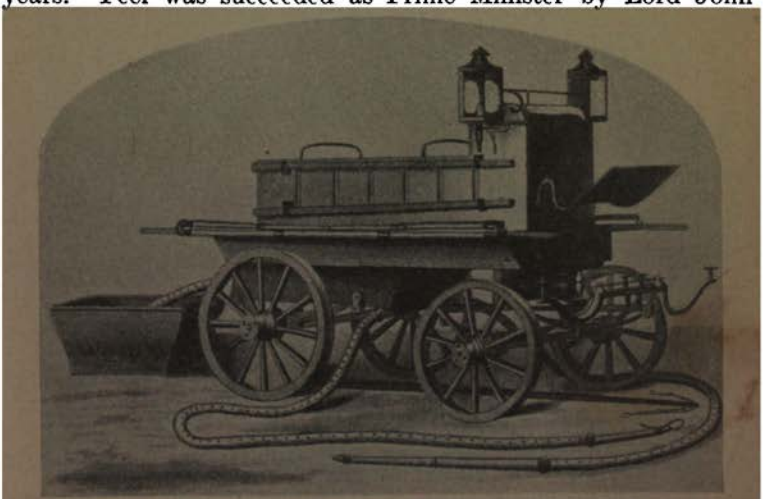
THE GREAT EXHIBITION, 1851

and that so they would come to live at peace, prosperous through commerce, educated and refined through the Arts. To this end he planned and organized, with the help of an influential committee, a great Exhibition. The Government contributed no money, but lent a site in Hyde Park. The Exhibition was housed

[1] Annual Parliaments and equal electoral districts are the only two points in the People's Charter which have not become law.

in a great building composed entirely of glass, and iron girders and pillars, known as the Crystal Palace.[1] It was opened by Queen Victoria on May 1, 1851, and lasted till October 15.

Repeal of the Navigation Acts. With the fall of Peel in June 1846, the Tories ceased for years to have any power. 'The Duke of Wellington in passing Catholic Emancipation, and Sir Robert Peel in repealing the Corn Laws, conceded necessary measures of progress, but *they broke up* the party.' So wrote Disraeli in later years. Peel was succeeded as Prime Minister by Lord John



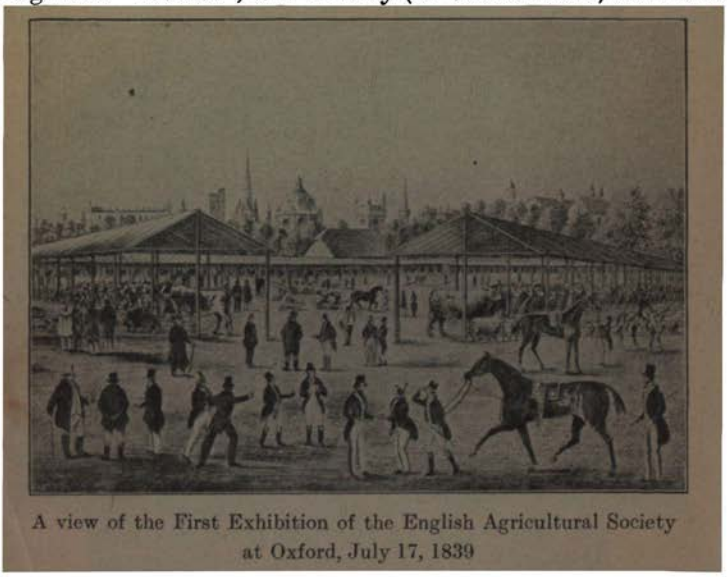
A FIRE-ENGINE AT THE GREAT EXHIBITION

Russell with a Whig Cabinet. In 1849 the Government carried through the repeal of the Navigation Acts. These Acts had prevented the import of goods from Asia, Africa, or America, except in British ships, or from Europe except in British ships or the ships of countries which produced the goods. Since the repeal of the Corn Laws, however, the Navigation Acts had been quite out of date, for the completely free import of corn would not take place if foreign ships were prevented from carrying it to Britain. The result of the repeal of the Navigation Acts was to reduce the charge for freights, as the shipping of the whole world now

[1] After the Exhibition was over, the Crystal Palace was bought by a company, taken down in sections, and re-erected at Sydenham, where it still stands.

competed for them. In spite of this competition, the amount of British shipping has continued to increase.

The Completion of Free Trade. Lord John Russell's Ministry lasted till 1852, and was followed by some months of Tory Government under Lord Derby, with Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer. This Ministry, however, had no strength, and gave place at the end of 1852 to a mixed Government, consisting of Whigs and 'Peelites', i.e. of Tory (or Conservative) statesmen

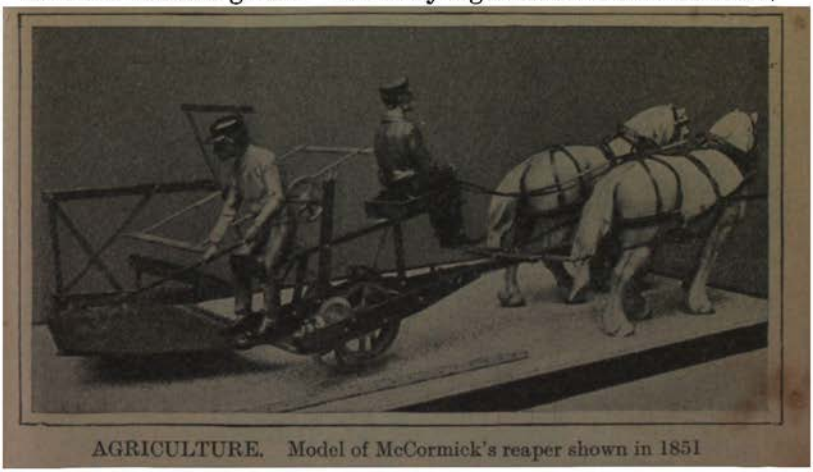


A view of the First Exhibition of the English Agricultural Society at Oxford, July 17, 1839

who adhered to Peel's later policy of Free Trade. The leading Peelite was the Earl of Aberdeen, a veteran statesman of the Napoleonic Wars. Aberdeen became Prime Minister. His Chancellor of the Exchequer was another Peelite, William Ewart Gladstone. This man was, by two famous Budgets, to complete Peel's work for Free Trade. The first Budget was that of 1853, which removed the duties on the materials for manufactures, reduced the duty on tea, abolished the duty on soap, and made various other improvements. To compensate for the loss in duty, the income tax, which Peel had introduced in 1842 as a temporary measure, was retained. It was Gladstone's policy always to use

surplus revenue to pay off debt, and he was able to do this in the years 1853–1855.[1]

The Crimean War interrupted Gladstone's schemes for economic reform, but his chance came again in 1860. In this year a Commercial Treaty with France secured a certain amount of free trade with that country. In the same year the budget of Mr. Gladstone abolished 361 duties, which still remained, chiefly on manufactured goods. The forty-eight duties which were left,



AGRICULTURE. Model of McCormick's reaper shown in 1851

like those on wine and tea, had no 'protective aim, but were purely for revenue purposes.

Thus the work of Sir Robert Peel was completed by his greatest pupil in economic statesmanship.

CHAPTER XXXIV

LITERATURE AND RELIGION

The Later Georgian Era. In the reigns of George IV and William IV English Literature, which had risen so high in the Napoleonic Wars, maintained its full brilliancy. George IV had

[1] The total Funded Debt was in 1852 £767,000,000, and in 1855 £755,000,000. In 1856 the Debt rose to £779,000,000 as the result of the Crimean War of 1854–1855.

some taste, and what is called the Regency style of architecture, with its broad eaves and handsome rounded windows, owes something to his patronage of the architect John Nash [1]; and the sweeping curves, the ample breadth, of Regent Street still bear witness to this, the most pleasing side of his character. George also took considerable interest in literature, and once asked Jane Austen [2] to write an historical novel, but she knew better than to

THE LONDON ZOO, OPENED 1836
Cartoon by George Cruikshank

abandon her theme of English domestic life in order to compete with Sir Walter Scott, who also was a friend of George.

Keats. Of the great poets who made the latter part of George III's reign so glorious, only Wordsworth survived in full splendour into and beyond the reign of William IV. Keats, the sweetest, saddest, most passionate of English lyrical poets, had died in 1821 at Rome, only twenty-six years old. His first work, *Endymion*, published in 1818, had been savagely handled by the slashing critics of that time, but he had confidence in his genius. *Lamia*

[1] Lived from 1752 to 1835.

[2] 1775–1817.

appeared in 1820 in the same volume with *Hyperion* and most of the poet's beautiful odes. His brief life was highly productive, and yet when he died he seemed only to be beginning to use his full powers.

Shelley. Keats was devoted entirely to the love of beauty, and had no interest in politics. His friend, Percy Bysshe Shelley, was of a different stamp, devoted indeed to the love of beauty, but

Satirical print of a theatre in 1834, by George Cruikshank

equally absorbed in the passion for political justice. His *Song to the Men of England*, and his *Masque of Anarchy*, written in the period following the Peace, entitle him to be called one of the Poets of Revolution, passionate, alluring, irresponsible. His literary output was large, and includes dramas and also letters, which are written in splendid prose. The haunting music of Shelley's poetry, his piercing thoughts and imagination, make his work immortal. He was drowned while boating in the Bay of Spezia in 1822; his body was burned on the shore in the presence of Byron, and the ashes were laid near the grave of Keats in the Protestant cemetery of Rome. Faulty as his

character was, he remains one of the most lovable of English poets; once read, he lives always in the memory:

Music, when soft voices die,
Vibrates in the memory—
Odours, when sweet violets sicken,
Live within the sense they quicken.

Rose leaves, when the rose is dead,
Are heaped for the beloved's bed;
And so thy thoughts, when thou art gone,
Love itself shall slumber on.

Byron. In the year 1824 Lord Byron died of malaria at Missolonghi in Greece, where he had gone, equipping a ship at his own expense, to help in the War of Independence. He had lived only for thirty-six years, but was already almost an old man, soured by the pursuit of pleasure, and by disappointed affections. His poetry is unequal, yet in energy, fire, and passion, he is unsurpassed. *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* is the revelation of his own unhappy soul. The easy flow of another long story in verse—*Don Juan*—reveals him in his more careless and buoyant, but not less melodious, mood. The descriptions of natural scenery and famous places in *Childe Harold*—Cintra, Corinth, the Rhine, Rome—are unique for their tranquil beauty, and for the lucent atmosphere which he casts over them. Interspersed in these long poems, and in others, are lyrics of incomparable beauty, like 'Maid of Athens' in *Childe Harold*, or 'The Isles of Greece' in *Don Juan*. Even more lovely is the melody 'There be none of Beauty's daughters', or the vision which he puts into song in

She walks in beauty like the night
Of cloudless climes and starry skies. . . .

Scott. The sweetness and pathos of the best of Byron's lyrics are matched by one man only in the nineteenth century—by Sir Walter Scott, for instance, in his *Coronach of Duncan*:

He is gone on the mountain,
He is lost to the forest;

or again in

A weary lot is thine, fair maid,
A weary lot is thine,
To pull the thorn thy brow to braid
And press the rue for wine.

Scott, however, had ceased to write poetry by the time George IV came to reign, and had gone far into his great series of novels. *Waverley* had appeared in 1814, *Guy Mannering* and *The Antiquary* in 1815, *Rob Roy* in 1817, *The Heart of Midlothian* in 1818, *The Bride of Lammermoor* and *Ivanhoe* in 1819. With his unrivalled gift of story-telling, Scott created a complete world in books—a world in which the honesty, humour, kindliness, and loyalty of the human heart shine forth for all to admire. In 1826, in the prevailing commercial crisis which involved thousands of people in ruin, occurred the collapse of his fortune, and he set himself to work off the load of debt that his partners had incurred. *Woodstock*, *The Fair Maid of Perth*, *Tales of a Grandfather*, and many others are the result of this heroic and unequalled effort, which in the end burst a vessel in that massive and fertile brain. In 1830 the Government sent him in a frigate of the Royal Navy to the Mediterranean, but the senses and mind were now dulled. Yet he returned to Abbotsford to write *Count Robert of Paris* and *Castle Dangerous* before he died on September 21, 1832.

The Lake School. The poets, who at the end of the eighteenth century turned away from the formalism of the writers of the 'Augustan Age', and set themselves to interpret nature in simple words, are known as the Lake School. They were all men who knew each other, and most of them loved to dwell among the lakes and hills of Westmoreland and Cumberland. Robert Southey, who was born in 1774, was settled, from the year 1803, at Greta Hall, Keswick, where he continued, year after year, to produce works of poetry and of history. Few of his poems, some of which are of great length, are read to-day, except the *Battle of Blenheim*. But he will live for ever as the author of the *Life of Nelson*, which is a veritable epic of the spirit of England. Southey, who had once been an ardent supporter of the French Revolution, cooled down into a convinced Tory in later years. His life of hard work and devotion to the public good ended in 1843

Samuel Taylor Coleridge was a schoolfellow with Charles Lamb at Christ's Hospital. He afterwards went to Jesus College, Cambridge, got into debt, and enlisted in the Dragoons. His family, however, bought him out of the army (1794). A visit to Oxford

led to his friendship with Southey (who was then at Balliol); in 1795 the two poets married sisters. Afterwards Coleridge settled at Nether Stowey in Somerset, where he began an active literary career, only spoiled, later, by the habit of taking laudanum. It was at Nether Stowey that he wrote the first part of *Christabel*, and also *The Ancient Mariner*, which was part of a volume of *Lyrical Ballads*, to which Wordsworth contributed. From 1819 he lived with a physician at Highgate. He died in 1834, leaving behind him an imperishable monument of gorgeous, imaginative verse in *Kubla Khan* and *The Ancient Mariner*, a translation of Schiller's great drama *Wallenstein*, and some unsystematic work on metaphysics.

Charles Lamb, the perfect essayist, lived from 1775 to 1834. He earned his living, which was always very modest, as a clerk in the East India House. His literary work was done in part along with his sister Mary, to whom he devoted his life, and for whom he gave up marriage, as his means did not permit him to support both a sister and a wife. Lamb's *Essays of Elia*[1] are full of humour, quiet wisdom, and literary grace. Some of his poems, like *The Old Familiar Faces*, will never die; and children will always remember him and his sister at least for the *Tales from Shakespeare*, even if they no longer read *Mrs. Leicester's School*.

In the Lake School must be included Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859), a friend of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, and Lamb. His literary output was surpassed only by that of William Hazlitt (1778–1830), another of Coleridge's friends, and (until Ruskin) the greatest of England's art critics. De Quincey is the writer *par excellence* of gorgeous prose, as may be proved by the *Confessions of an Opium Eater* or the *English Mail Coach*. Hazlitt's criticism, both in art and drama, has had an enduring effect on literary taste. He and Macaulay (1800–59) were the most eminent contributors to the *Edinburgh Review*: Macaulay has passed into the regular currency of our literature, and Hazlitt's critical writings will always be read.

[1] The essays were contributed to the *London Magazine* in the years 1820–5. The name Elia was that of a clerk in the India Office, a colleague of Lamb's.

The most enduring influence of the Lake School was that of Wordsworth, the greatest of England's nature-poets.

Wordsworth. William Wordsworth was born in 1770 at Cockermouth in Cumberland. He was educated at Hawkshead Grammar School, and at St. John's College, Cambridge. Like so many of the more ardent young men of England, he was at first enthusiastic over the French Revolution, but he came round in time to the views of Pitt, and strove in verse and prose to keep the national spirit firm against the military autocracy of Napoleon. For a time he lived in Somersetshire, a neighbour of Coleridge; his poem *Tintern Abbey* appeared in their joint volume *Lyrical Ballads* (1798). In 1799 he settled with his sister Dorothy (who has left a beautifully written *Journal*) at Grasmere. Two years later he married. In 1813 he removed to his now famous home, Rydal Mount, near Ambleside. Between this time and the year 1835, much of his work (though not his best-known poems) was written, the long *Excursion* being completed in 1814. His last poem of any length or outstanding merit, *Yarrow Revisited*, came out in 1835, three years after the death of his friend, Scott. *The Prelude*, which had been finished in 1805, was not published till after his death. He was appointed Poet Laureate in 1843 in succession to Southey, and died in 1850.

Wordsworth is eminently the poet of English country—of its tranquil beauties and the meditation which it suggests. He expresses the life of the dwellers on the soil, their homely joys, and still more their griefs:

> Some natural sorrow, loss or pain
> That has been and may be again.

In the Napoleonic Wars, his patriotic poetry reached the highest strain, for instance, in the matchless solemn sonnet *On the Extinction of the Venetian Republic*:

> Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee;

or in the sonnet on *England and Switzerland*:

> Two voices are there, one is of the Sea,
> One of the Mountains, each a mighty voice:
> In both from age to age thou did'st rejoice,
> They were thy chosen music, Liberty!

Another poem, *The Character of the Happy Warrior*, though less grand in execution than the sonnets, is a lamp of pure flame, a beacon to all who are called to fight :

> This is the happy warrior, this is he
> That every man in arms should wish to be.

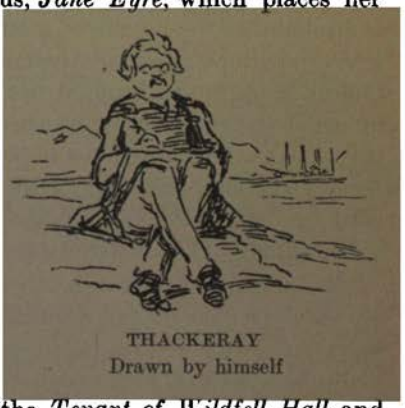
Wordsworth's language is always simple, his aims are always lofty. Without over-sentimentalizing human nature, he points always to the nobler side of things. His influence therefore is the influence of one who consistently appealed to the dignity of man's nature, counselling him always—to borrow Emerson's homely words—to ' hitch his waggon to a star '.

Novelists : Dickens. The literary giants, who were to make the Victorian Age so splendid, were beginning their active careers in the years that followed the Reform Act. Charles Dickens, who was born in 1812, and who received only a very irregular sort of education, started writing for the newspapers in 1835. In 1836 a collection of his newspaper articles appeared under the title of *Sketches by Boz*. The immortal *Pickwick Papers* came out in monthly parts between 1837 and 1839 ; and in 1839 *Nicholas Nickleby* also began to run as a serial story. An American tour in 1841 resulted in *American Notes*—humorous, rather caustic, historically interesting—and *Martin Chuzzlewit*. The *Christmas Carol*, one of Dickens's most satisfying though shortest works, came out in 1843 ; and in 1849 *David Copperfield* was published, a very long novel, full of powerful character-drawing, and generally considered to be his master-work, although some people would place *Great Expectations* (1860) at the head of the list.

Thackeray. William Makepeace Thackeray was born at Calcutta in 1811, and was the son of an official in the East India Company. He went to school at the Charterhouse, and later became an undergraduate at Trinity College, Cambridge. After leaving College, he travelled a good deal on the continent, on the Rhine, in France, and in Italy. His school, university, and foreign travel are reproduced frequently in the novels, especially in *Pendennis* (1848) and *The Newcomes* (1853). *Vanity Fair*, which (although dealing with only a few aspects of life) is a great epic of

the years before and after Waterloo, came out in 1848. *Esmond*, perhaps the most perfect of historical novels, was published in 1852; his last work, only a few chapters of delicious romance, was running in the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1863 when the great novelist died.

Contemporary Novelists. Dickens and Thackeray, by reason of the magnitude and quality of their products, are in a class by themselves. But in the years from 1840 to 1850 there were other lights, in some respects no less brilliant. Charlotte Brontë, who grew up in a quiet parsonage on a Yorkshire moor, wrote in 1847 a work of great power and genius, *Jane Eyre*, which places her in the forefront of novelists. *Shirley* (1849) and *Villette* (1852), more charming and less stormy than *Jane Eyre*, showed no falling off in quality. Charlotte Brontë died in 1855 aged 39. Her sister Emily, after publishing in 1848 one story, *Wuthering Heights*, which is almost blood-curdling in its elemental passionateness, died in the same year at the age of thirty. The third sister Anne wrote two novels (the *Tenant of Wildfell Hall* and *Agnes Grey*) which show less real power, yet are still worth reading.



THACKERAY
Drawn by himself

Another novelist of this period, who will always be read, is Edward Lytton-Bulwer, the first Lord Lytton. His amazingly productive literary career started with a volume of poems in 1820, when the author was only seventeen. *Pelham*, a really good story, came out in 1825; then followed a rapid stream of novels, of which the best known are *Eugene Aram* (1832) and the *Last Days of Pompeii* (1835). In the decade 1840–50 appeared the *Last of the Barons* (a grand tale of the King-maker Warwick) in 1843, and *Harold* in 1848. More novels (notably *The Caxtons*) followed in the next decade, and meanwhile the dramas of this fertile author were running with success in the theatres, especially the *Lady of*

Lyons, which was written in 1838. Lord Lytton was a notable politician, and became a successful Colonial Secretary in the Conservative Ministry of the Earl of Derby in 1858.

Among lesser lights may be mentioned William Harrison Ainsworth, of whose numerous works at least the *Tower of London* (1840) and *Old St. Paul's* (1841) may be recommended to any boy to read; and also Charles Lever, whose rollicking story, *Charles O'Malley*, about Ireland and the Peninsular War, came out in 1840. Lever died at Trieste, where he was British Consul, in 1872.

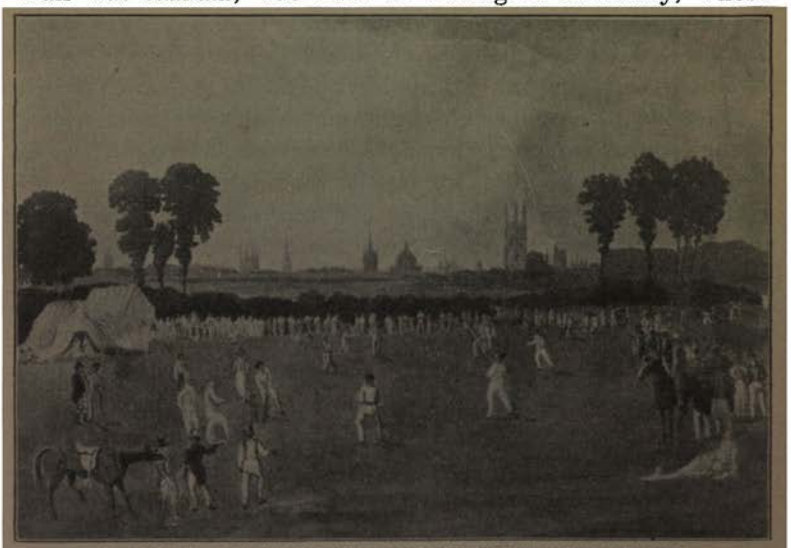
The Poets: Tennyson. In the years 1840–50 the poets were as brilliant as the novelists. Alfred Tennyson, who was born in 1809, and educated at the Grammar School of Louth, and Trinity College, Cambridge, brought out his first book of poems in 1827 (in collaboration with his brother Charles). It was not, however, till 1842 that he began to make a name with two volumes of *Poems*; in 1847 came *The Princess*, and in 1850 *In Memoriam*. In that year he succeeded Wordsworth as Poet Laureate.

Browning. Robert Browning was born in the year 1812 at Camberwell. His father was in prosperous circumstances, and provided plenty of books for the boy to read, but allowed his education to proceed in a somewhat desultory fashion. Young Browning, however, took no harm from this, but on the contrary acquired a wide knowledge of history, and, to a lesser extent, of the ancient classics. In 1834 he began his long connexion with Italy.

In 1835 *Paracelsus*, a long historical poem, appeared. *Strafford*, which was good enough historically to be quoted later in S. R. Gardiner's monumental work on the Civil War, came out in 1837. In 1840 his most obscure work, *Sordello*, was published.

The next thirty years of Browning's life witnessed a large output of poetry, all marked by intense vigour and originality. His wife, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, whom he married in 1846, was already at that time a well-known poetess, though in a more sentimental strain. A great portion of the poems by herself and her husband were written in Florence, which was their home for many years.

Historians and Critics. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, a school of 'philosophical historians' was developed. Chief of these was Henry Hallam, who wrote a mature and reflective *Constitutional History of England*, which was published in 1827. His earlier work, a *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, is full of profound ideas as well as of deep learning. Another philosophical historian, more vehement in his judgements than was Hallam, was Thomas Babington Macaulay, whose



A CRICKET MATCH AT OXFORD IN THE THIRTIES

brilliant and learned *History of England* began to come out in 1848.

The most characteristic work of all the philosophical historians is the *History of Greece* by George Grote, of which the first volume was published in 1846 and the last in 1856. Grote's history gives a magnificent and impressive account of the rise and progress of the Greek democratic city-states—an account strongly coloured by the writer's philosophical liberalism, but based in every point on a close study of the original authorities.

While history and literature were being studied with so much learning and literary skill, art was by no means neglected. The

early Victorian Age saw the rise of England's greatest art-critic, who was also one of her most powerful and brilliant prose-writers. This was John Ruskin, who already in 1843, when only twenty-four years old, displayed remarkable, if one-sided, knowledge of the art of painting, in *Modern Painters*. This book, written on the grand scale, contains numerous passages of great literary beauty. It was inspired by, and was meant as a defence of, the pictures of Joseph Mallord William Turner (1775–1851), the master of water-colour, the bulk of whose work had already been done by the time Ruskin began to write. *Modern Painters* was followed by the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* in 1849, and by the *Stones of Venice* in 1851.

Religious Poetry. The strong development of religious feeling in the years which followed the great wars has been expressed in John Keble's *Christian Year* (1827), ranking with George Herbert's *Temple* (1633) as the finest of English sacred verse. Newman's *Lead, Kindly Light*, perhaps the most universally appreciated hymn in the English tongue, was published in a volume called *Lyra Apostolica* in 1834, the year in which the Oxford Movement may be said to have started.

The Oxford Movement. Newman was the leading figure in the Oxford Movement, the influence of which is still strongly felt in the Church of England, although Newman himself broke away and joined the Church of Rome. John Henry Newman was born in 1801 in the city of London and was educated at a private school at Ealing. In 1817 he entered Trinity College, Oxford, as a commoner. He gained a scholarship in 1818, but in the Final Examination of the University, in which he took Classics, he was placed only in the Third Class. His ardent intellect and soul were always in danger of overstrain, and his failure in this examination was due to too much study. After taking his degree, he remained at Oxford, reading with private pupils. In 1822 he gained a Fellowship at Oriel by examination. The Oriel Fellowships, which alone at that time were awarded after an examination open to all members of the University, were the blue ribbon of academic life. Thomas Arnold, Scholar of Corpus (afterwards Head Master of Rugby) had gained one in 1815; Keble won his in 1811. Newman was a tutor at Oriel from 1826 to 1832, when he resigned

owing to differences with the Provost, chiefly concerning the religious management of the College. He had taken Holy Orders in 1824, and four years later became Vicar of the University Church of St. Mary.

In 1833 Newman and his friend Richard Hurrell Froude (another Oriel tutor who had resigned his post for the same reason) went for a tour on the continent, a tour which was to be momentous both for Newman and the Church. They visited, among other places, Rome, and Newman, who had both deep emotion and a highly developed historical sense, was struck with the glory and majesty of the ancient Catholic Church—but also with the degradation and superstition which he saw in Rome. It was there that he and Froude began the composition of *Lyra Apostolica*. On their return to England, they began, along with other friends, to put the ideas which they had thought and talked about while travelling into practice. Their main object was to restore and conserve the tradition of the Universal Catholic Church, of which the Church of England was a part. They pointed to the unbroken succession of priests and bishops, who from the time of St. Augustine had handed on the torch of faith and religion in England; and they began to write a series of *tracts* explaining their ideas of Anglo-Catholicism. Hence the Oxford Movement is sometimes called the *Tractarian Movement*. The most famous of the Tracts was written by Newman himself, Number 90 (published in 1841), in which he strove to show that the teaching, the faith, and the services of the English Church were not inconsistent with the essential system of Roman Catholicism, but only with its errors and superstitions.

The result of the movement was to give members of the Church of England a new vision. Their eyes were opened to the antiquity and the beauty, not merely of their Faith, but of their ecclesiastical system. They took a pride in their unbroken tradition, their ancient form of worship, their mediaeval buildings, their comely and dignified observances. Services became more reverent, Church architecture was brought more into line with mediaeval tradition, the study of Church history was taken up in all seriousness and with the highest scholarship. Ideals of saintliness, of

the lofty mission of the Church, of its dignity and unworldliness, were impressed upon clergy and laymen alike; and a great advance in religious feeling and practice was made, as great (though on different lines) as that made by John Wesley and the Evangelical Movement of the previous century. These two movements are with us still: the Oxford Movement, or 'High Church' as it is often called, and the Evangelical Movement, sometimes called 'Broad' or 'Low Church'.

Newman and the Catholic Church. Newman, however, could not, like Dr. Arnold of Rugby, Keble, or Edward Bouverie Pusey (who became a Fellow of Oriel in 1823), remain in the English Church. His historical and emotional sense took him to what was appealing to him more and more as *the* Church—that mighty corporation which, seated on the ruins of ancient Rome, still embraces the greater portion of the Christian world. In 1845 he was received into the Roman Church at his house at Littlemore, three miles from Oxford. Next year he was ordained deacon and priest at Rome. He returned to England, and with the help of friends founded the Oratory at Birmingham; and, although he went about a good deal, the community at Birmingham was his home for the rest of his days. His time was devoted to the Church of his adoption, and by preaching and writing he laboured incessantly to spread his view of the truth and majesty of Catholicism. One book after another, in pure and beautiful English, appeared from his pen; some, like the *Grammar of Assent* and the *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, written to defend and explain his religious position, others, like the *Idea of a University*, produced in the cause of education—liberal, broad, and classical—which he had so much at heart. He founded at Edgbaston a Public School for the sons of Catholic English gentry. In 1879 he was made Cardinal 'of St. George in Velabro'; and in 1890 he died at the Oratory in Birmingham. His influence on the English Church was really greater than on the Roman Catholic.

Newman's works will always stand for their religious interest, for their revelation of his own temperament, and for their wonderful style, harmonious, pure, unembellished, like the best Greek statuary.

XXXV. THE CRIMEAN WAR

Illustrated by contemporary photographs

The Eastern Question. The Crimean War is part of the 'Eastern Question' which has troubled the relations between European States for over three centuries. By the middle of the nineteenth century Turkey seemed to be breaking to pieces. First the Serbs had won autonomy in 1816,[1] then the Greeks had gained their freedom in 1829. At the same time decay had become permanent at the centre, the Government feeble, corrupt, and inefficient. Only the intervention of Britain and Russia had saved Constantinople from the arms of Mehemet Ali (p. 728).

In 1852, however, Russia was no longer a protector of the Turks; the Tsar Nicholas had changed his tune, and now advocated something like what was later called the 'bag and baggage' policy. He had several conversations concerning Turkey's expected collapse with the British Ambassador at Paris, Sir Hamilton Seymour. On February 20, 1853, he said 'the Sick Man is dying, and we can never allow such an event to take us by surprise. We must come to an understanding.' Great Britain, however, would not agree to any scheme of division, in spite of the Tsar's warning: 'circumstances, if no previous provision were made, if everything should be left to chance, might place me in the position of occupying Constantinople'.[2] In effect, the Tsar asked Great Britain to join with Russia in partitioning Turkey, just as Russia, Prussia, and Austria had in the eighteenth century partitioned Poland. The British Government, however, made no response to the Tsar's advances; our statesmen feared the growth of Russia's power, and were determined to maintain the Turks on the Bosphorus.

The Holy Places. There were two disputes which led to the outbreak of the Crimean War—one dispute was over the 'Holy Places', the other concerned the question of a protectorate over the Greek Church. The Holy Places really meant the church at Bethlehem, which was built over the spot where Our Lord was born. The Latin (or Roman Catholic) monks at Bethlehem (who

[1] Serbia's independence was not recognized till the Treaty of Berlin, July 13, 1878.

[2] This was said by Nicholas I to Sir H. Seymour on January 22, 1853.

were generally considered to be under the protection of France) claimed the right, not of possessing the church, but of having their own keys into it. The Church itself was in the care of Greek monks, in whom, of course, Russia took a particular interest. Both the Tsar Nicholas I and the Emperor Napoleon III brought all possible diplomatic pressure to bear on the Turks. Napoleon won, and the Latin monks received keys to the Church at Bethlehem and to the Grotto of the Sacred Manger (May 4, 1853).

Having been rebuffed over the question of the Holy Places, the Tsar determined to recover his prestige by enforcing another demand, which he had been contemplating for some time. In February 1853, a grand Russian official, the Prince Mentchikoff, with a gorgeous staff, had come to Constantinople, and after some preliminary proceedings, designed to impress the Turks, formally demanded that the Tsar should be recognized as the protector of all the Sultan's Greek Church subjects. On the advice of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe (Ambassador at Constantinople), the Sultan, Abdul Mejid, refused this. He was willing to issue a *firman* or decree guaranteeing freedom of religion to all his Greek Church subjects, but he would not bind himself by a treaty with the Tsar, as to do so would give the Tsar a right of interference.

On receiving this refusal the Tsar, who had made all the necessary preparations, gave the order for his army to cross the Pruth, and to occupy the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia which were subject to Turkey (July 1853). The compromise which the Ambassadors of the Powers drew up at Vienna in August (the 'Vienna Note') proved unacceptable.

War. The British and French fleets were sent to Besika Bay (just south of the entrance to the Dardanelles) as a precaution. On October 14 they passed through the Dardanelles.[1]

About a month afterwards (November 30, 1853), a Turkish squadron taking transports to Batoum was met by a Russian squadron off Sinope and destroyed. This action seemed like a direct challenge to the navies of Britain and France, which were then actually at Constantinople. Public opinion in Britain and

[1] By the Convention of the Straits of 1841 (see above, p. 729) no foreign warships could lawfully enter the Straits when the Porte was at peace. The British and French Governments considered that the Tsar's military occupation of the Principalities justified the Porte in opening the Dardanelles.

France was indignant. On January 4, 1854, the Franco-British fleets entered the Black Sea, but it was not till February 27 that an ultimatum was sent to St. Petersburg. The Franco-British ultimatum demanded that Russia should withdraw her troops from the Principalities. No reply was given, and war accordingly ensued.

The Invasion of the Crimea

The periods of the War. The history of the Crimean War may be divided into two portions. The first portion to July 1854 comprised the operations of the Turks to drive back the Russians who had crossed the Danube, and further to expel them from the Principalities. This first part of the war has really nothing to do with the Crimea, and France and Britain did nothing in it. The second and best-known phase of the war is the expedition of the French and British with a small Turkish force (supported later by the Sardinian troops) to the Crimean Peninsula. This expedition occupied the period from autumn 1854 to the spring of 1856.

Silistria and Giurgevo. The first part of the war, which involved the expulsion of the Russians from the Principalities, can be briefly dealt with. The Russians took the offensive in May 1854, by crossing the Danube and laying siege to Silistria. This weak fortress was successfully defended by the Turks:[1] and the Russians withdrew again to the north side of the Danube on June 23. The Turks followed the retreating enemy across the Danube and defeated them at Giurgevo, on July 7. After that the Tsar, pressed by the Austrian Government, which threatened war if he remained in the Principalities, withdrew his troops to the Russian side of the Pruth.

The Allies at Varna. The Russians had evacuated the Principalities but they had not given up their claims to interfere in Turkish affairs. To bring this about the Allies had to carry through the war to a finish.

In June 1854, before the Russians had been defeated on the Danube and before the evacuation of the Principalities, Palmerston had already conceived the Crimean project. The French and

[1] They were led by three young Englishmen, who went to Silistria out of pure spirit of adventure: they were Lieut. Chas. Nasmith of the Bombay Artillery, Capt. James Armar Butler of the Ceylon Rifles, and Lieut. John Archibald Ballard of the Bombay Engineers. Butler was killed in the siege.

British forces had assembled at Varna, on the coast of Bulgaria, with a view to co-operating with the Turks on the Danube. The sooner they could leave it the better, for cholera had broken out among the troops. On July 16, Lord Raglan, the British Commander, received orders from the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State for War, to proceed with his forces to the Crimea, and to capture the naval port of Sebastopol. The British Fleet commanded the Black Sea and no opposition could be offered to it in transporting the army. There was much delay, however, in getting the necessary transports: for this and other reasons, the

BALACLAVA HARBOUR, WITH BRITISH FLEET AND TRANSPORTS

Allied Forces were not able to leave Varna till the autumn, when the terrible Russian winter was soon to begin. On September 14 the troops landed at Eupatoria in the Crimea.

The Alma. The expedition to Sebastopol had been planned as a 'quick dash', and although two months had slipped by there was still time to take the fortress. The Allies had between them about 60,000 men, while the army which under Prince Mentchikoff barred their way on the Alma heights numbered only about 40,000. On September 20, in lovely autumn weather, the Allies began their march, the French on the right, the English on the left, and the fleet sailing parallel with the march of the army. From the left side of the little Alma river rise wooded hills, and

in these the Russians were well posted and entrenched. Their left wing was withdrawn considerably to escape the fire of the guns of the Fleet, so that the British forces crossing the river and proceeding against the heights first came in contact with the enemy. The infantry advanced with the most admirable coolness and resolution; the Russian guns played upon them, but could not beat them back, and soon at different points of the line hand-to-hand fighting took place. The Highland Brigade under General Sir Colin Campbell particularly distinguished itself: referring to these Highlanders a prisoner remarked that the Russian army

BATTLEFIELD OF BALACLAVA

was willing to fight with men and not with devils. The heights were stormed by the British, and the French ultimately got round the withdrawn and exposed left flank of the Russians, thus completing the rout. The Russians lost 4,800 killed and wounded. The Allies had 3,000 killed and wounded, of whom 2,002 were British. The Russians withdrew in extreme disorder, and Lord Raglan proposed an immediate pursuit and an advance upon Sebastopol. The north side of the town was poorly defended, and it is practically certain the Allies could have entered it there and then. St. Arnaud, the French Commander-in-Chief, however, refused to let his men advance without a rest, and so the chance to capture the fortress by *coup de main* was lost (September 20). So the Allies had perforce to settle down to a long siege.

The Siege

The British fixed their base at Balaclava Inlet, where the Fleet deposited all the stores. The French base was at Kamiesh Bay. The lines of the Allies were placed as follows: the French had the part towards the Harbour: between them and the Tchernaya were the British: then the French had the line north of the Tchernaya. The fortifications of Sebastopol on the land side consisted of four forts, regularly built for taking big guns: the Malakoff, the Redan, the Little Redan, and the 'Stone' Redoubt. Todleben (the chief Russian military engineer) gradually joined these together with skilfully constructed earthworks, and with some useful stone work. As the Allied forces were almost all on the south and east of Sebastopol, the way on the north was left open for Russians to come in and go out.

Balaclava. Mentchikoff had a field army at Baktshiserai, and this was being steadily increased by the arrival of reinforcements, which had to make their slow way to him across Russia. On October 25 he planned a vigorous attack to raise the siege. His immediate object was to capture the British base at Balaclava Inlet, which was behind the Allied lines and therefore exposed to attack from the relieving army. North of Balaclava are two valleys running parallel with each other towards Sebastopol. Between the north and the south valley (the one near to Balaclava) was a ridge, known to the British as the Causeway Heights, and along it ran the 'Woronzow road' to Sebastopol. The Causeway Heights were fortified with British guns manned by Turkish soldiers. The Russians after a stiff fight carried the Heights and took the guns. Then, one after the other, occurred three brilliant feats of arms which saved the day and have made the battle famous.

The first occurred when the Russians came streaming down to Balaclava Inlet. General Sir Colin Campbell was in charge here, with the 93rd Foot and some Turkish battalions. The Turks were panic-stricken and fled, but the 93rd stood firm, a 'thin red line' two deep, prepared to die where they stood. Their commander had called upon them to do so, and they had replied in words less formal than are usual in the British army, 'Ay, ay,

Sir Colin, we'll do that.' The Russian cavalry threw itself against the thin red line in vain.

Soon another danger threatened the British base. Two thousand Russian horse appeared in the north valley. They were immediately charged by General Scarlett and the two squadrons of the 'Heavy Brigade', consisting of only 300 men of the Inniskillings and Scots Greys. This splendid charge, delivered at the right moment before the Russian cavalry had formed themselves to attack, was completely successful. The Russian cavalry was broken. This, the second brilliant incident of the battle of Balaclava, like the resistance of the thin red line, showed the eminent quality of judgement in the leaders as well as the constancy and courage of the men.

The third incident, the most famous of all, showed no qualities of judgement in the leader, but the same heroism and brilliance in execution. The Causeway Heights, the low hills which the Turks had occupied with British guns, had been taken by the Russian General Liprandi. Lord Raglan sent a message to Lord Lucan, in chief command of the cavalry, to send them forward to recover the Heights; they would be supported by infantry, the order stated. Lord Lucan had serious doubts concerning the chances of such an attack, and was doubtful about the precise meaning of the order. He put some questions to Captain Nolan, the galloper who brought the message. Nolan had nothing to do with the tactics of Lord Raglan, and when Lord Lucan asked him 'what guns were meant?' the galloper with some impatience waved his hand vaguely forward, saying 'There, my lord, is your enemy, there are your guns'. Lord Lucan at once rode over to where Lord Cardigan sat on his horse at the head of the Light Brigade, and told him to charge the guns at the end of the north valley. Lord Cardigan quietly saluted again, turned for a moment in the saddle to say 'The Brigade will advance', and then set his horse in motion. The magnificent brigade, with the 13th Hussars and the 17th Lancers in the first line—the eager horses, the strong, impetuous, care-free men, clad in the splendid uniform which has now passed away—advanced with the jingle and rhythm which seemed to be gathering together all the panting

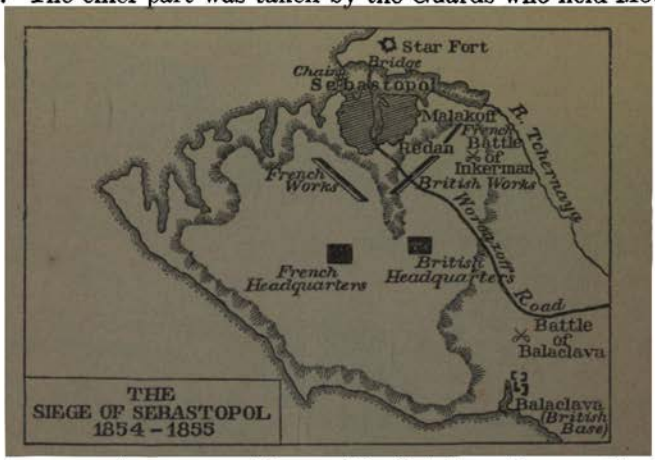
forces of horse and man for the last tremendous yet regulated race of the charge. Before the brigade had attained full speed Captain Nolan was seen riding across its front, waving his arms as if to divert it to another object. He meant no doubt to signal it to the Causeway Heights, and the effort cost him his life. A bullet struck him down, and the Light Brigade surged by, along the fine smooth floor of the valley, 'into the jaws of death'. They were raked by the gunners and riflemen from the slopes on either side, and they received the direct fire of the batteries in front. They rode straight to the guns at the head of the valley, sabred

VIEW OF SEBASTOPOL FROM THE REDAN

the gunners, passed beyond, and would (what was left of them) have been engulfed by the masses of Russians who were coming upon them from the heights, when a timely charge of the French Chasseurs d'Afrique gave them respite to return.

The charge of the Light Brigade is one of the most glorious memories of the British Army, and no one can say it was useless. It was misdirected, and General Liprandi continued to hold the Causeway Heights. Out of 607 men who went into the charge only 195 returned. Lord Cardigan, whose splendid charger took him easily first into the Russian guns, received only a slight wound. When the gunners were sabred, he turned his horse and rode back along the valley, tired and content, like a successful steeple-chaser.

Inkerman. The battle of Mount Inkerman was begun at dawn on November 5. The Russians, now in great strength, made a determined attempt to relieve Sebastopol by the Tchernaya Valley. The grey dawn in that damp misty country suited admirably the grey coats which the Russian soldiers wore, and made them almost invisible. It was called a 'soldiers' battle', because in the obscurity which prevailed generalship was impossible; officers and men in isolated companies had to do the best they could against the enemy who so continuously assailed them. The chief part was taken by the Guards who held Mount



Inkerman, and no assaults could dislodge them. General Bosquet's Division of the French army was also engaged, and suffered heavy losses along with the British. Lord Raglan, who had fought at Busaco and the fearful storming of Badajos, reported that he had never seen 'such a spectacle as the field presented'. The losses were something over 4,000. The Russians lost rather more, and their attempt to raise the siege failed.

The Crimean Winter. Winter had now set in. This season in the Crimea has none of the qualities of hardness and dryness which characterize it in the other parts of Russia. There is abundance of snow and rain and biting wind. The roads turn to mud, the ground where it is tramped upon becomes a quagmire. The soldiers, when not in the water-logged trenches, had only

tents to rest in. On November 14 a great storm of driving sleet and rain washed down a large number of the tents and devastated the camp. Dirt and cold brought upon the soldiers the fearful disease of scurvy. There was plenty of food in store, as there always is in British expeditions, but the frightful condition of the road from Balaclava, and the mortality among the mules, prevented the food coming regularly up to the line. The sufferings of the army were terrible, and when the men got to hospital their

INTERIOR OF THE REDAN

plight was little better. Half the number that entered the British hospitals at Scutari (opposite Constantinople) died. When the new year 1855 opened, just over half (13,000 out of 25,000) of the British Forces were on the sick list. The indignation and the sympathy of the public at home were roused by the discovery of this state of affairs. The great days of newspaper correspondents, like Sir William Russell of *The Times*, were beginning. They were allowed to move freely with the forces ; their reports were not censored ; and their graphic accounts conveyed a lively impression home. Educated women came forward and devoted

themselves to relieving the miseries of the men. Already, on November 4, 1854, Miss Florence Nightingale had arrived at Scutari, and from that time may be dated the slow but steady improvement of the British health service. The work of Miss Nightingale is not merely a landmark in the history of the Crimean War, but also in that of mankind. With her began the great public interest in hospitals and nursing, so prominent throughout the rest of the century. Miss Nightingale's long and useful life lasted till 1910, when the Crimean War was almost ancient history, and British hospitals had become models for the world.

EXTERIOR OF MALAKOFF, SHOWING THE TRENCHES

The reforms made during the Crimean War were largely due to Sidney Herbert, the Secretary at War, who became known as 'the soldiers' friend'.

The Fall of the Aberdeen Government. The year 1854 closed with gloom in Great Britain. The breakdown of transport and of the medical and sanitary service of the army had disappointed and angered the nation. Recruiting was in a bad state, and the drafts for the Expeditionary Force were scarcely being maintained. The Government even stooped to pass through Parliament a Foreign Enlistment Bill. Nobody relished the Bill, which aimed, as Cobden contemptuously remarked, at upholding British honour by cut throats taken from the back slums of

Germany. The Government advanced the usual plea of 'necessity', and the Bill became law, and foreigners were accepted for enrolment in the army. The credit of the Government was not, however, improved, and in January 1855, Mr. Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield, brought forward a motion to appoint a Committee of Enquiry into the conduct of the War. This proposal caused the resignation of the Government. Lord Aberdeen, a man of deep religious feeling and unswerving honesty of purpose, retired to private life, never ceasing to regret for the rest of his life the war in which he had so reluctantly engaged.

Palmerston Prime Minister. Lord Derby next tried to form a Conservative Ministry, but found he had not sufficient support in the House of Commons. So the Queen had to turn to the other party. She would have liked Lord John Russell, an aristocratic and cultivated man, to be Prime Minister; but public opinion unmistakably pointed to Lord Palmerston, who, in spite of his seventy years, represented the most robust statesmanship in England, and was the only man likely to finish the war satisfactorily (February 1855). Lord Clarendon remained at the Foreign Office, Lord John Russell became Colonial Secretary [1]; the Duke of Newcastle, who had been Secretary of State for War under Lord Aberdeen, gave place to Lord Panmure, a Whig of very ordinary capacity. Palmerston's energy, however, soon became evident in every department; the public confidence revived, recruiting improved (enlistment for three instead of ten years was now introduced), and the supply services of the army were splendidly equipped. A military road and light railway were constructed by a firm of contractors from Balaclava to the British lines; and the French historian of the Second Empire admits that whereas before the British Force had been in want and rags, it had now everything that money and industry could give—'fine men, fine horses, . . . fine waggons, fine materials, comfortable

[1] In the eighteenth century there was only a 'Secretary at War', who was subordinate to the two Secretaries of State. In 1794 a Secretary of State for War was created. In 1801 the charge of the Colonies was given to his Department. In 1854 the Colonies and War were made into separate Departments, each with a Secretary of State; there were, therefore, now four Secretaries of State (see Anson, *Law and Customs of the Constitution*, vol. ii, pt. i, sec. iii, § 3).

barracks, ambulances—almost luxurious—and above all, victuals in profusion '.[1]

Continuation of the Siege. During the winter, with the active British forces reduced to about 13,000 men and the French in not much better condition, the siege had almost ceased to be worthy of the name. The Russian forces in the Crimea steadily increased, and it is said that in spring 1855 they numbered about 200,000. The Allies never had enough forces completely to invest Sebastopol. Supplies of men, food, and munitions were regularly introduced from without; as many as 1,500 wagons are said to have been daily dispatched from the warehouses of Kertch (until General Pellissier sent an expedition which captured it in May) to Sebastopol. The fortress would never be starved out; and the Allies were exposed to sorties from the garrison and to assaults from the relieving army. It seemed a ludicrous and also a tragic situation, yet the British and French kept their grip on the town, and gradually advanced their lines. The relieving army could not break through; and some day a position would be captured from which the whole of Sebastopol could be laid in ruins. In May 1855 every one was encouraged by the arrival of 15,000 Italian soldiers commanded by General La Marmora. Victor Emmanuel, the King of Sardinia (later King of Italy) and his great minister Cavour had resolved to join the Allies. Sardinia was a sea power and in some degree, perhaps, interested in keeping Russia out of Constantinople. The real reason for her intervention, however, was her determination to figure as one of the Powers of Europe, to gain a seat in the Congress at the end of the war, and so establish herself as *the* Power in Italy, where all the other little Powers were just second- or third-rate States. The friendship established between Sardinia, France, and England in the Crimean War greatly helped Victor Emmanuel in the vigorous efforts he was soon to make for uniting the whole of Italy under his Crown.

The Last Events. Lord Raglan died on June 29, 1855, having done his duty faithfully to the last. When Kinglake reached the death of this hero, in enthusiasm for whom he wrote *The Invasion*

[1] de la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, i. 333.

of the Crimea, he laid down the pen. Raglan was succeeded by General Simpson, his Chief of Staff, a title copied from the French during the Crimean War. The French General Canrobert [1] had already been superseded by the energetic Pellissier. Canrobert was content to remain under his successor as a General of Division, and in this position greatly distinguished himself. Pellissier ruthlessly pushed forward the siege operations, with none of the qualms that had prevented Canrobert, when Commander-in-chief, from sacrificing his men. On August 16 the Russian field army made its last great effort to break down the Allies' grip on the city. The French lines were vigorously assaulted near the Traktir Bridge on the Tchernaya, but with the help of La Marmora's Sardinians they successfully beat off the enemy.

By September 8 everything was ready for the final grand assault on the fortress. The Allies now had plenty of big guns. An extraordinarily violent and well-directed bombardment battered the redoubts. Then the infantry were to attack—the French against the Malakoff, the British against the Redan. At noon the great assault was launched. The French showed all their splendid qualities—courage, dash, and constancy: in face of a terrific resistance they carried the great Malakoff Redoubt. The British assault failed, but the Malakoff commanded the Redan, which accordingly became untenable. Sebastopol could no longer be held and during the same night Gortchakoff, the Russian Commander-in-Chief, led his men out by the Harbour side of the town.

End of the War. The expedition into the Crimea had been undertaken to show the long arm of England and France; and the siege of Sebastopol was regarded as a kind of test whether the Russians should be considered beaten or not. Lord Palmerston had become Prime Minister with a mission from the public to take Sebastopol and end the war. He had got Sebastopol, so now he set about, in unison with the French Government, to end the war. The Tsar Nicholas, a proud autocrat of indomitable will, had died on March 2, 1855, at the age of 59, and *Punch* published a cartoon

[1] He had succeeded St. Arnaud, who died on September 29, 1854, just after the battle of the Alma.

by John Leech—'General February turned traitor', in allusion to the terrible Russian winter which was usually so fatal to Russia's enemies. The cartoon has become very celebrated, but it was bad taste so to depict the death of an honourable antagonist, who had succumbed to exposure because he insisted upon going about as usual to do his duty. The death of Nicholas, however, probably made it easier for the Russian Government to make concessions. Besides, the Russians scored one success before the war ended. Their Army in the Caucasus had been besieging Kars in Armenia for three months when Sebastopol fell. The Turkish garrison of Kars was commanded by Colonel William Fenwick Williams, who had been sent as a British Commissioner with the Turkish army. Ably assisted by two other Englishmen, Colonel Lake and Major Teesdale, and by a Hungarian refugee, Lieutenant Kmety, Williams held Kars till November 28. Every assault of the Russian army was beaten back, and the city only capitulated in the end through starvation. The defence of Kars is one of the great events of its kind in history, and the leader became justly popular in England as 'Sir William Fenwick Williams, Baronet, of Kars'.[1]

Peace of Paris. The war was ended by the Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1856, which admitted Turkey into the Concert of Europe, and declared the Black Sea to be neutralized, and the Dardanelles and Bosphorus closed to the warships of all Powers except Turkey. Russia abandoned her pretensions to be Protector of the Greek Church subjects of the Porte.

[1] He was then 55 years of age. In 1865 he appears as Governor of Nova Scotia, and in 1881 he was made Constable of the Tower of London. He died in 1883.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE LAST HALF-CENTURY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

Leading Features. In the years after the close of the Napoleonic Wars there were still in India powerful and completely independent States; and because of their power, and their independent and sometimes aggressive policy, these States were sure, some time or other, to come into collision with the British Government in India. Thus there occurred a number of wars, some of which ended with the annexation of territory by Great Britain. The chief wars were with the Pindaris (who did not form a State, but were merely hordes of brigands), the Mahrattas, the Afghans, and the Sikhs; to these must be added wars with Sind, with the Burmese, and with China—these last two wars occurring outside the geographical limits of India. This 'fighting period' (which, however, included a vast amount of peaceful work) ended with the Mutiny in 1857–1858.

§ 1. The Period of Expansion

The Burmese War. When the Napoleonic Wars ended, Lord Hastings held office in India. His chief tasks were to settle the Nepaulese question, and to extirpate the plague of Pindaris. The Third Mahratta War[1] followed, and then peace came upon the Deccan. At the end of Hastings's period of rule, the East India Company was paramount throughout the Peninsula. Beyond the Peninsula, however, disorder and strife still prevailed, and the next Governor-General, Lord Amherst, had to fight a war with Burma—for the old reason that order and peace on the British side of the frontier could not co-exist with violence and robbery on the other side. After two campaigns, which caused great loss of life to the British forces among the swamps of Rangoon, the Treaty of Yandabu was concluded with the King of Burma (February 1826). The king ceded the

[1] For the Pindari and Third Mahratta Wars see above, part II, chap. xxviii, pp. 653–654.

provinces of Aracan and Tenasserim, and accepted a British resident at his capital of Rangoon.

The Burmese War had reacted on the internal condition of India, by producing unrest there, especially in Bhurtpore, the great fortress of Rajputana before whose walls Lord Lake had himself failed in the year 1805. Now in 1825 a usurper tried to seize the government from the child Raja whom the British supported. Lord Amherst found it necessary to send a regular army against Bhurtpore, which was besieged, and captured (January 18, 1826) after Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, had sprung a huge mine that breached the walls like an earthquake.

A BURMESE FORT IN A TREE

Lord William Bentinck. The administration of Lord Amherst was followed in 1828 by that of Lord William Bentinck, son of the third Duke of Portland.[1] A nobleman, trained in the political traditions of the eighteenth-century Whigs, Bentinck had also the rare advantage of administrative experience in India, having been Governor of Madras from 1803 to 1807. He was a man of simple habits, high courage, and a serious cast of mind.

In this period there were men of particularly fine mind devoting themselves to the welfare of India. At home, in India House, was James Mill, a high official, and the author of the classical history of India. He was a deep philosopher, both by nature and by study, although his fame has been eclipsed by that of his son, John Stuart Mill. In India there was Macaulay, one of the greatest literary geniuses of all time, a man of brilliant parts and an immense range of knowledge. He became legal member of the Governor-General's Council in 1834. Of other servants of the Company at this time the most eminent was Sir Charles, subsequently Lord, Metcalfe, who crowned a career of able and conscientious public service as Governor of Canada.

[1] Prime Minister in 1783 and in 1807.

Lord William Bentinck's beneficent activity has left its mark on all the institutions of British India. He simplified the legal procedure, and diminished its expenses and its delays. The courts were made more local, so that the natives had no longer to travel long distances. The administrative and judicial services were thrown open to natives, who since that time have been employed far more widely than is commonly understood, in the Government of India. The hideous and barbaric custom of suttee, by which Hindu widows burned themselves on the pyre of their husbands, was abolished by law; and Thugs, a religious society of garrotters, the plague of all wayfarers, were rooted out of the land. At Calcutta a Medical College was established, where native Indians (who had hitherto practised only an ignorant and mischievous quackery) could be trained, as they have been trained with splendid success, in the art of healing. Finally the modern educational system was definitely established, under Macaulay's influence, by the decision to give public instruction in Western rather than in Oriental learning. This system has since met with criticism, and Oriental history and literature are now offered along with English subjects and Classical learning; but the Indian educational system, as a whole, still looks to the progressive learning of the West, while utilizing the ancient educational treasures of the East.

In 1833 the Charter of the East India Company was renewed for twenty years; the Company was left in existence as a governing corporation, but was absolutely prohibited from engaging in trade (p. 703). The Charter Act also declared that no native of India should, by reason of religion or race, be disabled from holding any place of employment under the Company.

Bentinck retired from India in 1835, with a record of wise and devoted service, for which he received no recognition at home. But Macaulay, who admired and loved him, recorded his friend's services in an inscription on Bentinck's statue in Calcutta.

Lord Auckland. After Bentinck came a provisional Governor-Generalship of Sir Charles Metcalfe, the ablest of the Company's civil servants. Then, in 1836, Lord Auckland, a worthy but

weak Whig politician, became Governor-General. Within a year he had engaged upon a tremendous military adventure, the tragic issue of which forms one of the saddest pages in Indian history.

At this time Russia was planting her power throughout Central Asia, and already in the mind of the imaginative Lord Palmerston[1] the shadow of the colossus was cast over India. To keep Russia back, Palmerston authorized Lord Auckland to take control of affairs in Afghanistan.

Since 1809 a former Ameer of Afghanistan, called Shah Shujah, had been living at Ludhiana on a pension from the East India Company. Afghanistan was now ruled by an able chieftain called Dost Mohammed. Auckland at first tried to get Dost Mohammed into alliance with the British, but as the Ameer plainly preferred the friendship of Russia he resolved to restore the exile Shah Shujah instead.

In March 1837, 21,000 men advanced from Sind. They penetrated the Bolan Pass, and occupied in turn Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kabul. Shah Shujah was restored, and 8,000 men under General Elphinstone were left to support him. Two British civil agents were also left at Kabul—Sir Alexander Burnes and Sir William Macnaghten (1838).

But a sovereign, however lawful, who is set on the throne and kept there by foreign bayonets, has never much staying power. Before two years were over, Shah Shujah was a fugitive, and Elphinstone's army was besieged in its camp outside Kabul by Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mohammed. On December 23, 1841, Sir W. Macnaghten, who had gone out to parley with Akbar, was murdered either by the Khan himself or one of his officers. In spite of this act of treachery Akbar was trusted by General Elphinstone, who made a convention for leaving Kabul under safe conduct. On January 6, 1842, the British army, consisting now of only 4,500 men (690 British soldiers) and 1,200 camp followers, marched for Jellalabad, 80 miles to the east, where there was a British garrison. It never reached Jellalabad. Harassed by Afghans all the way, it was cut off

[1] Palmerston was Foreign Secretary in Lord Melbourne's Cabinet.

in the Jagdalak Pass. Only one man, the doctor Brydon, succeeded in struggling on his pony into Jellalabad.

This frightful catastrophe shook the foundations of British power in India, inasmuch as it was the first time that a regular British army had been defeated and destroyed by natives. The Commander-in-chief, Sir Jasper Nicholls, was blamed, but the policy of occupying Kabul was not his.

The destruction of Elphinstone's force was not merely a blow to the prestige and moral authority of the British Raj, but it laid the north of India open to Akbar's hordes of Afghans. They were stopped, however, by the ruined fort of Jellalabad, on the Kabul river, on the way to the Khyber Pass. Jellalabad was held by Major-General Robert Sale from November 1841 till April 1842. When General Pollock came up from Peshawar to relieve Jellalabad on April 7, 1842, he found that Sale had already relieved himself. He had that very day sallied forth with his brigade of war-worn heroes and had defeated Akbar's despondent army in the open field.

Lord Ellenborough. Just before the relief of Jellalabad, a new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, had come out, who successfully liquidated the Afghan trouble. Nothing really remained to be done but to evacuate Afghanistan, with as good a grace as possible. A country of unscalable mountains, rocky valleys, and untamed fighters, it could not be held by a few regiments as an outpost of British India. Yet to evacuate Afghanistan, with the British arms defeated and disgraced, would be to give up the British name in India itself. Accordingly General Nott, commanding the garrison in Kandahar, the last important place held by the British in Afghanistan, was ordered to advance upon the capital, Kabul; and General Pollock was ordered to do the same thing from Jellalabad. Nott, the son of a Carmarthen innkeeper, had had 42 years' service in India, and now crowned his career by a splendid march from Kandahar to Kabul, capturing on the way the historic fortress of Ghazni, where he carried off the gates of the temple of Somnauth.

General Pollock [1] was equally successful in his advance from

[1] Pollock was a member of the family which has given so many distinguished

Jellalabad. Kabul was occupied after hard fighting on September 15, 1842. Ninety-five captives, the survivors of Elphinstone's ill-starred force, were recovered, and the great bazaar was burned as an example to the Afghans.

The power of the British Raj having been thus triumphantly displayed, the army evacuated Kabul on October 12. The strong usurper Dost Mahommed, then a prisoner in Calcutta, was allowed to return as ruler over the unruly country which he alone could control.

Sind. Lord Ellenborough's tenure of the post of Governor-General was completed by the annexation of Sind. This was a Hindu State on the lower Indus, ruled by Baluch chiefs known as Mirs (Amirs). At the time of the Afghan War the British Resident at Haiderabad, the Sind capital, was Major Outram, the 'Bayard of the East'. The East India Company was allowed by treaty to have a garrison in Sind, which after the Afghan War was put under General Sir Charles Napier.[1] Napier was a great soldier and a fine administrator. He was personally a most lovable man; and as one of the most efficient of men he was disgusted at the anarchical administration of Sind. In February 1843 the Sind army made a sudden assault on the Residency at Haiderabad, and Napier at once took advantage of this to come out in force and to overthrow the whole Sind power at the battle of Meanee (February 17, 1843). Sind was annexed and under Napier's [2] kind and orderly administration became a prosperous and contented province. It is now the most northerly part of the Bombay Presidency.

Almost the last act of Lord Ellenborough in India was to prohibit the legal recognition of slavery. Thus the law of England and the law of India in this respect were at last

members to the legal profession. One of his brothers was Chief Justice of Bombay, the other was Chief Baron of the Exchequer in England. He himself became a British Field Marshal, and earned a tomb in Westminster Abbey.

[1] He was the eldest of the three famous Napier brothers, all of whom had served under Sir John Moore, and of whom one—William—wrote the finest military history of the world, the *History of the War in the Peninsula*. The first volume was published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, in 1828.

[2] The noble bronze statue of Napier stands to-day in Trafalgar Square; it was paid for by a public subscription to which the majority of contributors were the private soldiers who loved the memory of their general.

made the same. In 1844 Lord Ellenborough was recalled by the Board of Directors; Sir Henry Hardinge, a Peninsular veteran, was put in his place.

The First Sikh War. Sikhism is a singularly pure religion which was developed out of Buddhism by a holy man, the Guru Nanak, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The followers of the Nana lived in the land north of the Sutlej, the country of the Five Rivers—the Sutlej, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas—tributaries of the Indus. The Sikhs had many chiefs, but at the end of the eighteenth century one chief succeeded in making his authority paramount over all the rest. This was Ranjit Singh, a man of great will-power, and military and civil capacity. He built up a powerful State, with a splendid army of infantry, cavalry, and especially artillery, trained by French officers.

Ranjit Singh had the sense to see that the British could only do him good as friends, and throughout his active life (he was born in 1780 and died in 1839) he maintained excellent relations with them. His State, however, which was loosely organized under feudatory chiefs, lost its cohesion at his death. It became a confederacy of chiefs, who maintained a great army but could not pay it. Such a condition of affairs led to its inevitable result—raids to the British side of the Sutlej.

Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, saw that a collision could not be avoided. Accordingly when in December 1845 the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej, everything was ready. Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-chief, marched straight from Umballa for the scene of action. On December 18 he found the Sikh army strongly posted at Moodkee, and at once attacked them with 10,000 men. The Sikhs had the same number. At the end of the day they were driven off the field with the loss of 17 guns.

After this the Governor-General, who was himself a fine soldier, came up to the army, and chose to serve as a volunteer under Gough. On December 21 the British again attacked the reinforced Sikh army, which was under the chief Lal Singh, at Ferozeshah; again the enemy's entrenchments were stormed, and this time 73 guns were captured. The Sikhs retired behind

the Sutlej, while Gough collected fresh forces to renew the campaign. A Sikh raid across to the British side of the Sutlej was cleverly defeated by Sir Harry Smith [1] at Aliwal.

After their defeat at Aliwal, the Sikhs made one more fight, at Sobraon. Here with their backs against the Sutlej they met the fiery Gough on February 10 (1846) and were routed and driven into the river with terrible carnage. The British then crossed the Sutlej and captured Lahore. The Punjab was not annexed, but was made into a Protectorate, supervised by officials of the East India Company. In 1848 Lord Hardinge (as he now was) gave place to Dalhousie.

Dalhousie. Lord Dalhousie is perhaps the most praised and the most blamed of all the great Governors-General. It was he who made modern British India the paramount power of the whole Peninsula; while some people say he made the Mutiny.

Dalhousie, who was already an experienced administrator,[2] was only thirty-five years of age when he arrived in India. He was a small man, with a noble, rugged head, a keen glance, and a haughty, commanding mien. He was born to rule, and his whole demeanour showed this. But his hauteur was not the aloofness of pride or selfishness; every one who came near him admired and loved him, and no man ever showed more real consideration for the feelings of his subordinates.

Second Sikh War. Like every Governor-General to this time, Dalhousie came to India already impressed with its size, and with no intention of enlarging the British Dominion; and, like all the rest, he was obliged by the very nature of things to enlarge it.

The first large addition which he made was the Punjab, the noble province of the Five Rivers. After the first Sikh War the greater part of the country had been left to the Common-

[1] Harry Smith, like nearly all the prominent officers of this period, had served in the Peninsular War, where he learned his business in the school of the Duke of Wellington. He had also fought in America in 1814, and in South Africa against the Kaffirs in 1835. He was to return later to South Africa as Governor in 1847, where his memory is preserved in Harrismith, Ladysmith (called after his devoted Spanish wife), and Aliwal North.

[2] He had been President of the Board of Trade during the 'Railway Mania' of 1845.

wealth of Sikh chiefs—the Khalsa, as it was called—supervised by British officials, and administered for the benefit of the young Prince Dhulip Singh, who was a minor. The British officials were the three famous Lawrence brothers—John (afterwards Lord Lawrence, Viceroy of India), Henry the soldier, killed at Lucknow in 1857, and George, who was subsequently Commander-in-Chief in Rajputana.

On April 18, 1848, only three months after Dalhousie had arrived in India, one of the Sikh chiefs called Mulraj rebelled at Mooltan. Two young British officials, Mr. Vans Agnew of the Civil Service and Lieutenant Anderson of the Bengal Fusiliers, were murdered. Before his death Vans Agnew had time to scribble a note and to send it off by messenger to the Commissioner of Bannu, which was about 150 miles away. This note was opened by Lieutenant Herbert Edwards of the Bengal Fusiliers, a dashing soldier of twenty-nine years, who was then engaged in administrative work among the tribes on the northern frontier of the Punjab. At once throwing aside his work, and accompanied only by his escort and such other natives as would follow him, he made for Mooltan, and maintained a guerrilla campaign against Mulraj for the next four months. While the Commander-in-Chief at Simla was preparing a regular campaign for the cool weather, Edwards by sheer courage, resource, swiftness, and decision, kept the country round Mooltan for the British.

By September 4 Lord Gough had got everything ready and the siege of Mooltan opened; but that historic city, lying high above the dry riverbed of the Ravi, defied the British siege train, and on September 15 (1848) Lord Gough had to strike his tents. The rebellion then spread over the whole Punjab.

Lord Dalhousie, however, was equal to the occasion. Troops were concentrated on the Sutlej: the Governor-General himself came up to the Punjab. Lord Gough's army was strongly reinforced, and on January 13 it met the Sikhs at Chillianwallah in the country between the Jhelum and the Chenab. The Sikhs were driven off the field, but their well-directed artillery did great execution among the British forces. A loss of 2,338 men was

taken very seriously by the authorities in London, and Lord Gough was at once superseded by General Sir Charles Napier; but before the new commander arrived, Gough had overthrown the Sikhs at Gujarat (February 21, 1849), ten miles from Chillianwallah.

Gujarat practically closed the second Sikh War. The Punjab was annexed and put under a board of three—John and Henry Lawrence and Charles Greville Mansell. The military power of the Sikh chiefs was entirely destroyed, but they were allowed to keep their lands and personal distinctions. The young prince Dhulip Singh was left as a great Indian nobleman, with the dignity of Prince and a pension of £50,000 a year. The new territory was 73,000 square miles in extent, and under British administration it has prospered exceedingly. The condition of the peasants has improved with light and regular taxation, and with the irrigation of the land. The loyalty of the Sikhs, in the Mutiny and subsequently, has become proverbial.

The Expansion of India. The annexation of the Punjab brought the British Dominion to the borders of Kashmir and Afghanistan, and created the North-West Frontier. Towards the east, Dalhousie made another great extension by the annexation of Lower Burma.

The First Burmese War, which ended with the Treaty of Yandabu, had gained for the East India Company a strip of country on the east of the Bay of Bengal. It had resulted also in the placing of a British Resident at Ava, where the native king called himself *The Elder Brother of China*, and *The Lord who is the Greatest of Kings*. In 1852, after a long series of provocations by this king against the British, Dalhousie sent an expedition under General Goodwin to the Irawaddy; and Lower Burma—the province of Pegu (including Rangoon)—was annexed.[1] Dalhousie carefully organized both the military expedition and the subsequent administration in the conquered country, and visited it himself four times.

The Lapse. The administration in Native States was very

[1] In 1885 Lord Dufferin fought the Third Burmese War, and annexed Upper Burma, which included Ava (the old capital) and Mandalay.

inefficient in the middle of the nineteenth century; and so Dalhousie believed that whenever a lawful occasion arose, it was his duty to annex a State and to give it the benefits of British rule. It was with this object that he applied the rule of the lapse—that is to say, if a reigning chief had no heirs, he refused to allow the Chief to *adopt* an heir. The territory then would lapse to the British Crown. Thus Nagpore, Satara, Sambalpur, Jhansi, Jaipur, Baghat, Ṭdaipur, and Budawal were annexed.

The annexation of Oude, which caused much discontent, and which is held to have been partly accountable for the Mutiny, was not made under the principle of the lapse. Oude was a 'kingdom' which, since the time of Warren Hastings, had been closely connected with the East India Company. The king was protected by British soldiers, and a British Resident was at his court at Lucknow. The last Resident, Colonel Outram, reported in 1854 that Oude was given over to anarchy and the cruellest oppression, the result of two successive reigns of wicked kings. Nevertheless Lord Dalhousie was against the proposal to dethrone the reigning king, but the Directors of the East India Company sent him a specific order to do so. Accordingly in November 1854 Oude was annexed.

Internal Government. Dalhousie's seven years' government in India brought peace and prosperity to the country. The exports and the imports were doubled. The great network of railways was planned, and a beginning was made with the Bombay–Thana line, completed in 1853. The electric telegraph and the one anna (halfpenny) post were introduced; and the Department of Public Works was established. Education was brought into line with native requirements by the rule that the work in lower schools should be based on the vernacular tongues.

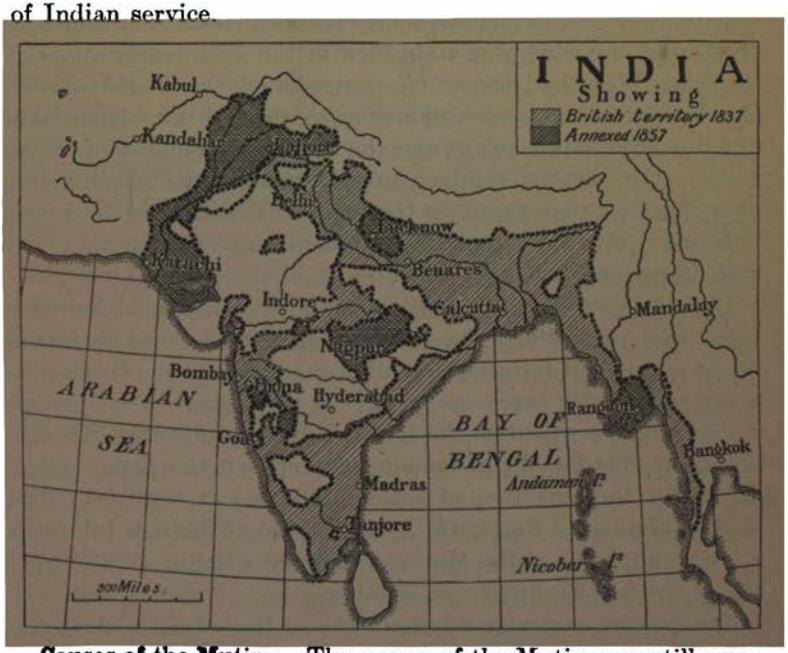
The great Governor-General retired in February 1856, worn out by his incessant labours. At an age when other men are in the prime of life (he was just 44) he could only hobble on crutches to his ship. At home his physical distress was increased by the agony of mind with which he heard of the Mutiny.[1]

[1] He died at Dalhousie Castle on December 19, 1860.

His successor in India was Lord Canning, son of the former Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister of England.

§ 2. The Mutiny and the End of the Company

The story of the Indian Mutiny used to be better known to British boys than any other part of the Empire's history, being handed down from father to son in families which have a tradition of Indian service.



Causes of the Mutiny. The causes of the Mutiny are still somewhat obscure. One thing is certain; the rising was a mutiny, not a rebellion. There was no national movement. The peasants in Bengal took no part in the rising, and where there were no native regiments Englishmen rode over the country and went about their business as if nothing out of the common was happening.

The Sepoys in the middle of the nineteenth century were discontented with their pay and prospects. The growth of British India had extended the area of their service, even to

making them fight overseas, in Burma. The whole native cavalry of the Bengal army was said to be deep in debt. Each trooper got a fixed inclusive sum, and was responsible for providing and keeping his horse. As a matter of fact, he generally spent the money on himself, and then borrowed for his horse.

The Sepoys thought that the power of the British Raj was low, because everywhere they saw five native soldiers to one British ; and as the native soldiers were just as well armed as the British the odds were all in their favour. Moreover although the Sikh Wars had shown the strength of the British power, the disaster to General Elphinstone's army in the Afghan War had not been wiped away from the retentive memories of native India. For the last eighteen months rumours had been flying over the East that again, in the Crimea, British arms had been defeated. At the same time England was engaged in a war with China (see below, p. 804).

Dalhousie's reforms, his railways and telegraphs, his annexations, and particularly the annexation of Oude, had disturbed men's minds and for a time created a vague unrest. India was a sort of powder magazine, ready to be ignited. And just as modern India is a field for the agitationof clever,fluent politicians, so in the middle of the nineteenth century the Sepoys were a field for the agitation of scheming, bitter ex-royalties. The Rani of Jhansi, a State which had lapsed to British rule, was a great supporter of the Mutiny ; the Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the late Peshwa,[1] was another.

The greased cartridge was only one of the ways in which the prejudices and fears of the Sepoys were unscrupulously played upon. Muskets, the old-fashioned, smooth-bored weapons, had recently given place to a new pattern—the Minié rifle, with a grooved barrel. This required a greased cartridge, and the agitators said the grease was made from the fat of cows and pigs ; the Hindu could not bear the idea of the cow's grease, while the pig's was equally offensive to the Mussulman. As a matter of fact the Indian Government had not thought specially

[1] Baji Rao II, who was deposed and whose territory was annexed in 1818 ; see above, part II, p. 654.

about the composition of the grease, but as soon as the trouble was brought to its knowledge orders were given that no cow or pig fat was to be used in the preparation; but the idea could not be eradicated from the Sepoy mind.

The Outbreak. This then was the electrical condition of affairs in January 1857, when mutterings were heard in the native regiments of the Bengal army. General Hearsey reported the trouble to the Government at Calcutta; and Lord Canning, the Governor-General, took the warning seriously. On March 29 at Barrackpur, sixteen miles north of Calcutta, a Sepoy, Manghal Pandi, who had been drugged for the purpose, ran wild, and tried to start a mutiny; but General Hearsey showed complete decision. Regardless of his personal safety he went among the Sepoys and controlled them, and by a marvel escaped assassination, although his adjutant was shot dead.

Whether the whole movement was concerted, or whether one rising led to another, it is impossible to say. The fire, once kindled, spread over Bengal. At Meerut the Sepoys mutinied and went off to Delhi, twenty-five miles distant, while the British soldiers were parading to go to church. When the mutineers reached Delhi, the whole city rose as if mad. The ancient Moghul family was still living there, pensioned by the East India Company; and just as the ex-royal family of Tippu engineered the mutiny at Vellore in 1806, so it may be that the Moghul had a hand in the Meerut rising in '57.

The few British soldiers and officials in Delhi could do nothing to stop the gigantic tumult. The powder magazine was defended by nine officers and men under Lieutenant Willoughby. When things became hopeless, the British blew up the magazine and made a dash for safety. Only three escaped; Lieutenant Willoughby got through the Kashmir gate, but was cut down on the Meerut road. The British women and children in the Palace were all murdered. The slaughter of little children in the Mutiny is the most awful condemnation of the whole movement, making the memory of it one of palpitating horror for all time.

The Siege of Delhi. At Delhi the British telegraph officer had remained at his post, sending off messages till the mutineers came

and murdered him. His work was done, however. Next day the news had reached every camp and barracks in India. Lord Roberts, as he tells in *Forty-one Years*, was quartered at Peshawar when, on May 11 (1857), 'a telegraph signaller rushed in breathless with excitement, a telegram in his hand, which proved to be a message from Delhi *to all stations in the Punjab*,' telling of the mutiny at Delhi and Meerut.

'Fortunately for India there were good men and true at Peshawar in those days, when hesitation and irresolution would have been fatal, and it is worthy of note that they were comparatively young men—Edwards was thirty-seven, Nicholson thirty-five, Neville Chamberlain, the distinguished Commandant of the Punjab Field Force . . . was thirty-seven; and the Brigadier, Sydney Cotton, though much older, being sixty-five, was not only exceptionally young for his years, and full of energy and intelligence, but actually younger than the average of General officers commanding stations in India.'[1]

Herbert Edwards and John Nicholson were strongly of an opinion that the only chance of keeping the Punjab quiet was to trust the Sikhs. The advice was accepted by Cotton and John Lawrence; a Sikh column was organized and actually led against Delhi to suppress the mutiny.

At Calcutta where Lord Canning was, at Simla where the Commander-in-chief General Anson was, and at Lahore where John Lawrence was, it was unanimously recognized that Delhi, the royal city of the Moghuls, was the centre of the Mutiny. Against Delhi, therefore, troops were concentrated at Umballa, 120 miles to the north. Lord Roberts describes the Commander-in-chief General Anson as 'an able intelligent man, an excellent judge of character, a great authority on whist and on horses'. He showed himself equal to the occasion. On hearing of the Mutiny he at once left Simla, and next morning reached Umballa. He organized the Field Force and would have led it against Delhi had not cholera struck him down. On his death Sir Harry Barnard, a Crimean officer, took over the command. Early in June the British Field Force advanced on Delhi, and on June 9 it stormed the Ridge outside the city.

[1] *Forty-one Years in India*, ch. vi.

The Force (British and loyal Indian) numbered only about 5,000 men; and it was supposed to be besieging a walled city of 150,000 inhabitants, held by 15–20,000 trained troops. The Punjab movable column, however, was on its way, led by John Nicholson, who was, as Lord Roberts says, a veritable *man amongst men.*

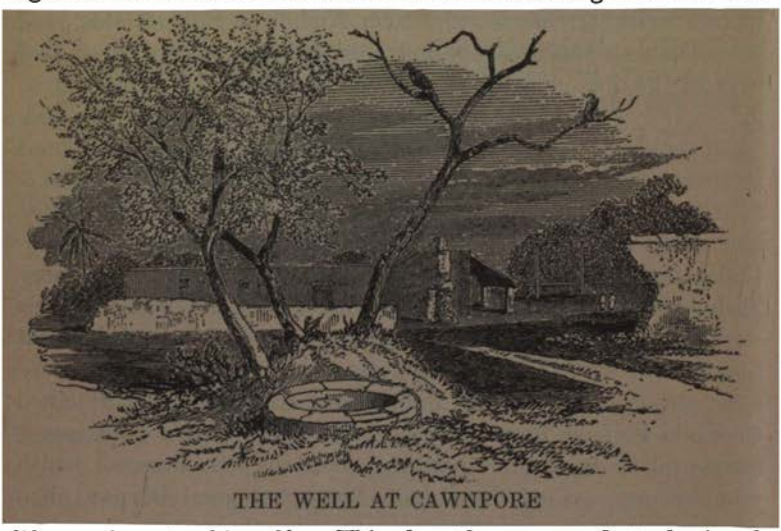
This great bearded hero had a way that no man could resist. On the road to Delhi, at Jullundur, a general of the Kapurthala Native State Army called Mehtab Singh came to visit the British officers, with his shoes on. John Nicholson noticed this, and when Mehtab was leaving the room suddenly rose and stalked over to the door, waving the general back with an authoritative air. 'If I were the last Englishman left in Jullundur,' he said, 'you should not come into my room with your shoes on.' Lord Roberts, who witnessed the incident, then saw Mehtab look 'extremely foolish' and taking off his shoes leave the room. Five years afterwards Roberts, who was pig-sticking in Kapurthala, met Mehtab and found him quite friendly. The way Nicholson Sahib had dealt with Mehtab was one of the historic events of the State's history. 'We often chaff him about that little affair,' said the Rajah to Roberts.

At the end of July the Punjab movable column had joined the Field Force in front of Delhi. Besides the trials and dangers incidental to continuous fighting, other ills, the worst of which was cholera, assailed the British Force. General Barnard died on July 5, and on the 17th his successor General Reed had to give up the command owing to ill health. He was succeeded by General Archdale Wilson, but he too was ill, and Baird Smith, his able second-in-command, always a delicate man, was suffering intensely from the severe Indian summer. The life and soul of the army was John Nicholson—always in the thick of the fight, asking the men to go only where he himself was the first.

After four months of incessant fighting, amid heat, thirst, and sickness, the Field Force was ready for the great assault. By September 14 the walls had been breached and the city stormed. But the heroic Nicholson, ever first in the fight, had been mortally wounded. He lingered for nine days; the Native Chiefs and

Officers who had known him came to see him on his death-bed, and as they looked upon their fallen hero the strong Sikh warriors broke into passionate tears.

Cawnpore. While the siege of Delhi was going on, the fearful massacre of Cawnpore had occurred. This place was a military station in Oude, 42 miles south-west of Lucknow. The 3,000 native soldiers were easily seduced by a Mahratta, the Nana Sahib, who as the adopted son of the ex-Peshwa had a grievance against the British Government for not continuing the Peshwa's

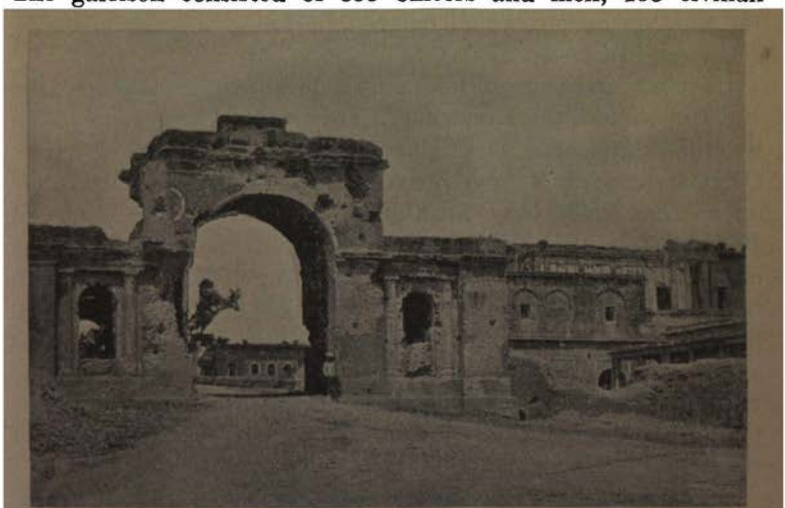


THE WELL AT CAWNPORE

life-pension to himself. This heartless man first besieged General Wheeler (an old but capable and determined officer) in the hospital. On June 27 Wheeler, after holding out for 21 days, capitulated to save the women and children, for the place was now quite untenable. The Nana gave a solemn promise to spare the lives of all the inmates, but when the women and children had got into the open boats upon the Ganges he let his followers loose upon them. With gun-fire and rifles the helpless people were shot to death. There were about 800 men, women, and children. All except 210 were massacred. When, on July 15, General Havelock's relieving force was still a day's march from Cawnpore, the Nana had the remaining women and children

murdered too; their bodies were hacked to pieces and thrown down a well.

Lucknow. At Lucknow, the capital of Oude, the Mutiny broke forth at the end of May. Sir Henry Lawrence, the administrator, tried to use some loyal native soldiers against the mutineers, but finding himself practically powerless he retired to the Residency, a large, three-storied building, situated in about 60 acres of ground, weakly protected by some ditches and stockades. The garrison consisted of 855 officers and men, 153 civilian



BAILEY GUARD GATE, THE RESIDENCY, LUCKNOW [1]

volunteers, and 712 loyal native troops, mainly Sikhs. There were 1,280 non-combatants. For nearly three months shot and shell poured into the enclosure; on July 4 (three days after the siege began) Lawrence died from a shell wound. The command devolved upon General Inglis, a distinguished Nova Scotian soldier.

The column sent from Allahabad to relieve Cawnpore and Lucknow by Lord Canning was commanded by General Havelock.[2] Cawnpore was entered on July 17, but Lucknow still had

[1] From a contemporary photograph.

[2] Havelock, who was sixty-two years old, had been educated at Charterhouse.

to be relieved. No praise can be too great for the way he kept to his task, and animated his men in their long series of fights. Eight hard-fought and successful battles still left him with masses of enemy between him and Lucknow. In September General Outram, his superior officer, joined him with reinforcements. Havelock should have been superseded, but Outram, the most chivalrous of soldiers, refused to take over the command when Havelock's long-sustained effort was all but complete. He accompanied the relief force as a volunteer, and fought in the final operations which relieved Lucknow on September 25. The siege had lasted 87 days.

Havelock and Outram were only able to reinforce the garrison and to revictual the Residency. They were in turn hemmed in by the mutineers. Sir Colin Campbell,[1] however, the new Commander-in-chief, was busy organizing another relief force on a large scale—large for those days, when heroic bands of Britons stood isolated among a hundred thousand revolting native soldiery. Actually he was able to get 4,500 trained men together. Against him there were about 60,000 rebels, with, for leaders, the Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Topi. Tantia was a man of considerable ability, the best military leader that the mutineers had. Roberts truly describes him as a 'vile Mahratta', for he had been the instrument of the atrocious massacres of the Nana Sahib.

On November 3 Campbell's force advanced to Cawnpore. Roberts, who was there already with the Delhi soldiers, tells how the soldiers were lashed to fury to see the tresses of hair and strips of dress lying still on the scene of the massacre.

had studied law at the Middle Temple, had subsequently entered the Rifle Brigade and gone to India, after making himself master of the Hindustani tongue. He was a thoroughly scientific soldier. When the Mutiny occurred Havelock had just concluded a short campaign against Persia.

[1] Colin Campbell was then 65 years of age. He was a native of Glasgow, educated at the local High School, and at the age of 16 became an ensign in the 9th Foot. He had fought in the Peninsular War, in the American War of 1814, in the slave revolt in Demerara (1823), in the Chinese War of 1842, the First Sikh War of 1848-1849, and the Crimean War, where he commanded the Highland Brigade. It was his 'thin red line of Highlanders' which saved the day at Balaclava (see above, p. 774). When on June 11 the awful news of the Mutiny reached London, Lord Palmerston at once offered Sir Colin the Indian command. The veteran sailed the next evening.

Campbell stayed at Cawnpore till November 11, and then began his steady advance on Lucknow. On the 15th the garrison in the Residency heard the boom of his guns and then the 'skirl' of the Highlanders' pipes; on the 16th he was shaking hands with Havelock and Outram.

The Residency was evacuated, and the women and children were taken back with the army to Cawnpore. General Outram was left with about 4,000 men to hold the Alam Bagh, a palace of the Oude princes, 4 miles from Lucknow; but the noble Havelock had died of dysentery a week after the Residency was relieved. Campbell had a regular campaign still to fight clearing the country round Delhi, while Outram held the Alam Bagh against about 120,000 of the enemy. Not till March of the next year (1858) was the city of Lucknow actually in the hands of the British, helped by a contingent of 15,000 Ghurkas whom the Prime Minister of Nepaul brought to our aid.

The Central Provinces. The Mutiny was now at an end in Bengal. In the Central Provinces there was serious disaffection. Holkar and Sindia remained loyal but some of their troops joined with the mutineers, and Tantia Topi, though driven out of Oude, soon had 20,000 men under his command.

The extinction of the Mutiny in the Central Provinces was due to General Sir Hugh Rose, one of the finest officers in Britain's military history. At that time Rose was 56 years of age. He had held various diplomatic appointments, in Turkey and Egypt. In the Crimean War he had greatly distinguished himself, showing remarkable coolness and bravery, as well as knowledge of military matters. But it was not till 1857 that he got a chance to show his real military genius. His great exploit was the storming of Jhansi in May 1858, after he had defeated Tantia Topi's relieving force of 20,000 with 1,500 men. In June he repeated Popham's feat of capturing Gwalior, which the mutineers of Sindia's army had seized. It was in the Central Provinces that the greatest danger lay, for they were not hedged round, as Bengal was, with 'a ring of steel' in the converging British columns, but Rose's active genius suppressed the rising in that vast area and prevented it spreading throughout the length and breadth of India.

The Result of the Mutiny. The Mutiny had not broken the power of the British Raj. Rather it had shown, in the mighty deeds of small bodies of British and loyal native troops, the strength of our dominion and the incomparable leaders who wielded it. The British public, thoroughly aroused by the tragic and exciting events to a consciousness of their responsibility for India, felt that the time had come for a closer union. On August 2, 1858, the Government of India was transferred by Act of Parliament from the East India Company directly to

A CHINESE OPIUM DEN. From an engraving of the time.

the British Crown. 'John Company' thus brought its long and honourable history to a close.

China. The extension of British influence in China, though only indirectly concerned with the position of the British in India, is worth noticing here. Opium, exported from India, formed a large item in British trade with China. In 1840 the Chinese Government confiscated the stocks of opium belonging to British traders at Canton. This act provoked the First Chinese War (1840–1842), which resulted in the cession of Hong Kong to Great Britain. In 1856 there was a Second War, due to the Chinese authorities seizing the *lorcha* (trading schooner) *Arrow* flying the British flag. The chief events in this war, which lasted

till 1860, and in which French forces co-operated, were the capture of the Taku Forts by General Sir Hope Grant, and the occupation of Tientsin and Pekin. Two British envoys who were negotiating to end the war, Sir Henry Parkes and Henry (afterwards Lord) Loch, had been seized and tortured by the Chinese. In consequence of this, the Allies on entering Pekin burned the Imperial Summer Palace. As a result of the war certain cities and ports of China were opened to foreign trade; and diplomatic ministers of the Powers were for the first time established at Pekin.

CHAPTER XXXVII

PALMERSTON

§ 1. A Retrospect

Birth and Education. Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston in the Peerage of Ireland, was born at the family mansion of Broadlands, Hampshire, on October 20, 1784. He therefore belongs to the group of Victorian statesmen who were born in the eighteenth century and who gained their political experience before the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832.

Palmerston, like Peel, Aberdeen, and numerous other Victorian statesmen, went to Harrow, where he had the reputation of being the pluckiest and best-tempered boy in the school. Although not supposed to be much of a scholar or a reader, he never forgot what he learned at school, and to the end of his life could illustrate his political views or notions with quotations from Virgil. It is more surprising to notice that he learned, in addition to Latin and Greek, to express himself perfectly in French and Italian. When later he went to the Foreign Office the clerks were surprised to find that he could write his own letters to foreign countries.

In 1802 Temple's father died, and the young man became Viscount Palmerston, inheriting considerable wealth, including Irish estates (near Sligo), which he visited as often as possible, and which he managed with the greatest care. In 1803 Palmerston went into residence at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he

stayed three years, gaining good reports from his tutor for regularity of conduct and for the place he took in the College examinations.

Parliamentary Experience. At the end of his course at College he became a candidate for the position of one of the two members of Parliament for the University—a position rendered vacant by the death of Pitt in January 1806. He was defeated, however, by two other eminent men—Mr. Petty (known later as the Marquis of Lansdowne) and Lord Althorp (another athletic Harrovian statesman), known later as Earl Spencer. Failing to be elected for Cambridge, he got himself returned for Newport, in the Isle of Wight, a pocket borough of Sir Leonard Holmes. Palmerston was then twenty-three years old, keenly interested in politics, especially in Foreign affairs, as may be seen from the careful journal which he kept at this time. For the rest of his long life he was a member of the House of Commons, and even when eighty years old and burdened with all the work of Prime Minister he remained famous for his constant attendance at the House. All the same, although he became one of England's best-known public speakers, he spent his first year in Parliament without opening his mouth.

Administrative Experience. The political leaders during the period of the Napoleonic War were always on the look-out for talent, and were attracted by this robust, sensible, and resolute young man. In 1809 the Prime Minister, Mr. Perceval, actually offered to make him Chancellor of the Exchequer; Palmerston, however, refused the position, for which he had no training; and accepted that of Secretary at War. From this time till his death in 1865 he was only out of office for comparatively short intervals. When the question of parliamentary reform became pressing he definitely joined the Whigs, and remained unalterably true to the principles of Lord Grey—moderate, limited democracy—all his life. In 1830 he became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was out of office, of course, when the Tories returned with Peel in 1835, returned to the Foreign Office when Lord Melbourne became Prime Minister in 1836, and so on (with a few intervals) for the next thirty years. No Whig (or Liberal) Administration could

do without him, and in every one he was at the Foreign Office, except for a short period when he was Home Secretary in 1853 under Lord Aberdeen. He did not reach the highest and most onerous post, that of Prime Minister, till he was seventy years old, but the opportunity found him with his eyes not dimmed nor his natural force abated.

The Coup d'État. In December 1848, Prince Louis Napoleon had become President of the French Republic ; and in December 1851 he suppressed the Republican Assembly and assumed the position of dictator. Palmerston (at this time Foreign Secretary in Lord John Russell's Cabinet) held fervently to the principle that every nation should manage its own affairs,[1] and so when Napoleon's *coup d'état* took place he let the French ambassador know, in private conversation, that the new régime would not be opposed by the British Government. In making this communication he had taken no trouble to ascertain what the rest of the Cabinet thought or what the Queen wished. Accordingly Lord John Russell insisted on Palmerston's resigning from the Foreign Office and dismissed him from the Cabinet. The incident became famous, not only on account of this dramatic dismissal of one who seemed to have become almost a fixture at the Foreign Office, but because it brought forward the principle according to which the Queen herself always maintained that foreign policy should be conducted. This principle had already been laid down (in the previous year) in a letter from the Queen to the Prime Minister (Lord John Russell) as follows :

' She [the Queen] requires (1) that he [Lord Palmerston] will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the Queen may know as distinctly to what she has given her royal sanction ; (2) having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the Minister ; such an act she must consider as failing in sincerity towards the Crown, and justly to be visited by the exercise of her constitutional right of dismissing that Minister. She expects to be kept informed of what passes between him and the Foreign Ministers, before important decisions are taken based upon that inter-

[1] ' Our foreign policy under Palmerston, as under Castlereagh and Canning, had an element of idealism in it which foreign observers then, as in later times, regarded as hypocrisy ' (Alington, *Twenty Years* (1921), p. 121).

course ; to receive the foreign dispatches in good time ; and to have the drafts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off. The Queen thinks it best that Lord John Russell should show this letter to Lord Palmerston.' [1]

This definition of the Crown's position in the conduct of the Foreign Affairs of the country shows that Constitutional Monarchy does not necessarily mean the insignificance of the sovereign.

Lord John Russell did not himself last much longer as Prime Minister. In February 1852 he gave place to a short-lived Tory Ministry under Lord Derby. This was followed by Lord Aberdeen's Coalition till 1855.

Prime Minister. In 1855 Palmerston became Prime Minister with a mission from the country to finish the Crimean War. This he did satisfactorily, and after the signature of the Treaty of Paris in March 1856 he might reasonably have expected a less strenuous time to follow. As a matter of fact he was almost immediately faced with a short war with China, and next with the terrible and prolonged crisis of the Indian Mutiny. Coming just after the Russian War, the Indian Mutiny was a terrible blow to public confidence : the British Empire seemed to be breaking to pieces. Palmerston, however, never for a moment lost his courage and confidence—his 'jauntiness' as the public called it—and the suppression of the Mutiny justified the opinion he had expressed (when people proposed that foreigners should be enlisted for service in India) that ' we ought to win this innings against the Sepoys off our own bat '.

The Conspiracy to Murder Bill. The Mutiny having been successfully dealt with, Palmerston introduced a Bill into Parliament to bring India more directly under the British Government by doing away with the administration of the East India Company and by creating in its place a Secretary of State and Council of India, to sit at Whitehall. Before, however, the Bill could pass Parliament a curious and unexpected political crisis at home brought about the fall of the Palmerston Government. On January 14, 1858, an Italian called Orsini tried to assassinate Napoleon III outside the Opera House in Paris. This attempt

[1] *The Letters of Queen Victoria* (1908), ii. 264 (August 12, 1850).

was part of a regular plot which had been concocted by a gang of refugee cut-throats in London. The French were indignant that the asylum which Britain offered to political refugees should be used for hatching conspiracies against the internal peace of a foreign State, and some French colonels addressed a warlike message to Napoleon III. For a time 'war-fever' raged in France. This is described at the beginning of *Beauchamp's Career*, the novel by Meredith (who lived through the period) founded on the life of a British Admiral whom he knew. 'Firebrand' Palmerston, as the Prime Minister was called, was always ready enough to meet the challenge of any Power which, so to speak, showed a tendency to tread on England's toes. On this occasion, however, thinking that, after all, the French had a grievance, he conceded their point and introduced a Bill, popularly known as the *Conspiracy to Murder Bill*. This was to make it punishable as a felony to conspire to commit a murder, whether the murder was to take place inside or outside the United Kingdom. Both the public and Parliament, however, took the view that Britain was being dictated to by a foreign power, and that the law was being changed to please a foreign despot. England was the home of liberty, and political refugees from other countries had always been welcomed there. So although the Bill was reasonable enough, it was opposed by the advanced liberals Bright and Cobden and even by Lord John Russell and Gladstone. These, combining to vote with the Conservative Party against the Government, threw out the Bill, and Palmerston resigned from office (February 1858).

Lord Derby's Second [1] Government. The Earl of Derby, who will always be known for his admirable translation of the *Iliad*, was a politician of the country-gentleman type, capable, public-spirited, and with a considerable aptitude for parliamentary management. England was fortunate in having a number of such statesmen in the nineteenth century, men who had nothing to make out of politics, but entered them quite naturally as an obligation of their 'position'. Such men were Lord Grey (the Reform Bill statesman), Lord Althorp, Lord George Bentinck,

[1] The first was from February to December 1852; see above, p. 754 and p. 808.

Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Lord Derby, and Lord Hartington (the Duke of Devonshire). The great sinecures of the eighteenth century had been gradually abolished since 1832, and there is no doubt that every one of these statesmen was actually poorer by being in politics.

Lord Derby's lieutenant in the House of Commons was Disraeli, and the two seemed fated to endure long periods in Opposition, and to snatch brief intervals of office from the dissensions of the preponderant Whigs.[1] On this occasion, as in 1852, their life as a Government was short. They passed the Government of India Bill (see p. 804) putting India directly under the Crown. In other ways too they showed that there was plenty of life in the Conservative party, although it had so little chance to show this in office. Measures were carried through Parliament to admit Jews to sit there, and also to remove the property qualification for membership (this had been a point in the *People's Charter*). The energetic Disraeli even proceeded with his great scheme for extending the franchise, a measure which had been talked of by both parties since 1832. It was thrown out (June 1859), however, by the Whigs, on the motion of Lord Hartington who now began a distinguished career in the House of Commons.

§ 2. Foreign Affairs, 1859–1865

Palmerston's Second Ministry.[2] When Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister for the second time he was 75 years old. He was undoubtedly the most popular man in England. Every one liked the vigorous, neatly-dressed old man, with his deep laugh, his unfailing good-temper, his frank courtesy, and his complete absence of humbug. People never had any uneasy feeling that he was concealing anything: whatever 'Pam' (or 'Palmy') said, he meant, and whatever he thought about public affairs he said

[1] The Whigs were not called Liberals till about the year 1865. The Liberal Party is alluded to in George Eliot's *Felix Holt* (1867). The word Conservative, instead of Tory, occurs much earlier, being used by Disraeli in a speech to his constituents in 1843.

[2] The chief members of his Cabinet were Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord John Russell (created Earl Russell in 1861) Foreign Secretary. Sidney Herbert, who had been Secretary at War in Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry, and Colonial Secretary in Palmerston's First Ministry, was now Secretary of State for War. He died in 1861.

distinctly enough, regardless of the consequences. He was a well-known figure in London, walking or riding to Parliament from his residence (Cambridge House, Piccadilly, now the Naval and Military Club). His constituents at Tiverton saw him regularly to the end of his life, and his ' banter ' at electoral meetings was famous. He was, of course, a hero to the boys of Harrow, which he often visited, always timing himself to do the ride from his house to the school, 12 miles, in one hour.

The feature of this last six years of Palmerstonian Government (he was still Prime Minister when he died) was peace and quietness at home, an absence of friction everywhere in the country, and a consequent high level of production, material, intellectual, and artistic. But abroad there was a very different state of affairs.

Foreign Complications. In Europe the period was one of great complexity and difficulty. Sardinia was conducting her great struggle to expel the Austrians and to unite all Italy. The Danes were being plundered of Schleswig-Holstein by Prussia and Austria, and shortly afterwards Prussia and Austria were fighting each other on the field of Königgrätz. In America a titanic struggle went on for five years between the Northern and Southern States. In each of these wars Great Britain had a strong interest, yet under Palmerston's leadership she managed to keep at peace.

Italy. Since the year 1715 Austria had held Milan and the surrounding country, and since 1815 she had also held Venice. Tuscany and Modena were under cadet branches of the House of Habsburg. Parma was Bourbon, but under Austrian influence. The rest of Central Italy was under the temporal power of the Pope ; and South Italy—the Kingdom of Sicily and Naples—was under a branch of the Spanish Bourbon family. The only purely Italian power of North Italy was the Kingdom of Sardinia, which in addition to that island had Piedmont on the South slopes of the Alps, and Savoy, on the Western slopes, towards France.

In 1859 Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, along with Louis Napoleon Emperor of the French, engaged in war with Austria. After the French victories at Magenta and Solferino, the Treaty

of Zurich was concluded, by which Austria ceded the Milanese to Sardinia. Venice still remained in Austrian hands. The British public strongly sympathized with the Italian struggle for union and for freedom from the foreigner, and although no military support was offered (or expected), the Italians were grateful for England's benevolent neutrality. Actually, for a new country engaged in a diplomatic as well as a military struggle, the cordial sympathy expressed in the dispatches of the Foreign Office, and the attitude of British ambassadors, was of great practical effect.

Nice and Savoy. In 1860 the Italians had sorrowfully to carry out their part of the bargain[1] with Louis Napoleon by ceding to France Nice—their sunny Riviera port and the birthplace of Garibaldi—and Savoy, the fair province on the Western slope of the Alps. The British public, which still thought France dangerous and distrusted the restless French Emperor, took alarm at the cession. For a short time war was talked of between the two nations. Lord Palmerston as usual spoke plainly. The French ambassador, Count de Flahaut, called on him at Cambridge House, and Palmerston, who was on the point of going down to Parliament, took the Count with him in his brougham. A few

[1] By the Pact of Plombières, July 22, 1858, Cavour, the Sardinian Minister, had promised that France should obtain Nice and Savoy, in return for military assistance to Sardinia. Although Napoleon had not carried out all his part of the bargain (for he had not gained Venice for Sardinia) yet it was thought best to give him Nice and Savoy, in order that he might acquiesce in the Sardinian annexation of Tuscany and other portions of Central Italy.

minutes' conversation achieved what dispatches and notes had failed to accomplish. At the end of the drive the two statesmen parted in the friendliest manner.

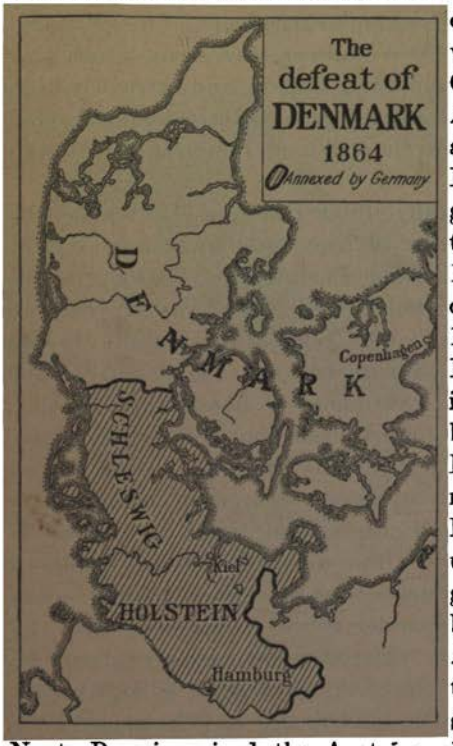
The dispute blew over; Italy had to make the transfer as arranged, and the French Emperor agreed to keep the northern part of Savoy 'neutralized', without garrisons even in time of war.[1] The alarm of 1860 had one enduring effect on Great Britain; it caused the beginning of the Volunteer Movement, which provided the country with a voluntary, unpaid, and extremely keen and capable citizen army of 300,000 men, till it was transformed in 1907 by Lord Haldane into the still more important Territorial Force.

The 'Thousand'. In May 1860 Giuseppe Garibaldi, the adventurous sailor and soldier of Nice, took by sea an expedition consisting of one thousand Piedmontese 'red-shirts' to Sicily, and conquered the whole island which was supposed to be held by its garrison of 20,000 Neapolitan troops. Having taken Sicily, he began to prepare to cross the Straits to the Kingdom of Naples. The Government of Louis Napoleon proposed that the English and French fleets should interfere to prevent further violation of the neutrality of Naples. The British Government refused. The Neapolitans showed no inclination to defend themselves. Garibaldi crossed the Straits, landed on the mainland at Spartavento, and within a week had added Naples to the Crown of Victor Emmanuel. Thus the second great step was taken towards Italian unity under a free government, with the peaceful support of England. The same attitude was shown by the British Government at the next two stages, in 1866, when Venice was taken from Austria, and finally in 1870 when Victor Emmanuel entered Rome. All the Italian-speaking peoples South of the Alps were thus united under their own government. There were some still left out in the North-East of the Alps and in Dalmatia. In 1915 Italy repaid the sympathy shown by

[1] It was on this condition that Sardinia held Northern Savoy, from 1815, under the Treaty of Vienna, June 9, 1815. The right of garrisoning these districts of Northern Savoy continued to rest with Switzerland, and even during the war of 1914–1918 it was recognized that the Swiss had the military control there.

England and joined in the great war, her immediate object being to wrest these outlying ' irredente ' lands from Austria, an effort which was crowned with success.

The Danish Duchies. The Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were held by the Kings of Denmark from the Middle Ages. In 1864 Prussia and Austria made war on Denmark, on the pretext of protecting the Schleswigers from oppression. Great Britain, along with Austria and Prussia, and also with Russia, France, Denmark and Sweden, had guaranteed the integrity of the Danish Dominions in 1852. When the invasion of Denmark took place in 1864, public opinion in England, was, on the whole, in favour of intervention, but as neither France nor Russia were at the time ready to join in the effort, Palmerston refused to take up arms. This is now generally admitted to have been his great mistake. Austria and Prussia seized the Danish Duchies and shared them together. Next, Prussia seized the Austrian share and annexed it too, and so became the dominant power in North Germany. Disraeli, at this time leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, was right in saying :



' I see that three results have accrued. The first is, that the avowed policy of Her Majesty's Government has failed. The second is, that our just influence in the Councils of Europe has been lowered. Thirdly, in consequence of our just influence in

the Councils of Europe being lowered, the securities for peace are diminished.'

It is hardly too much to say that if Great Britain in 1864 had intervened resolutely to protect Denmark (which was fighting heroically) the vast militarist German Empire of 1870–1918 would never have come into existence. Tardy compensation has come to Denmark, by the Treaty of Versailles 1919, under which a portion of Northern Schleswig has returned to the Danes.

The American Civil War. In 1861 the great Civil War began between the Northern and the Southern States of America. The men of the Northern States were farmers and manufacturers. The men of the South grew cotton, tobacco, and rice, largely with slave labour. Life in the Southern States was picturesque. The Southerners were a courtly old-fashioned race, with country-houses and estates somewhat like their old English homes. Thackeray has drawn a pleasant picture of their life in the eighteenth century (in *The Virginians*), and a modern American novelist has finely described the Southerners of the 'sixties', in his *Red Rock*.[1] Life among the lower ranks of Southerners is described with inimitable felicity and humour in Mark Twain's great romance of the Mississippi, *Huckleberry Finn*.

The import of slaves into the United States had been stopped in 1808, but within the country the negroes and their children were still the property of their masters, and were bought and sold like cattle. The treatment of the slaves was in general mild, and a strong attachment often existed between them and their masters. The system, however, was obviously atrocious; though as a rule well treated, the slaves, male and female, were exposed, practically without redress, to the arbitrary will of individuals.

Cause of the Civil War. The Northern and many 'Middle' and Western States were 'Free'; they did not allow slavery within their borders. The Southern States—Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas—allowed slavery. According to the Federal Constitution of the United States, each State is free to manage its own internal affairs. The Federal Government could not legally abolish slavery, and it had

[1] By Thomas Nelson Page.

not tried to do so. The Civil War was not fought to put down slavery in the South but to prevent the Southern States from 'seceding' and setting up a Union of their own.

Thus slavery was not the direct cause of the Civil War; the war was fought to decide whether there should continue to be one Federation of United States or two. The importance of this struggle in the destinies of mankind is clear. Two divided groups of States would not have had anything like the power for good or evil which the great, wealthy, populous, and high-spirited Federation of North America has been able to wield.

If, however, 'secession' was the direct cause of the American Civil War, slavery was the indirect cause. When Abraham Lincoln, the eloquent lawyer of Springfield, Illinois, was elected President in November 1860, the Southerners feared he might gain sufficient support legally to change the Constitution of the United States, so as to get slavery abolished in the Southern States. To prevent any such step they met together in the spring of 1861 and elected a President of their own, Jefferson Davis, and so proceeded to establish themselves as separate *Confederate States of America*. They seized the Union forts and garrisoned them with their own men. They formed an army, and found two magnificent leaders in Robert Lee and 'Stonewall' Jackson, both of whom were regular soldiers in the U.S. Army. Abraham Lincoln, supported by the majority of the Congress and by all the Northern States, denied the right of the Southerners to secede from the Union, which, he argued, was perpetual. The two sides then went to war, early in 1861. It was not till September 1862 that the Northern President by proclamation declared slavery to be abolished in the South.

The Interest of Britain. On the whole the sympathy of England, certainly among the middle and upper classes, was with the South. The chivalrous leaders of the picturesque South, their dashing tactics, appealed to the hearts of Englishmen. The memory of the secession of the United States from England in 1783 also rankled, and the present disruption of the Union seemed like an historical retribution. Materially, England, and particularly Lancashire, suffered from the stoppage of cotton imports;

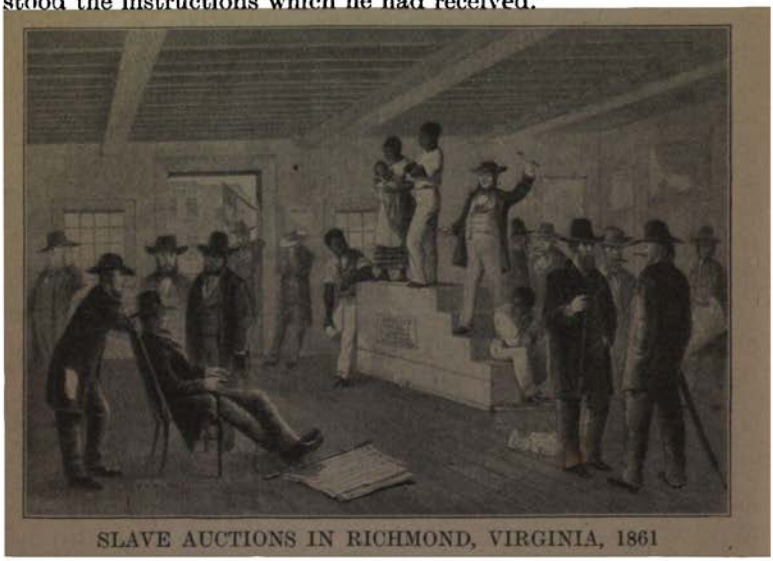
for the North blockaded the Southern ports. The raw material from the cotton mills could not be shipped to England, and as a result fearful distress prevailed in Lancashire. The British Government was strictly neutral, although personally Palmerston was rather in favour, and Gladstone distinctly in favour, of the South.

The Trent. In November 1861 the Southern States appointed a Mr. Mason to go as their diplomatic representative to England and a Mr. Slidell to act as representative in France. The two deputies sailed from Havannah for Europe in the British mail steamer *Trent*. On the 8th the *Trent* was stopped by a Northern cruiser, the *San Jacinto*, and the two Southern deputies were taken prisoner. This high-handed proceeding was indeed unjustifiable, and in their cooler moments the United States Government admitted this. They themselves had gone to war with England in 1812 because the English Government had claimed the right to search neutral (American) ships for British sailors who should have been serving in the Royal Navy. In the War from 1914 to 1917 German and Austrian officials constantly travelled in American ships, and the British Government never suggested that it had the power to arrest them.

On receiving notice of the 'Trent affair', Lord John Russell, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wrote a strongly worded dispatch to the U.S.A. Government at Washington, demanding the immediate release of Mason and Slidell. Opinion in the Northern States was violently incensed with Great Britain, and, however fatal the consequences might be to America, the Northerners were prepared to keep the deputies prisoners and to go to war with England. Before the dispatch was sent from London, however, it was handed to the Queen for her full consideration, according to the agreement which Lord John Russell himself had made with her in 1850 (see p. 807). The Queen read it, and, as usual, took the advice of the Prince Consort. Prince Albert's great gifts had always been devoted to the preservation of peace and good feeling, and in this, almost the last act of his life (he died the month afterwards), he performed his most decisive service. By his advice the wording of the dispatch to Washington

was so amended as to give the sensitive Americans the chance of withdrawing gracefully. The new paragraph which, at his suggestion, was inserted in the dispatch ran as follows :

'Her Majesty's Government, bearing in mind the friendly relations which have long subsisted between Great Britain and the United States, are willing to believe that the United States naval officer who committed this aggression was not acting in compliance with any authority from his Government, or that if he conceived himself to be so authorized, he greatly misunderstood the instructions which he had received.'



SLAVE AUCTIONS IN RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, 1861

Worded like this, the dispatch did not sound so peremptory. Fortunately, too, the British ambassador at Washington was the most eminent diplomatist of the time, Lord Lyons, a man who combined with a naturally conciliatory and charming nature an unerring instinct and experience in dealing with men. Between him and Mr. Seward, the American Secretary of State at Washington, the most friendly relations existed ; his frank offer to Mr. Seward—'I will do anything I can to make it easy for you'—paved the way for the acquiescence of the President's Cabinet in the British demand. Mason and Slidell were released and were taken in a British warship to Southampton. Having vindicated

its right as a neutral, when this attitude was displeasing to the Northerners, the British Government was equally scrupulous in things which displeased the Southern States. Although the Government had insisted on the release of Mason and Slidell, it would not receive them as official representatives, for the Southern States had not made good their claim to be independent.

The Alabama. If the British Government seemed not to be equally careful about maintaining its neutrality with regard to the *Alabama*, this was due to inadvertence, not to intention. The

THE LAST OF THE *ALABAMA* (in the foreground)
Caught and destroyed off Cherbourg by the Federal *Kearsage*, June 1864

Foreign Enlistment Act of 1819 forbids, besides the recruiting of men, the building and equipping of ships for service in a war in which Great Britain is neutral. In 1862 a fast steamer, known later on as the *Alabama*, was being built for the Confederate service in the yards of Messrs. Laird at Birkenhead. The United States ambassador, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, a member of the distinguished Boston family which has produced two Presidents, brought the matter to the notice of the British Government on July 26 (1862). Owing to one of the Law Officers of the Crown being ill, Lord John Russell was not able to get their opinion about the legality or illegality of the *Alabama* till the 28th. When the Law Officers reported that the case of the *Alabama* came within the prohibition mentioned in the Foreign Enlistment Act,

Lord John sent to detain the vessel. On that very afternoon, however, it had sailed. The *Alabama* was commissioned as a privateer of the Confederate States of the South, and, like the *Emden* in 1914, played havoc amid the rich sea-borne commerce of its enemies. When it met its fate off Cherbourg, on June 19, 1864, at the hands of a Northern warship, it had captured 69 prizes from the mercantile marine of the Northern States. The North naturally protested and demanded an apology and compensation. It refused Lord Stanley's offer (made in 1868) to submit the question to some impartial tribunal.[1]

In May 1871 it was arranged by a special treaty that the claims of the Americans over the *Alabama* should be referred to arbitration. Even then the Americans claimed compensation not only for the losses directly inflicted by the *Alabama*, but for the indirect losses, such as the extra cost of insurance while the privateer was at large, and the whole cost of the Civil War since the fall of Gettysburg—the argument being that the *Alabama* had prolonged the war when otherwise the Southerners would have accepted terms of peace. However, when the Commission of arbitration met at Geneva, the indirect claims were abandoned. Still, the American Government claimed over nine million pounds of compensation: they actually received three and a quarter. The award aroused quite unjustified discontent in Great Britain. It was payment of a fair claim, without force, bloodshed, or vituperation. On the Commission of five arbitrators there were only one British and one American representative. The British delegate was the Lord Chief Justice Coleridge; the American, about whose conduct nothing but good can be said, was Charles Francis Adams.

The Cotton Famine. While the Civil War was still going on, the fall in cotton imports brought about a terrible amount of unemployment in Lancashire. 1862 was a year of great privation in the country. All classes behaved well, the workers enduring

[1] People in England have sometimes complained of the action of Mr. Gladstone's Government in 1871, in submitting to arbitration on the *Alabama*—actually it was the Americans who 'submitted' to arbitration; up till then they had made very peremptory demands. The decision to go to arbitration in 1871 was honourable to both sides, and was the result of a friendly attitude of 'give and take'. The award of the tribunal was made at Geneva in 1872.

their lot with restraint and sense, and all who could contribute giving largely of their money. Parliament gave no grant, although it authorized an additional local rate to be levied: practically everything was done by private effort, led with great energy and public spirit by Lord Derby. Before the end of the Civil War additional sources of cotton-supply were found in Egypt and India.

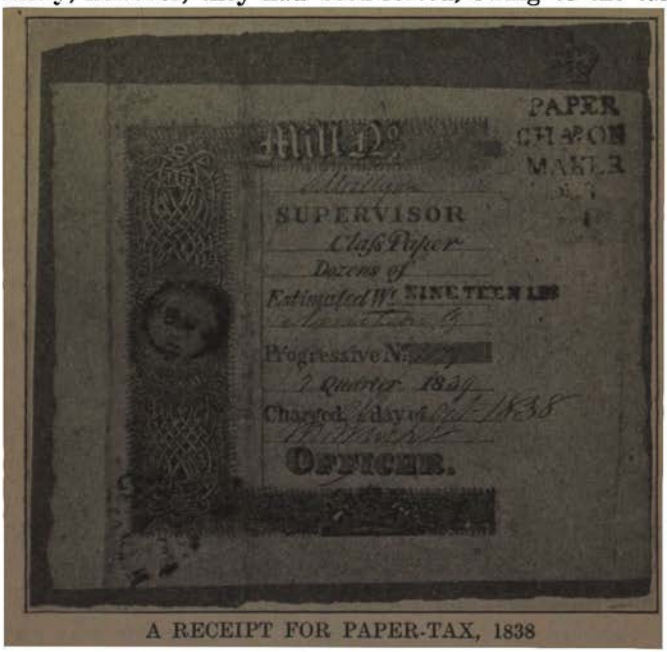
The Civil War ended with the complete victory of the North after four year's struggle on April 9, 1865. Five days later President Lincoln was assassinated by an actor when listening to a performance in the theatre at Washington.

§ 3. Domestic Affairs, 1860-1867

Free Trade and Free Paper. The Whig (which was now beginning to be called the Liberal) Administration lasted till 1866. The more democratic Liberals, the Radicals, did not approve of Palmerston's easy régime, which recalled the unaspiring times of Walpole. The Conservatives, by using the discontent of the Radicals, could without much difficulty have defeated the Government in Parliament: they preferred, however, to keep the Whigs in office, for nothing could be more conservative than the policy of the Whig Premier.

In 1860 a further step was taken towards complete Free Trade. Mr. Cobden, although only a private member of Parliament, went to Paris (in October 1859), was received by the Emperor Napoleon, and discussed with him the question of free trade between the two countries. The Emperor was greatly impressed by the economist's views, and the British Government wisely resolved to associate Cobden officially with Lord Cowley, British ambassador in Paris. A commercial treaty was then drafted and concluded between England and France (Jan. 1860): British coal and iron were to be imported at greatly reduced duties into France, and French manufactured goods and wines at reduced duties into England. This treaty increased the commerce between the two countries, promoted inter-communication, and helped the two great peoples to understand each other

The Paper Duty. In 1860 Mr. Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought in a Bill to abolish the tax on paper. The object of this was to enable books and newspapers to be made cheap, and within the means of any one to buy. For years the eminent Edinburgh printers and publishers William and Robert Chambers had been issuing good literature at low prices. Recently, however, they had been forced, owing to the tax, to



A RECEIPT FOR PAPER-TAX, 1838

give up publishing one of their most widely read series. The Bill to repeal the paper duty passed the House of Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. The Lords had no right either to originate or to amend money Bills, but it was contended they had the right totally to reject such Bills. Lord Palmerston agreed with this, and the following resolution was passed in the House of Commons :

'That although the Lords have exercised the Power of rejecting Bills of several descriptions relating to taxation by negativing the whole, yet the exercise of that power by them has not been

frequent—and is justly regarded by this House with peculiar jealousy, as affecting the right of the Commons to grant supplies, and to provide the Ways and Means for the Services of the year.'

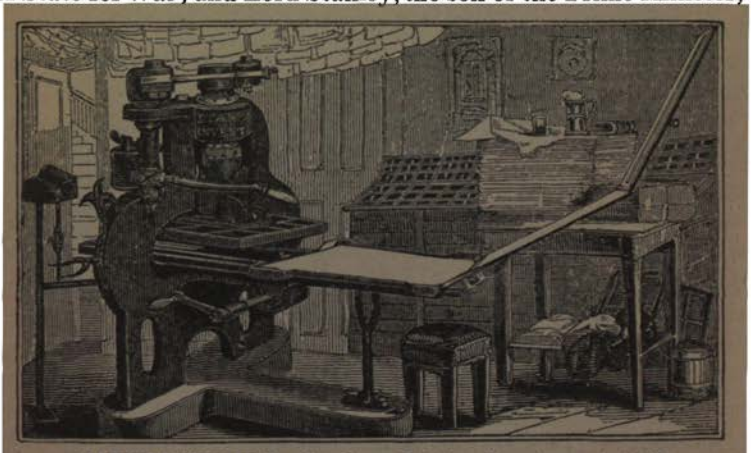
Mr. Gladstone was not to be beaten, however, and in the next year, 1861, he combined all his financial proposals for the year, the whole budget of the country, into one Bill. This Bill, which included the repeal of the paper duty, passed the Commons, and the Lords were faced with the alternative either of passing it (and so, incidentally, passing the repeal of the paper duty) or rejecting the whole Budget for the year. This last step was too drastic, so they passed the Budget. From this time all the financial proposals for the year have been contained in the annual Finance Bill.[1]

The End of the Liberal Administration. Palmerston died at Brocket Hall on October 18, 1865. The Liberals, who had again been returned to office at a General Election held just before the death of the Prime Minister, continued to direct the country's affairs; Lord John Russell, who had gone to the House of Lords as Earl Russell, became Premier; Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer and led the House of Commons. But the Conservative opposition, powerfully led by Lord Derby in the Lords and by Disraeli in the Commons, would not tolerate the vehement Gladstone as they had borne with the mild Liberalism of Lord Palmerston. Gladstone introduced a Bill to extend the franchise, which did not please even his own party. Some of them broke away under Mr. Robert Lowe. Lowe was a brilliant scholar of Winchester and University College, Oxford, who had emigrated to New South Wales. His experiences there produced in him a profound distrust of democracy. The discontented Liberals who gathered round Mr. Lowe, like the rebels and outlaws who gathered round King David of old in the Cave of Adullam, were called the Adullamites, and since then every break away from within a party in Parliament has been

[1] This went on till 1909, when a Budget was presented containing provisions which went much farther than the mere raising of money. The Lords for the first time accepted the responsibility of rejecting the whole Budget, and so entered on the great struggle with the Liberal Government which ended with their defeat and the mutilation of their powers by the Parliament Act of 1911.

called a 'cave'. Owing to the secession of Lowe's followers, the Reform Bill, introduced by Gladstone in March 1866, was rejected in the House of Commons. The Government resigned, and the Conservatives had now to assume office, and to face the same problem of reform which they would not allow the Liberals to settle.

The Conservative Interval. Lord Derby, aged 67, became Prime Minister; Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Cranborne (better known later as Marquess of Salisbury), Secretary of State for War; and Lord Stanley, the son of the Prime Minister,



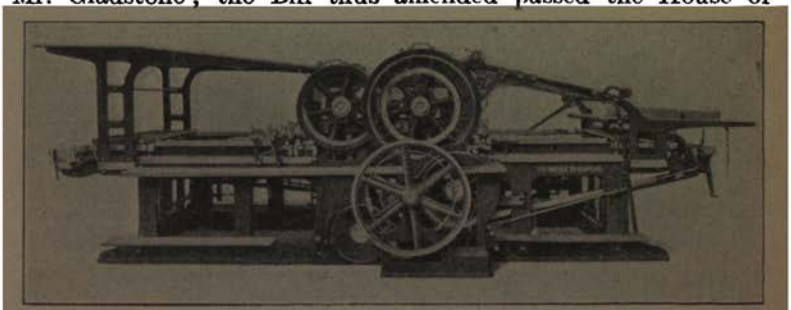
MANUFACTURING. Stanhope Printing Press in use in 1837

Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Disraeli at once produced a scheme for Reform, which, by the addition of certain safeguards, he induced the reluctant Lord Derby to accept.

The Reform Act of 1832 had extended the vote, in the counties to tenants for life and to sixty-year leaseholders[1] and, in the towns to householders paying £10 a year in rent. Disraeli's Bill proposed to enfranchise all householders who paid rates. The Cabinet was divided, and before the introduction of the Bill in Parliament the scheme had been long debated by them, and had been in a somewhat fluid state. The final draft was actually

[1] Provided that the holdings of these two classes of tenants were of the annual value of £10.

brought forward in Parliament on February 25 (1867) and was submitted to the Cabinet at 1.30 on the same day. Lord Cranborne and two other members of the Government at once resigned. The Bill was introduced in the same Parliament as had thrown out Mr. Gladstone's. Among other means for extending the franchise, provision was made in the Bill for giving a vote to any one who had £50 in Consols or in the Savings Bank, who paid £1 in direct taxes, or who was a member of a learned profession. If such men were also householders they would have two votes. One by one, however, these 'fancy' franchises were withdrawn, chiefly owing to the criticism of Mr. Gladstone; the Bill thus amended passed the House of



A PRINTING MACHINE TO-DAY

Commons and the House of Lords, where Lord Derby in a memorable sentence said that the Government was taking 'a leap in the dark'. Carlyle wrote a vehement pamphlet against the Bill, called *Shooting Niagara and after*. In the Commons Mr. Lowe, the Liberal Adullamite, had vehemently opposed it, but Disraeli in noble words proclaimed the confidence which in the previous year he had been unable to feel in the good sense of the country:

'I think England is safe in the race of men who inhabit her: that she is safe in something more than her accumulated capital, her accumulated experience; she is safe in her national character, in her fame, in the tradition of a thousand years, and in that glorious future which I believe awaits her.'

The Bill in the form in which it was finally passed enfranchised in the towns all male householders, and also lodgers paying £10

a year in room-rent. In the counties men occupying a house worth £12 a year received the vote.

Like the Act of 1832, the Act of 1867 dealt not only with the franchise, but also with the distribution of constituencies, though not so drastically. The county representation was increased by 25 seats, nine new boroughs were created, of which perhaps Middlesbrough is the best known, and towns with two members lost one of them if the inhabitants numbered less than 10,000.

Those Conservatives who were against all extension of the franchise said that Disraeli and Lord Derby had betrayed them. Lord Derby himself resigned in February 1868, and Disraeli, after thirty years of unexampled perseverance, attained the goal of his ambition and became Prime Minister. He had, however, no clear majority in the House of Commons, as he could not command the votes even of all the Conservatives. Accordingly on July 31 Parliament was dissolved—the last Parliament elected according to the Reform Act of 1832. In November the first General Election under the new Reform Act was held: the Liberals gained 393 seats, the Government only 265. Disraeli at once resigned, without waiting for Parliament to meet and vote against him—a precedent which has since been consistently followed. Mr. Gladstone entered upon the first of his four periods as Prime Minister.

'On the afternoon of the first of December, he received at Hawarden the communication from Windsor. "I was standing by him," says Mr. Evelyn Ashley, "holding his coat on my arm while he in his shirt sleeves was wielding an axe to cut down a tree. Up came a telegraph messenger. He took the telegram, opened it and read it, then handed it to me, speaking only two words, 'Very significant', and at once resumed his work. The message merely stated that General Grey would arrive that evening from Windsor. This, of course, implied that a mandate was coming from the Queen charging Mr. Gladstone with the formation of his first government. . . . After a few minutes the blows ceased, and Mr. Gladstone, resting on the handle of his axe, looked up, and with deep earnestness in his voice and great intensity in his face exclaimed, 'My mission is to pacify Ireland.'"' (Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 252.)

WORK. By Ford Madox Brown (1821–1893). It was painted when he had come under the influence of the Pre-Raphaelites. See p. 830. *By permission of the Manchester Corporation.*

§ 4. Mid-Victorian Culture

Literature. In the happy and prosperous period of English history following the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny, literature, art, and science were flourishing. Thackeray indeed did not last long into the period, and Dickens (though he lived till 1870) had done most of his work before it opened. George Meredith, however, was in the full tide of his literary output, his most powerful work, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, coming out in 1859, and *The Adventures of Harry Richmond*, perhaps his best *tale*, in 1871. A lesser light, but one even now deservedly

SPORTS AND PASTIMES. Playing Golf in 1837

popular, was Anthony Trollope, whose genial stories give pure pleasure and thorough relaxation to the mind. His 'Barchester' novels all appeared between 1857 and 1867. Disraeli was now too busy in politics to write much; his admirable trilogy of political novels—*Coningsby*, *Sybil*, and *Tancred*—had appeared in the 'forties; in 1870, however, he published one of his best works, *Lothair*, a novel describing the activities of the Roman Catholics in England.

Tennyson and Browning were at the height of their genius. *The Idylls of the King*, which appeared in separate parts from 1859 to 1872, were greeted with enthusiasm. Browning's *Men and Women* was published in 1855, *Dramatis Personae* in 1864,

and *The Ring and the Book* in 1868. Two events, which at the time created much excitement in the domain of theology were the publication of Newman's *Apologia pro Vita Sua* in 1864, and Seeley's *Ecce Homo* in 1865. Froude's *History of England from the Fall of Cardinal Wolsey to the Spanish Armada* came out between 1856 and 1870. After Gibbon and Macaulay it is the best-written history in our language. Another Oxford scholar, Freeman, was in 1867 just beginning the publication of his *History of the Norman Conquest*, a thorough but badly proportioned work.

SPORTS AND PASTIMES. The Oxford and Cambridge Boat-race, 1852

Philosophy. Among philosophers, John Stuart Mill was the most distinguished. His *Principles of Political Economy* had appeared as far back as 1848. It must always remain a standard work, for its perfectly clear statement of difficult arguments and for its close grip on the facts of practical life. What Mill did for the study of Economics, he also, to some extent, did for Political Science by his essay *on Liberty* (1859), and on *Representative Government* (1861). More famous in his lifetime, but of less permanent importance, was Herbert Spencer; his *Principles of Psychology* came out in 1855, his *First Principles* in 1862, and *Principles of Biology* in 1864.

Painting. In the mid-Victorian period there was a large and distinguished school of artists, whose works are very characteristic of that cultivated, prosperous, and care-free time. If their works are not so great as J. M. W. Turner's (see p. 766), they are at any rate remarkable. The chief men were John Everett Millais, who was elected a Royal Academician in 1863; Frederick Leighton,[1] a painter of very gorgeous colours; and G. F. Watts, equally famous for his portraits as for his pictures of allegorical subjects.

AN EAST INDIAN CLIPPER

One particular group or 'school' of painters became especially well known. This was the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood formed in 1848. It originally consisted of Dante Gabriel Rossetti (a poet as well as a painter), Millais, Holman Hunt, J. Collinson, and F. G. Stephens—all painters; there were also Thomas Woolner, a sculptor, and William Michael Rossetti. The idea on which the brotherhood was founded was to go back for inspiration to the Italian frescoes of the age previous to Raphael, who lived from 1483 to 1520. The result was to bring a new and beautiful style into English art, which influenced not merely painting but also the whole art of designing.

[1] He was made a peer in 1869, on the day before his death.

Science. In science, Darwin, whose *Origin of Species* was published in 1859, continued his epoch-making researches till his death in 1882. Finally, from the large number of inventions of this period, which have conduced immeasurably to the physical well-being of mankind, may be mentioned the use of chloroform in medical practice by Simpson (1847), Bessemer's process for making steel (perfected by the year 1859), and Lister's use of antiseptics in surgery (developed between 1860 and 1880).

AN EARLY CUNARDER

§ 5. Shipping

Navigation Acts. With the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 the policy of economic protection died, or at any rate gradually disappeared, for the rest of the century. Three years after the ports were opened to foreign corn, the restrictive laws on foreign shipping were removed by the repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849 (see p. 753).

The Clippers. This was followed by a huge development in British shipping. In the fifty years before 1849 British shipping had been losing ground as compared with American. This was due largely to the fact that New England possessed splendid harbours and navigable rivers, with magnificent timber growing practically to the water's edge. Therefore, in building wooden ships, America had a great advantage over England, and her

fast sailing ships—*Clippers*—became famous all over the world. England's shipbuilders were never *beaten*; and nothing of its kind was better than the Clippers built in Aberdeen after the repeal of the Navigation Acts. But the American ships were gaining a greater share of the world's trade.

If, however, the Americans had natural advantages for building wooden sailing ships, Great Britain, with her coal and iron mines near the sea, had corresponding advantages for making iron steamships.

Steamships. Actually the first steam-driven boat was made in America—in Virginia—in 1784. In 1807 another American, Robert Fulton, ran a steam paddle-ship on the Hudson River. Between the time of the first and second American inventor, Scotland had begun her great industry of shipbuilding, for in 1801 William Symington constructed the S.S. *Charlotte Dundas* for the Forth and Clyde Canal Company. The use of steam in ships, was appreciated much less quickly than on railways. In 1834, however, John Laird of Birkenhead began building large steamships, and the East India Company was enterprising enough to give orders to his yards.

Iron Ships. Like all other ships, the first steamships were made of wood, but iron was soon found to be more suitable. In 1842 the East India Company possessed four iron ships, which the Admiralty (having none itself) was glad to get the use of for the China War in that year. Even in the Crimean War the fleet which Admiral Sir Charles Napier took to the Baltic (1854) consisted of wooden sailing ships fitted with steam-engines to supplement the sails. The most famous iron ship of the nineteenth century was the *Great Eastern*, designed by Brunel. It was 692 feet long, and 118 feet wide over the paddle-boxes, and cost £732,000. It was used to lay the Atlantic cable in 1865.

The success of British shipbuilders and shipping companies is proved by the fact that when the war started in 1914 Great Britain possessed eleven and a half million tons out of the total shipping tonnage of the world, namely, twenty-two and a half million.

THE *GREAT EASTERN* OFF THE ISLE OF WIGHT. Launched 1858 with a net tonnage of 13,344

CHAPTER XXXVIII

GLADSTONE'S FIRST MINISTRY

§ 1. Gladstone's Public Life

Career. William Ewart Gladstone was born at Liverpool in 1809. His father was a wealthy merchant, who gave his son the best education possible at the time. Young Gladstone went to Eton and Christ Church. In 1830 he became President of the Oxford Union Society and next year he obtained the rare distinction of Double First Classes, in Classics and Mathematics.

In December 1832 Gladstone was elected a member of the first reformed Parliament, and, except for two sessions, he remained a member till 1895. At first he was a Tory, and in 1834 Sir Robert Peel made him a Junior Lord of the Treasury. In 1838 his work *The State in its relations with the Church* was published, and was made the subject of a fine essay by Macaulay. When Peel became Prime Minister again, in 1841, Gladstone became Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and from this time he was seldom out of office. After the death of Peel, who Gladstone always said was the greatest man he ever knew, he gradually drifted away from the Conservative Party, and in 1859 he joined Lord Palmerston as a Whig. His energy was so magnificent that however much time politics occupied, he yet found strength to continue his classical and theological studies, and from time to time he published works on Homer and on Bishop Butler.

Character as Politician. There was no mystery about Gladstone's character as there was about Disraeli's. Gladstone was a man of enormous power of work, with complete sincerity and high sense of responsibility. His life was directed by a firm desire to serve the public good, and he devoted his whole time and energy to this end. Politics to men of his stamp was not a game, not an occupation nor a means of livelihood, but a solemn duty. His great gifts and his social connexions called him to take part in the governing of the State, a task which he accepted quite naturally, yet with a full appreciation of the terrible

labours and anxieties which it entailed. A passage in his diary for the year 1868 shows this feeling:

'This month of December has been notable in my life as follows: Dec. 1809—Born. 1827—Left Eton. 1831—Classes at Oxford. 1832—Elected to Parliament. 1838—Work on Church and State published. 1834—Took office as Lord of the Treasury. 1845—Secretary of State. 1852—Chancellor of the Exchequer. 1868—First lord. Rather a frivolous enumeration. Yet it would not be so if the love of symmetry were carried with a well-proportioned earnestness and firmness into the higher parts of life. I feel like a man with a burden under which he must fall and be crushed if he looks to the right or left or fails from any cause to concentrate mind and muscle upon his progress step by step. This absorption, this excess, this constant ἄγαν is the fault of political life with its insatiable demands, which do not leave the smallest stock of moral energy unexhausted and available for other purposes. . . . Swimming for his life, a man does not see much of the country through which the river winds, and I probably know little of these years through which I busily work and live' (Morley, ii. 256).

The earnestness of this passage cannot be doubted. Gladstone was a great moral force. He had all the qualities of the highest British statesmanship except a sense of humour.

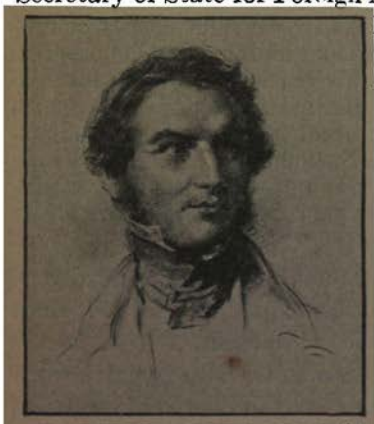
Policy as a Statesman. As a statesman Gladstone may be said to have had four great interests: one was the Church of England; the second was economy; the third was peace; and the fourth was Ireland. He was ever active in the defence of the Church, from the High Anglican side, yet he disestablished the Irish Church, which was a part of the Church of England. As a financier he was superb; the national accounts were simplified, all expenditure was rigidly scrutinized, taxation was lowered.[1] Ardent democrat as he became, he was fully alive to the financial dangers of democracy.

'When publicists warn us, and rightly warn us, that rash expenditure of money extracted from the taxpayer and ratepayer is the besetting vice and peril of democracy, and when some of them in the same breath denounce Mr. Gladstone as a demagogue pandering to the multitude, they should read the

[1] For Gladstone's famous Budgets of 1853 and 1860 see above, p. 754. By the year 1865 the income tax, which had stood at 1*s.* 4*d.* at the close of the Crimean War, was reduced to 4*d.* in the £.

speech at Leigh in which he assailed the system of making things pleasant all round, stimulating local cupidity to feed on the public purse, and scattering grants at the solicitation of individuals and classes ' (Morley, ii. 250–251).

The Government in 1869. The Government which Gladstone formed in 1869 contained men of high ability. The best-known were Robert Lowe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Edward Cardwell, the Secretary of State for War, Henry Austin Bruce (afterwards Lord Aberdare), the Home Secretary, Lord Clarendon, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and a young man who had lately come into prominence on the Liberal side, George Goschen, a product of Rugby and Oriel College, Oxford. Mr. Goschen was President of the Poor Law Board—a body which in 1871 was made, with enlarged powers, into the Local Government Board. Lord Clarendon died just before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. He was, says Gladstone in his diary, ' a statesman of many gifts, a most lovable and genial man '. He was succeeded at the Foreign Office by Lord Granville, an accomplished diplomatist, who performed great services to his country, though he never wielded so much influence as Lord Clarendon.



GLADSTONE AT THE AGE OF 35

§ 2. Ireland

The Irish Church. Gladstone approached the central point of the Irish problem by successive stages: the first stage was the Church, the second the land, the third was Home Rule. The Church was the easiest question to settle, so it was dealt with first.

There was indeed no particular reason why the Irish Church should be disestablished and disendowed. Under Henry VIII the Church in Ireland, like the Church in England, had been reformed

and gradually assimilated to the Protestant communion. The Union Act of 1800 had declared the Church in England and in Ireland to be 'one protestant episcopal church to be called the United Church of England and Ireland'. One Irish archbishop and three Irish bishops had seats in the House of Lords.

Unlike England, however, most of Ireland was strongly Catholic; while in the North a very strong Presbyterian community had grown up. The result was that the Established Church in Ireland in 1869 numbered only a fraction of the population. On this account, and because it was Protestant, the bulk of the Irish wished to bring down the Established Church from its predominant position. Mr. Gladstone thought their desire was reasonable, and the majority of the English people, who had the matter before them at the General Election of 1869, undoubtedly agreed.

GLADSTONE IN MIDLOTHIAN

Tenniel in *Punch*, August 1884[1]

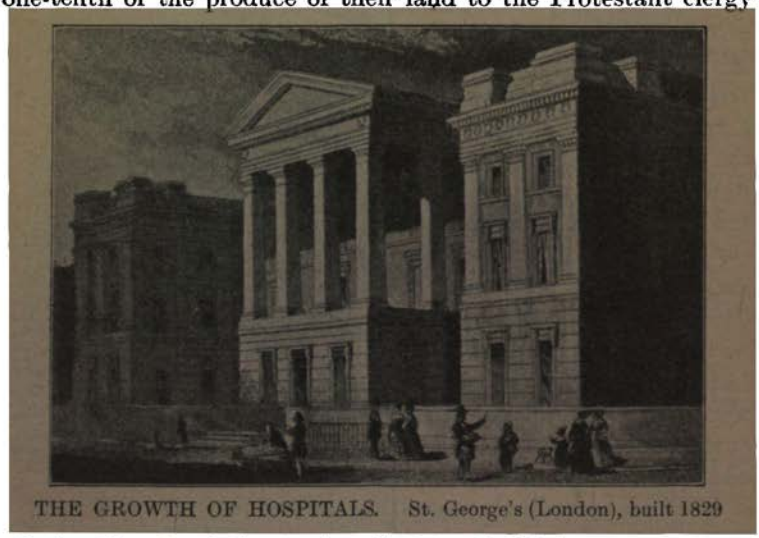
A Bill was accordingly passed through the House of Commons, and with more difficulty through the House of Lords. The connexion between the Irish Church and the State was severed. The Church was incorporated as a self-governing society under the name of the Church of Ireland, and henceforth it managed its own affairs and elected its own bishops. The Irish archbishop and bishops ceased to sit in the House of Lords. While the Church was thus disestablished in Ireland, it was also partially disendowed. All property acquired before the year 1660 was taken away; bequests made since that time were left.[2]

[1] By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

[2] The Welsh Church Disestablishment Act, which came into force in 1920, was very similar.

The result of this division was that the Church got about 8¼ million pounds (capital value) and the State 7¾ million.

The Irish Land System. The next part of the Irish Question which Gladstone proceeded to tackle was the land. Previous attempts to deal with the problem had met with only a very limited degree of success. One outstanding grievance of the Irish Catholic peasants had been the compulsion to pay over one-tenth of the produce of their land to the Protestant clergy



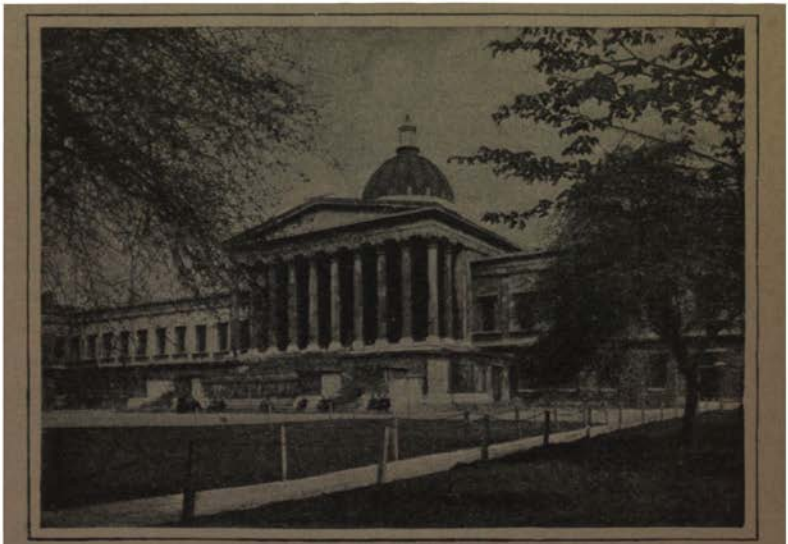
THE GROWTH OF HOSPITALS. St. George's (London), built 1829

of the Church of England and Ireland. This grievance was removed by the *Irish Tithe Commutation Act* (1838),[1] which substituted a fixed charge upon rent in place of the tenth of the produce.

In 1844 Sir Robert Peel appointed a Royal Commission, under W. R. Courtenay (later Earl of Devon), to investigate the Irish land. This was the first systematic attempt to go to the bottom of the matter, and the Report of the Commission therefore marks the beginning of a new era. The terrible famine of 1845–1846 then supervened. In 1849 Lord John Russell's Government passed the

[1] In England also tithe had been commuted, by an Act of 1836, into a rent-charge, which is based every year upon the average price of corn in the preceding seven years.

Encumbered Estates Act, to deal with one of the most obvious defects of the Irish Land System, as pointed out by the Devon Commission. Many of the landlords were bankrupt, and yet, owing to the number of mortgages and assignments secured on the land, were unable to sell it. The Encumbered Estates Act established a court to facilitate the sale of such lands, and to give the purchaser a secure title. The result was that people with sufficient capital to look after their property bought land, and

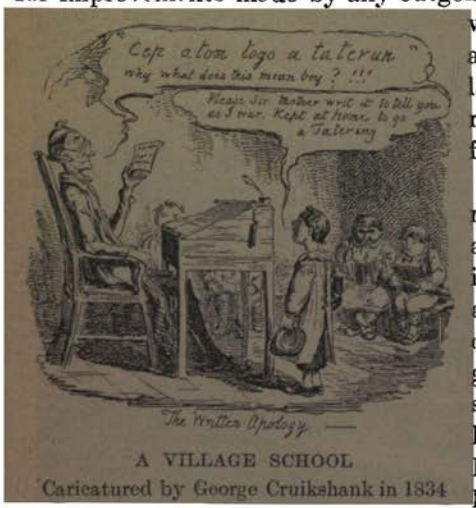


THE GROWTH OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION. University College, Gower Street, London, begun 1828

to some extent prosperity was restored. But this was only a partial remedy.

The great flaw in the Irish Land System was that though the tenants had to improve the land and to erect the necessary buildings, all such improvements and buildings became the property of the landlord. Only in Ulster were outgoing tenants regularly allowed by custom to sell their goodwill and improvements to the incoming tenant. Moreover, owing to the large population and the comparatively small amount of cultivable

land,[1] would-be tenants were at a disadvantage in bargaining about rents with landlords, so that rents were often forced up to a point which the land could not properly bear. It was to deal with these faults that Mr. Gladstone in 1870 had the First Irish Land Act passed. By this the Ulster Tenant Right was recognized as legal where it already existed. Tenants evicted otherwise than for not paying their rent were to be compensated by the landlords for disturbance. Compensation was also to be given for improvements made by any outgoing tenant. Tenants who wished to buy their land, and who could induce their landlord to sell, could borrow the purchase-money from the Government.


Cepe atom logo a taterum
why what does this mean boy ? !!!
Please Sir Mother writ it to Bill you as I was Kept at home to go a Tatering
The Written Apology
A VILLAGE SCHOOL
Caricatured by George Cruikshank in 1834

The Act was only moderately successful. The rule about compensation for improvements was good, and the compensation for disturbance on eviction gave the peasant some security of tenure. The land-purchase clause had little effect, as few landlords were willing to sell.

The Land System still remained a serious grievance. Mr. Gladstone was to tackle it again in his Second Ministry. In his third, he took a further momentous step, when he adopted the policy of Home Rule.[2]

§ 3. Education

English Education Act. The Reform Act of 1867 had enormously increased the number of voters, and the working classes were being called to a greater share in settling the destinies of the nation. It was necessary that people who were to use this

[1] The population of Ireland in 1841 was eight millions. In 1870 it was five and a half millions. About one-ninth of the land of Ireland is bog.

[2] The story of the Second Land Act and the First Home Rule Bill will be found below, pp. 907 ff.

power should not be ignorant; so the Government brought in an Act for universal education—as Robert Lowe, who hated democracy, put it in his cynical way, to 'educate our masters'. This was not, perhaps, quite a fair way of stating the matter, for the hitherto uneducated classes were not meant to become the 'masters' of the country; the ideal of democracy is that the whole nation (and not one class only) should be master of itself.

Before the year 1870 there was no *universal* system of education in England. The public schools provided education at a high

THE CENTRAL SCHOOL, GLOUCESTER ROAD, CHELTENHAM
Completed 1921, containing 18 class-rooms with room for 540 pupils

charge for the upper and middle classes; and the National Society under the guidance of the Church of England had schools where instruction was given for very small charges. In addition to these Church Schools, which were good, there was a large number of private schools, for all classes of the people. Some of them were expensive and well-conducted and were of the type of Dr. Blimber's Academy in *Dombey and Son*; some were cheap and scandalously managed, like the school of Mr. Wackford Squeers, 'Dotheboys Hall' in *Nicholas Nickleby*; some were within the means of the poorest, and taught the rudiments of education honestly and well; but there was no standard throughout the country, and that of the private village schools sometimes fell very low.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 was largely the work of Mr. W. E. Forster, Vice-President of the Privy Council, the body which had and still has charge of education. By this Act the whole of England and Wales was divided into school districts: each borough was to be a district by itself, elsewhere the civil parish was to be the district. Where the church and other schools in any district were already numerous enough and good enough, no change was to be made. In every other district a School Board was to be elected, with the duty of providing education for children between the ages of five and twelve. The education thus provided would be cheap, but not free; one-third of the expenses would come from a Government grant of money, one-third from a local rate which each School Board had power to levy, and the remaining third was to come from school fees.

There were two noticeable points of difference between the educational system established in 1870 and the present system; the first was, as already mentioned, that the parents paid fees for their children. The second was that education was not compulsory; parents were not obliged to send their children to school. Attendance at school was not made compulsory till 1876, and totally free education was not provided till 1891. Church schools, under the Act of 1870, were allowed to give instruction according to the doctrines of their own Church; they received the State grant of money but no aid from the rates. In the schools provided by the School Boards religious instruction was to be given, but without the catechism or dogmatic teaching of any particular Church or sect. This provision was made by an amendment in the Act introduced by Mr. Cowper-Temple.

The educational system established in 1870, and since extended, has secured that every one in Great Britain can read and write; the aim is that people should have the bare knowledge necessary to engage in work and to occupy their leisure: they are further encouraged to think for themselves, to extend their knowledge, and to realize their duties in their family and in the nation. It has been felt for some years, however, that something more

than a literary education should be given : that technical instruction should follow the teaching of the 'three R's', and that boys and girls should be taken deeper into the subject of education than is permitted when the leaving-age is thirteen. Since 1900 all these improvements have been gradually introduced. The Education Act of 1902 abolished the School Boards, and transferred their powers to the Borough Councils and County Councils. The Councils were given power to establish and maintain 'secondary', as well as elementary schools. These secondary schools, for boys or girls of the ages of 14 to 18, provide, in the more progressive boroughs at any rate, equipment and teaching like that of the great public schools. In addition, well-equipped technical colleges are maintained in many cities.[1] Thus a fine education—literary, scientific, industrial, agricultural —is within the reach of every one : the nation offers bountifully to its members ; it only lies with individuals to do *their* part.

§ 4. Army Organization

Army Reform. Mr. Gladstone's Government was fortunate in having one of the finest Secretaries of State for War. Mr. Edward Cardwell, like Peel and Gladstone, came from the mercantile class. He was born in 1813 and educated at Winchester and Balliol College. In politics he attached himself to Sir Robert Peel and was Secretary to the Treasury in the momentous Conservative Government of 1845–1846. After Peel's death he gradually, like many of the Peelites, became connected with the Liberals, and held various offices under Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston. Mr. Gladstone made him Secretary of State for War in 1868, when a momentous series of changes was made in the Army.

The first change was with regard to the Commander-in-chief. The position of Commander-in-chief, which was abolished in 1904, was partly administrative ; he did his work at the Horse Guards—originally the Guard House of Whitehall Palace, where the magnificently horsed sentries, with shining helmet and

[1] Since 1889 the Councils have been empowered to spend money on technical education.

breastplate and with drawn sword, are still one of the sights of London. While the Commander-in-chief stayed at the Horse Guards, the Secretary of State for War was at the War Office, which at that time was in Pall Mall. Mr. Cardwell, however, changed this system and brought the Commander-in-chief to the War Office, a sign of the closer co-ordination of the Army's management which was henceforth to be the rule.

The abolition of purchase was the next step. Since the time of Charles II, when the modern British Army began, an officer's commission was a kind of property which he sold to another man when he himself resigned or was promoted. A youth desiring to be an officer had to get the approval of the colonel of some regiment, and then, when a vacancy occurred on the establishment of the regiment, he bought the position of ensign from the last holder ; and after that, every step was gained by paying the last holder until the rank of colonel was reached. Subject to the approval of the high authorities, a wealthy young man might advance himself rapidly to the position of colonel, beyond which point no further purchase was possible. The system favoured wealth ; as, however, no wealthy young man wished to stay in the Army unless he was really interested in soldiering, it secured quick promotion for keen young men, and (for those who could pay) prevented stagnation. It was by this means that Arthur Wellesley had become a lieutenant-colonel at the age of 23, having served only brief periods with his regiment. The prices paid for commissions were regulated by Royal Warrant.

VOLUNTARY RECRUITING, 1836
Drawn by George Cruikshank

In 1871 Mr. Cardwell introduced a Bill to abolish purchase

in the Army, with compensation to the existing officers for the prices they would have received. In the House of Lords every soldier except Lord Sandhurst (General Sir William Rose Mansfield, a veteran of the Indian Mutiny) was against the measure, and at last the Government had to drop the Bill altogether. Mr. Gladstone was not to be beaten, however. Purchase of commissions had been established by a simple warrant from the Crown, and by the same means it could be undone. On June 18,

MARCHING TO DIVINE SERVICE. By George Cruikshank

1871, the Queen, on the advice of the Government, signed at Osborne the Warrant abolishing purchase in the Army. It had never existed in the Navy, so now the two services were put on the same footing.

Cardwell also created the system of 'linked battalions'; each regiment was to consist of two battalions, each of which should take it in turn to be abroad, in India or the colonies. Thus every soldier would have foreign service, which in an Empire like that of England often meant active service.

It was not enough for Great Britain to have a small perfectly trained army; she must have a reserve of trained men who

could be used to deal with war on a great scale. For this purpose Cardwell established the short-service system, which had been tried during the Crimean War. Hitherto the normal period of enlistment was for 10 or 21 years, or for life. Under Cardwell's system the shortest term was for three years, and the longest twelve. Thus a constant stream of men passed through the ranks and then went back to civilian life as trained men, with the obligation of rejoining the Colours in time of war. The events of August 1914 have shown how vital it was for England to have her trained reserve.

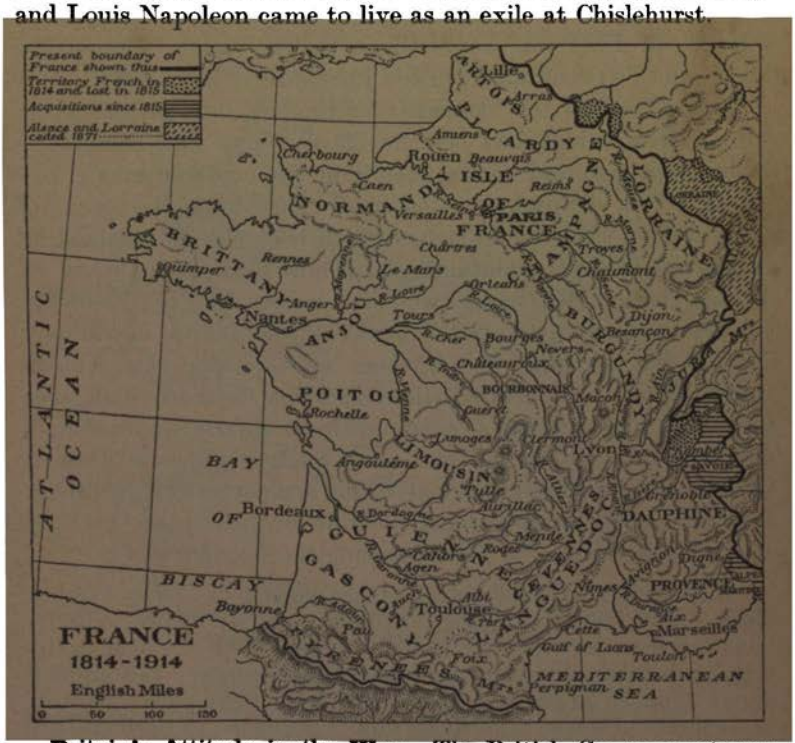
§ 5. Foreign Affairs

The Franco-German War. In foreign politics the momentous fact which, with the growth of United Italy, had been engaging the attention of statesmen for ten years was the expansion of Prussia. Count Bismarck, the son of a Pomeranian squire, had, by the year 1860, become known as one of the most able and determined statesmen in Europe. The expansion of Prussia, if less thrilling and romantic, is in its way no less remarkable, than the expansion of the British Empire. Look at an eighteenth-century map, and see the Kingdom of Prussia in isolated patches over the face of Germany; and then look at a map showing Germany after 1871; the solid mass of Prussia is almost unbroken along the Baltic and the North Sea, and commands the whole country from the Vistula to the Rhine.

The war by which Prussia and Austria seized Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark was followed in 1866 by a 'Seven Weeks' War' between the two victors (see p. 811). The defeat of Königgrätz laid Austria low, and left Prussia free to make an Empire out of the rest of Germany. Prussia began first with the annexation of Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, and Frankfort—States which had sided with Austria in the Seven Weeks' War. Then she formed a 'North German Confederation', with the King of Prussia as President. Finally in 1870 she made war on France, and called on all the German States to engage in a common national struggle.

The war was really one of aggression on the part of Prussia, although Bismarck managed to get France to declare war first. It

did not last long. Within six months the Prussian armies, perfectly equipped, organized, and directed by the great soldier Helmuth von Moltke, broke the military strength of France at Sedan (September 1870), and at Metz (October). The French Empire fell. Immediately after Sedan a republic was established (September 4), and Louis Napoleon came to live as an exile at Chislehurst.



Britain's Attitude in the War. The British Government was strictly neutral throughout the war. Its only concern was to see that neither France nor Prussia should violate the neutrality of Belgium, of which Great Britain was one of the guarantors under the treaty of 1839 (see p. 727). More careful, with regard to Belgium, of its obligations than it had been with regard to Denmark in 1864, the British Government, as soon as the Franco-Prussian War started, made one treaty with Prussia and another with France. By the first treaty Gladstone pledged Great Britain

to join Prussia in the war, if France should violate Belgian neutrality; and by the second treaty he engaged to join France in the war, if Prussia on her part should violate Belgian neutrality. The result was that both France and Prussia were equally careful, and while the war raged near its territory Belgium remained immune, and Great Britain was not drawn into the struggle. Gladstone's conduct in 1870 was a precedent for the policy adopted by Mr. Asquith's Government in the European crisis of 1914.

During the war the sympathy of England was on the whole with France, which had been recklessly flung into conflict by Louis Napoleon, and tricked into it by the cool statesman, Bismarck. This sympathy was especially keen in the last stage of the struggle, when the French, with their capital beleaguered by the enemy, were yet maintaining a splendid fight in the Provinces. Young Herbert Kitchener, who had passed out of Woolwich, enlisted in General Chanzy's 'Army of the Loire' in January 1871.[1] On the other hand, there were people who remembered the great intellectual stimulus which Germany had given them, and who admired, as every one must admire, the thoroughness and patience of the Germans. Such a man was Thomas Carlyle, one of the most imaginative and sympathetic of historians. While Paris was being besieged he wrote (on November 11, 1870), a striking letter to *The Times*, stating the German case.

'Bismarck, as I read him, is not a person of "Napoleonic" ideas, but of ideas quite superior to Napoleon's; shows no invincible "lust of territory" nor is tormented with "vulgar ambition"; but has aims very far beyond that sphere; and, in fact, seems to me to be striving with strong faculty, by patient, grand, and successful steps, towards an object beneficial to Germans and to all other men. That noble, patient, deep, pious, and solid Germany should at length be welded into a nation and become Queen of the Continent, instead of vaporing, vainglorious, gesticulating, quarrelsome, restless, and over-sensitive France, seems to me the hopefullest public fact that has occurred in my time.'

This was the last service which the author of *Frederick the Great* performed for Germany. All peoples have good qualities and Carlyle truly saw the finest side of Germany, a side, unfortunately,

[1] Sir George Arthur, *Life of Lord Kitchener* (1920), i. 8–9.

which became obscured in the more prosperous times that followed.

Italian Unity. If it was no satisfaction to England to see France beaten and the balance of power in Europe destroyed, some pleasure could be taken in contemplating the triumph of Italian unity. For while the French and Prussians were fighting, King Victor Emmanuel seized the opportunity to enter the Eternal City, the last stronghold of the temporal power of the Pope.[1] All

THE EXPANSION OF PRUSSIA.

through the reign of Queen Victoria there had been a certain amount of fear in England of the power of the Pope, which appeared to be increasing—a subject treated by Disraeli, in his brilliant impressionistic style, in *Lothair* (1870). The destruction of the temporal power by 'Il Re Galantuomo' was popular in England, for it meant the triumph of free government, the national union of a great people, and the defeat of papalism.

§ 6. The End of the First Period

The Fall of the Ministry. Mr. Gladstone's Government had gone through difficult times, and had done creditably. In addi-

[1] On September 20, 1870.

tion to the undertakings noted in this chapter, they had settled the tiresome and dangerous matter of the *Alabama* (see p. 820); they had dealt decisively with the Red River rebellion in Canada (p. 965). In internal affairs they had been extremely active, while Lord Granville had conducted our foreign affairs with prudence and distinction. By the summer of 1873, however, the feelings of the country had largely gone over to the Conservative party. Moreover Gladstone could no longer command the complete support of his own cabinet; for Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Goschen disagreed with his scheme for reducing expenditure by cutting down the Army and Navy estimates. On January 24, 1874, Mr. Gladstone advised the Queen to dissolve Parliament. The General Election was held in February, and the Conservatives were returned with a substantial majority. Mr. Gladstone at once resigned and Disraeli became Prime Minister.

The Crown and the Country. Thus ended the first period of Gladstone as Prime Minister. He had embarked on a great programme of legislation, chiefly connected with the 'Irish Question' —a programme which opened with the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church, and was to be taken up again, in his next period, with another Land Act and with the Home Rule Bill. One other result, affecting the whole of British history since that time, is due to this first premiership of Gladstone—the revived prestige of the Crown. There had been, says Lord Morley who lived through the period, a definite wave of republicanism going over England. After the death of the Prince Consort in 1861, the Queen although she worked hard in private, had shown herself but little in public, and spent as much time as she could at Balmoral; for 'the atmosphere of simple attachment and social affection that surrounded her in Scotland, was as delightful to her as the air and scenery'.[1] The illness which afflicted the Prince of Wales in 1871, however, called forth strong expressions of sympathy throughout the country; and Mr. Gladstone, although he was no courtier, used his influence on the Queen (who was not very fond of him) to induce her to respond to the feelings of the country, and to come forth more in public. Gradually the

[1] Morley's *Gladstone*, ii. 426.

popularity of the Crown was re-established, and increased when Disraeli, whose 'brooding imagination' saw the value of every historic symbol, came into power and associated the Queen more closely with the Government.

CHAPTER XXXIX

DISRAELI

§ 1. Disraeli's Career

Place in English History. In a century of remarkable statesmen—Canning, Wellington, Peel, Palmerston, Disraeli, and Gladstone—Disraeli was the most striking. No one has ever so touched the imagination of the English people. Gladstone, with his earnestness, his eloquence, and strength of will, could sway the people; but Disraeli, with a lighter touch, kindled their spirit and fired their zeal. The one was to the public always 'Mr. Gladstone', the stern and Grand Old Man: the other was 'Dizzy'—laughed *at*, laughed *with*, admired—never losing his dignity, at once the Earl of Beaconsfield and the people's friend.

Early Life. Benjamin Disraeli was born on December 21, 1804, at number 6 John Street, Bedford Row. His father was Isaac Disraeli, a literary man of moderate private means, whose interesting work the *Curiosities of Literature* is still read—a volume of short articles full of curious information culled from every sort of book, a mine of rather miscellaneous knowledge for the historical and literary student.

Benjamin lived at home, and was taught at a private school: a wide reader with a reflective mind, he gained a somewhat desultory, but curiously detailed knowledge of history, and to some extent even of Latin and French literature. He was essentially a youth who educated himself, and who never ceased to read, to reflect, and to observe; and all through life he was distinguished for felicitous references, pithy reflections, brilliant phrases—the result of a well-stored mind burning to express itself.

At the age of seventeen Disraeli was articled to a well-known

firm of solicitors in Old Jewry, and although he never seriously took to the legal profession he gained a knowledge of it which is seen in *Lothair*, in his description of the firm Roundell, Giles, & Roundell. It was literature, not the law, that attracted him, and at the age of twenty-two he suddenly became known to the public as the author of *Vivian Grey*; and from this year, 1826, almost to his death in 1881, there came at frequent intervals from his pen a series of novels—brilliant, highly coloured pictures of society and politics, a valuable, though one-sided guide to a fascinating period, the full expression of a rich, versatile, sparkling, and reflective mind. No one who expands his mind fully and expresses his opinion on every subject can avoid at times the appearance of shallowness; yet, although this is so with Disraeli, every one can profit by the store of political reflections contained in his books.

DISRAELI AS A YOUNG MAN

Travels. The young Disraeli was fond of travelling, and had a fine eye for the picturesque abroad, at home, and in London. He knew well and loved the streets and squares of London, particularly the streets around St. James's Square, and in the neighbourhood of Piccadilly and Curzon Street. Between 1828 and 1831, having left the solicitor's office, he went on a long tour through Spain, Italy, and Palestine. The pale, dark, hook-nosed, fantastically dressed young man did not meet with sympathy everywhere; the officers in the mess at Malta referred to him in their vigorous manner as 'that damned Jew boy'. Yet with all the suppleness, and all the pertinacity of a Jew, he was never put off, never soured by his failures. Soon some even among the proud aristocracy whom he so admired received him at his own valuation, and recognized enthusiastically in him the fire of genius. Such were Lord John Manners, son of the Duke of Rutland, and George A. Smythe (Viscount Strangford), the brilliant product of

Eton and St. John's, Cambridge, who appears in *Coningsby* as Lord Henry Sidney.[1]

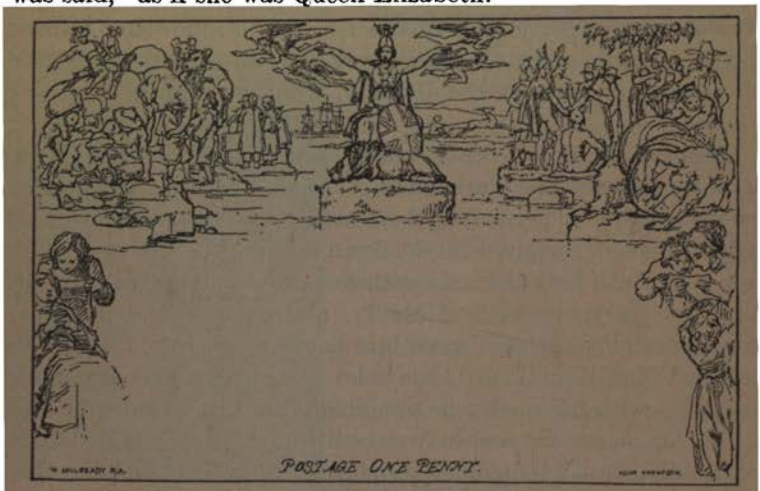
In Palestine what Lord Morley calls the 'brooding imagination' of Disraeli found its proper food. To him the life which he saw there was all oriental mystery, splendour, and romance; and there he found the magnificent country and race from which (in his eyes) European civilization had come. In *Tancred, or the New Crusade* he describes in glowing words the journey of a young English nobleman to the Holy Land. It was doubtless his Jewish feelings that in later life led him to follow our historic policy of supporting the Turk, who has always tolerated the Jews, and to distrust the Russian, who has always oppressed them.

Politics. In 1837 Disraeli was elected member for Maidstone, as a Tory, in the first Parliament of Queen Victoria. His maiden speech, ambitious, eccentric, bombastic, was a dead failure, and amid shouts of laughter he sat down saying 'the time will come when they *will* hear me'. Nevertheless, the leaders, always on the look-out for young men of ability, noticed him, and the great Sir Robert Peel himself gave him encouragement. In 1839 he married Mrs. Wyndham Lewis, who brought him a considerable income; with her money he was able to buy Hughenden Manor, in Buckinghamshire, and to live the life he so much admired, that of an affluent and dignified English country gentleman. Mrs. Disraeli devoted herself entirely to the furtherance of her brilliant husband's career.

In 1842 Disraeli was in Parliament and a follower of Peel, but when Free Trade began to loom on the political horizon he definitely opposed it. It was then that he formed the group, known as *Young England*, opposing Peel, but upholding the principles explained later in *Coningsby* and *Sybil*—rural housing, factory acts, the maintenance of the position of the Crown as the arbiter of party strifes. Disraeli was a real student of history, and his reflections on this led him to condemn the Revolution of 1688. The Revolution, he says in *Coningsby*, has only given us 'French

[1] Strangford was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in Peel's second Ministry, and fought the last duel which took place in England in 1852.

wars and Dutch finance '—continental struggles and a national debt. Government had since been carried on by a 'Venetian oligarchy' of great families, and the influence of Crown and people had been alike destroyed. To restore these we must return to the principles of Bolingbroke; the divine right of the whole people should be exercised through a sovereign who is above parties. His exalted views of the royal prerogative partly account for Disraeli's popularity with Queen Victoria; 'he talks to her,' it was said, 'as if she was Queen Elizabeth.'



DESIGN by William Mulready, R.A., for the first penny postage envelope issued by Rowland Hill, 1840

The Conservative Party. The result of the repeal of the Corn Laws was, as Disraeli says in the *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, a great victory for Sir Robert Peel, but *it broke up the party*. For thirty years afterwards, with three brief intervals, the shattered Conservatives had no share in the government; they were 'in the wilderness'. It was one of Disraeli's greatest achievements that he made the modern Conservative Party, gathered its scattered members into one great body, gave it a programme, and made it popular in the country. In Disraeli's second and last period as Prime Minister, the great bulk of the working men voted

Conservative. No other Conservative statesman since then (unless Joseph Chamberlain can be classed as a Conservative) has had this magnetic influence on ' the masses '.

A Political Leader. After the defeat of Peel's Government, Lord George Bentinck, the sporting squire who sold his stud and devoted himself to politics as a solemn duty, was leader of the Opposition. Bentinck was one of the old landed aristocrats who admitted the ardent Jew to their friendship ; and on the premature death of his friend in 1848, Disraeli became leader of the Conservatives. He wrote the *Life of Lord George Bentinck* (1852), the best political biography in English literature. In Lord Derby's

POSTAGE STAMPS. A rare Mauritius issue, 1859

brief administration of 1852 Disraeli was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Throughout the Crimean War he was in Opposition, but until Sebastopol was safely captured he did nothing to hamper the Government ; as soon as the military crisis was over he became its most severe critic. In the second of Lord Derby's short administrations Disraeli again was Chancellor of the Exchequer, but in 1860 Palmerston was in office once more, and this time, as he said, ' in for life '. As long as ' Pam ' was alive neither Disraeli nor any one else had much chance. Nor indeed was there much for the Conservative Opposition to do : for Palmerston himself, though a Liberal, was the best representative of Conservative principles. In 1867 Disraeli, once more Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Derby, passed the Reform Bill, and then, on Derby's resignation, had a brief experience of the longed-for

responsibilities of Prime Minister, till he was defeated at the first elections held under his own Reform Act. Yet his hold upon the country had become very strong. Gladstone's Ministry (1868–1874) was powerful, but gradually its influence waned. In 1874 Disraeli at last got his real chance: he was returned to Parliament at the head of a large Conservative majority. He was now not merely 'Prime Minister of England', but one of the most

Impudent Boy. "I say, Bill! Come and see the Conjuring—Here's this here Gal a goin' to Squeege herself into that there Brook!"

COSTUME. The fashion of Crinolines. From a drawing by Leech in *Punch*, July 1856

powerful, most talked of, most popular Premiers that had ever been. The chance had come at last, but almost too late—he was in his seventieth year.

§ 2. Domestic Politics

A Fair Field for the Conservative Party. The Conservative Party had now its great chance. For the first time since the Reform Bill of 1832 it had the complete confidence of the country, and a clear majority in the House of Commons. It had a Minister of romantic disposition, vaulting ambition, tireless energy, and soaring ideas. For the next six years this brilliant leader governed

the country according to his long-meditated policy, and his mark has been left deeply in every department of the nation's life.

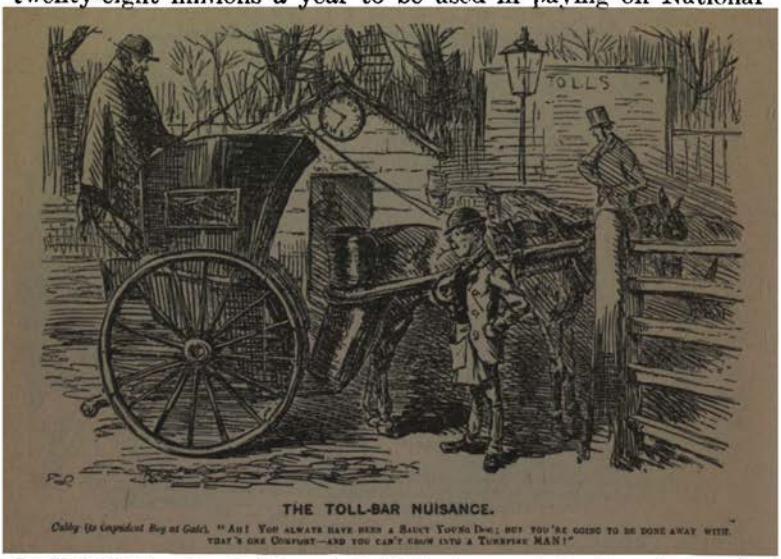
The period from 1874 to 1880, when Disraeli was Prime Minister, falls naturally into two divisions. The first covers the years 1874, 1875, 1876, a time of quiet useful work. The second covers the years 1877, 1878, 1879, a time of strenuous effort in foreign and imperial affairs—the period *par excellence*, one might almost say, of Imperialism.

SPORTS AND PASTIMES. Women's Archery Meeting, 1864. Archery was superseded for women by lawn-tennis and croquet

Social Legislation. In 1874 Mr. Gladstone retired from the leadership of the Liberal Party, and his place was taken by Lord Hartington, who is better known by this title than by his later dignity of Duke of Devonshire. The country was undoubtedly a little tired of legislation; Gladstone was an inspiring, but at the same time an exhausting force, and the people as a whole were glad to change the Government, to get a rest. This explains the great popularity of the Disraeli Government in its first three years, the years of quiet administration.

Britain had been engaged in no great war since the Crimean

period. The National Debt was being steadily reduced,[1] and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, finding a surplus of revenue took a penny off the Income Tax in his first Budget. The Income Tax now stood at 2*d.* in the pound (1874). The taxpayers' money was to fructify in the taxpayers' pockets, or rather in the trade in which they employed it. Sir Stafford Northcote also established the *New Sinking Fund*—a charge of twenty-eight millions a year to be used in paying off National



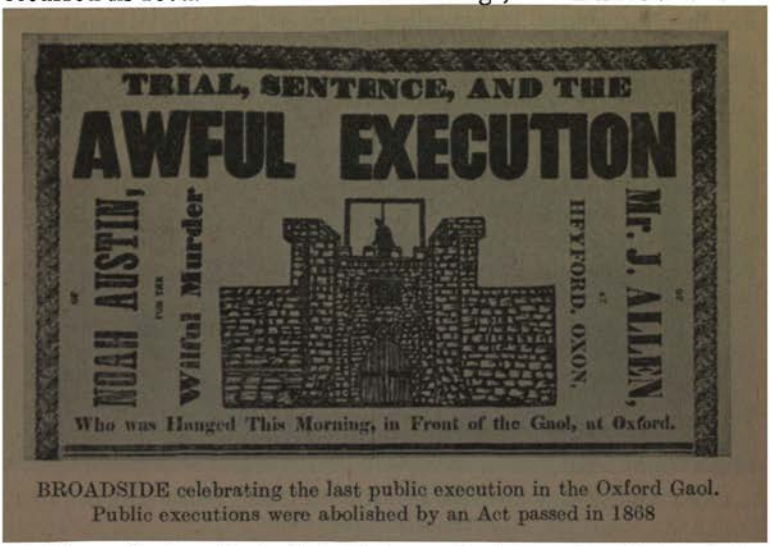
TRANSPORT. The Abolition of the Toll-gates round London. Cartoon by Leech in *Punch*, January 1864

Debt. Next year, 1875, a useful Act was passed to improve houses in the larger towns. The *Artisans' Dwellings Act* gave Corporations, in towns with over 25,000 inhabitants, power to acquire by compulsory purchase the site of insanitary houses, and to rebuild them. The object was to provide good small houses for artisans, and therefore many Liberals, who believed that the Law should not distinguish between the various classes of the people, opposed the Bill. The well-known political econo-

[1] The Funded Debt in 1860 was £789,700,000; in 1865, £780,000,000; in 1870, £741,000,000; in 1875, £714,000,000; in 1880, £710,000,000.

mist, Mr. Fawcett, whose practical sympathy with the poor was well known, denounced the Bill, sarcastically asking if the Government would also provide appropriate dwellings for noblemen.

Disraeli, however, and the Home Secretary, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Cross, were not to be deterred from philanthropic legislation. The *Employers and Workmen's Act* (1875) followed upon a big and unsuccessful strike of agricultural labourers, which occurred in 1874. This Act did two things, which have had far-

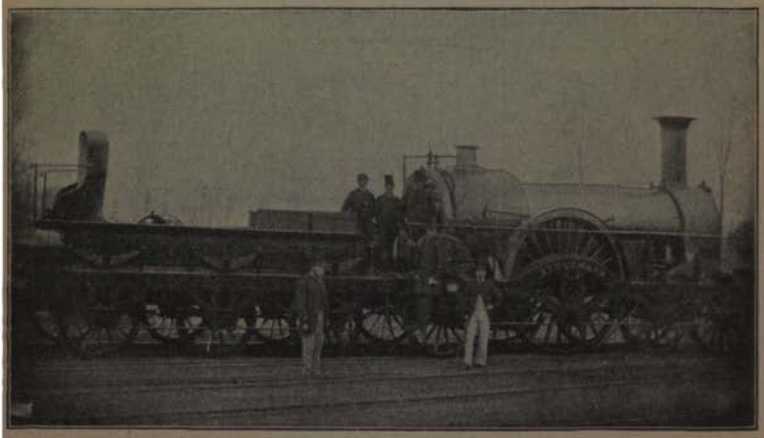


BROADSIDE celebrating the last public execution in the Oxford Gaol. Public executions were abolished by an Act passed in 1868

reaching effects: first, it laid down that an act which might legally be done by an individual did not become illegal when done by a combination of persons. The second thing which the Act did was to establish that strikers who persuaded others by peaceful means to leave their employment could not be tried as criminals. Thus 'peaceful picketing' was allowed by the law. There can be no objection to one man, if he likes, advising another not to work for Mr. So-and-so; it is not quite the same when many men combine to advise a man to leave work. The greatest difficulty of the authorities ever since in labour disputes has been to see fair play between strikers and the workman who does not

want to strike. It was the Employers and Workmen's Act which enabled Trade Unions to establish themselves firmly in the industrial world.

In the next year, 1876, the *Merchant Shipping Act* was passed. Most shipowners did not overload their ships, or send them to sea in an unseaworthy condition, but some did both these things, and men's lives were lost without any necessity, and people gambled in the insurance of bad ships. The Government itself did not move in the matter until Mr. Samuel Plimsoll, Liberal member for Derby, had worked heart and soul for twenty-five



A GREAT-WESTERN ENGINE IN THE SIXTIES. Notice the guard's seat at the back of the tender

years, in and out of the House, to bring the matter to their attention. The Merchant Shipping Act of 1876 gave the Board of Trade power to stop unseaworthy ships from leaving port, and it established the ' Plimsoll ' mark, the waterline above which ships must not load.

The last Act in this series which distinguished the quiet years of the Conservative Government was the *Factories and Workshops Act* of 1878. This did not introduce new principles or new regulations, but it consolidated in one coherent and clever code the laws which had previously been passed, at various times, concerning work in factories. This consolidating Act may be considered to

sum up and complete the lifework of Lord Shaftesbury.[1] Much of the credit, however, should be given to the Prime Minister and to the Home Secretary, Mr. Cross ; Disraeli was now able to see another of his many dreams come true—the dream of his novel *Sybil*, where he depicts the unwholesome system of the early industrial shops and factories, and pleads for a firm regulation of them in the interests of women and children and the general health of the people.

Universities Commission. The period of peace and quiet closed with the work of a Commission to investigate the affairs of the University of Oxford, and another for the University of Cambridge. As a result of these investigations it was enacted that Fellowships at the University should no longer be given for life or depend upon the Fellow remaining unmarried ; the University was also given a right to receive a certain amount in taxation from the Colleges, and part of the money thus received was used both by Oxford and Cambridge in establishing laboratories for teaching and research in the natural sciences. Lord Salisbury, who was a powerful member of the Government, was also Chancellor of Oxford University and devoted to the study of chemistry. Long afterwards, when he had retired from politics, he spent the last days of his life, like Charles II, in his private laboratory. The great Oxford laboratories, known as the 'Museum', and the eminent position of the University (as well as that of Cambridge) in natural science, date from the Commission of 1878. Seven years earlier (1871) the *Universities Test Act* had abolished religious tests in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham.

§ 3. Foreign Affairs

The British Attitude. Since the Crimean War England had been at peace, although there had been three great wars in Europe. The soul of the country, indeed, was not dead, yet an acute man, immersed in foreign politics, feared that the time might come when England at a crisis of her fate, faced with a call to war, might turn away from it along the primrose path of peace. Against such

[1] He died in 1885.

softness and self-absorption, the sparkling speeches of Mr. Disraeli, his vigorous comments on international affairs, seemed to be the appropriate tonic. Such was the view of Sir Robert Morier, the diplomatist, whose knowledge of the affairs of Europe was unrivalled :

'The frequent allusions to foreign politics made in his electioneering speeches by Mr. Disraeli, the cheers with which they were received, above all the golden definition with which the present Premier has once for all rescued the Queen's Foreign affairs from the limbo to which they had been consigned by the shopkeeping class of English politicians, when he described them as England's *home* affairs in *foreign* parts, have induced the belief that the accession of Her Majesty's present Ministers will go far to restore the desired equilibrium between the forces of war and forces of peace.'[1]

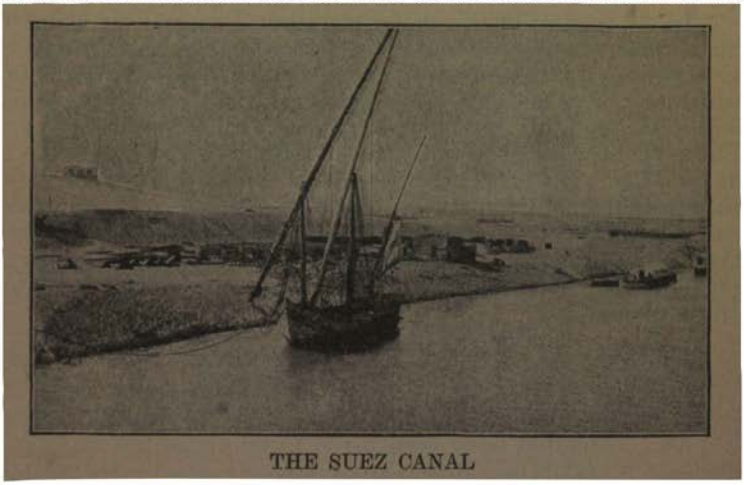
This was written in 1874. It was not till nearly three years had passed that the new spirit—which its admirers called *Imperialism* and its opponents called *Jingoism*—became prominent in the land.

The Suez Canal Shares. Perhaps the most far-sighted thing that Disraeli did was to purchase 176,602 out of the total of 400,000 shares of the Suez Canal Company. This Company, of which the shares were held by Frenchmen and by the Khedive Ismail of Egypt, had constructed the Suez Canal, in the years 1866–1869. In 1875 Disraeli heard that the Khedive, who was practically bankrupt, was willing to sell his shares. Immediately, and on his own responsibility, with the assistance of the financial houses of Rothschild and Erlanger, he purchased the Khedive's shares, for £3,976,582, on behalf of the British Government. Thus the English position on the Canal, the most important link in our Empire's communications, was secured.

The Balkan Revolts. In 1875 the Turkish Government still held countries now known as Bulgaria and Bosnia-Herzegovina, in addition to being suzerain of Rumania and Serbia. In that year the Herzegovinans revolted against their tax-gatherers ; and the usual barbarities at once ensued. Count Andrassy, the

[1] Quoted in Egerton, *British Foreign Policy*, p. 312.

Austrian Chancellor, drew up a note proposing reforms—the old well-known reforms—in the Turkish Government. Great Britain joined with all the other Powers in pressing this note on Turkey. The Porte accepted it but did nothing. In 1876 Count Andrassy, with Prince Bismarck and Prince Gortchakoff (the German and Russian Chancellors), addressed another Note to Turkey, demanding that the Porte should grant an armistice for two months to the rebels. The British Government refused to join in this Note. From this moment it became clear that Disraeli adhered to the



THE SUEZ CANAL

traditional English policy of supporting Turkey—not indeed in the massacres of her Christian subjects, but in maintaining her independence and territorial integrity.

The Bulgarian Atrocities. The ' seventies ' and ' eighties ' were the great days of newspaper foreign correspondents : it is not too much to say that the destinies of the world seemed to be moved by their letters. On the morning of June 23, 1876, people in England who opened the *Daily News* were struck with horror at the revelations suddenly made in a letter from the correspondent of that paper at Constantinople, Mr. (later Sir) Edwin Pears, who had heard of the savagery of Turkish irregular soldiers in suppressing a rising at Batak and Peshtera in the Rhodope

Mountains. At Batak 1,200 people were said to have been penned up in the church there and burned. Mr. Gladstone, who was at Hawarden, suffering from lumbago, read the account and burned with indignation. With all the fervour with which he spoke when facing large audiences, he now wrote the pamphlet *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East.* 'The tract,' says Lord Morley, 'beats with a sustained pulse and passion that recalls Burke's *Letters on a Regicide Peace.*' In a magnificent peroration Gladstone writes :

'An old servant of the crown and state, I entreat my countrymen upon whom far more than perhaps any other people of Europe it depends, to require and to insist that our Government which has been working in one direction shall work in the other, and shall apply all its vigour to concur with the other states of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall I hope clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned.'

This passage may be called the beginning of the *bag and baggage policy*, which Gladstone himself only demanded for Bulgaria, but which has since meant the expulsion of the Turk altogether from Europe. Attempts have been made to minimize the massacres reported in 1876, but an impartial report made by Mr. Walter Baring, of the British Embassy at Constantinople, only confirmed the horrible tale. The most striking condemnation of the Turks is that Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, their great friend of former years, now in his old age allowed Mr. Gladstone to dedicate the famous pamphlet to himself.

The Russo-Turkish War. The Turks were obdurate ; they would not reform their administration, and meanwhile civil war and murder went on in the Balkans. The cartoons of *Punch* throughout the volume for 1877 show the shadow of war over Europe, with the Powers talking, but accomplishing nothing. The Russian Government, however, meant to act, and on April 24, 1877, the Tsar Alexander II declared war on the Porte. Russian forces were passed through the friendly State of Rumania (vassal

to Turkey though it was), and the Danube was crossed at Nikopol. The Turkish armies were wretchedly organized, but the actual leading was on the whole good. Valentine Baker, a distinguished cavalry officer who had been dismissed from the British Army, was now a Lieutenant-General in the Turkish forces, and led a division in the army which defended the Western Balkans. The book which he wrote on this campaign gives one of the most graphic impressions both of the qualities of the Turk, and of their hand-to-mouth method of military organization. The war correspondents of the London newspapers were present with the Turkish forces everywhere, and no better account of the fighting between the Danube and the Balkans exists than the *Daily News* correspondence, which has since been republished. This period is perhaps the most important era in the history of English journalism; for to-day the time is gone when correspondents saw the inside of every war: they now have to write, with what realism they can convey, from the reports that are communicated at head-quarters, or which are picked up in the casualty clearing-stations. Those who wish to know the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–1887 cannot do better than use the correspondence of Archibald Forbes in the *Daily News*, and the black-and-white sketches in the *Illustrated London News* of that year.

The war was practically over by February 1878. The Russian army had been held for months in front of the town of Plevna, a weak position which the courage and foresight of Osman Pasha made almost impregnable. Superior forces, however, and the genius of General Todleben (of Sebastopol fame) overcame the persistency of Osman. The fiery General Gourko seized the Shipka Pass that opens the way through the Balkans to the plain of Philippopolis and to Adrianople; and at last the Turks capitulated. Peace was signed by the Russian Commander-in-chief, the Grand Duke Nicholas, on March 3, 1878, at San Stefano, a village on the Sea of Marmora, near Constantinople.

The Treaty of San Stefano. The Treaty of San Stefano, between Russia and Turkey, although it never came into operation, is one of the most important conventions in modern history. The Treaty of Berlin, which followed four months later, was supposed

to have killed it, yet the shadow of San Stefano has lain across the whole Balkan Peninsula, and is moulding its history to-day.

Briefly, the Treaty of San Stefano, while providing for certain improvements in the positions of Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania, also created a new State out of the Turkish provinces north and south of the Balkan Mountains. This new State was called Bulgaria, and its area was to be from the Danube on the north to the Aegean on the South, and from the Albanian Mountains on the west to the Black Sea on the east. Thus a large State would have been established including practically every person who could claim to belong to the Bulgarian race in the Balkan Peninsula. It was at this point that Disraeli stepped forth on the side of Turkey.

The Congress of Berlin. The new State, thus called into being under the name of Bulgaria by the arms of Russia, would have been the largest and most powerful in the Balkans ; and it would have been, naturally, under Russian protection and influence. The political power of the Russian Government would stretch across the Balkans, to Constantinople, to Egypt, to India. Such was Disraeli's apprehension, and to check this was what he meant when in his last speech in the House of Commons (August 11, 1876), he said : 'Our duty at this critical moment is to preserve the Empire of England.' He was then seventy-two years old, and, active though he was, was glad to pass as Earl of Beaconsfield from the labours of the House of Commons to the serener air of the House of Lords.

He had decided in his own mind that the Treaty of San Stefano should not be carried into effect. By the Treaty of Paris in 1856, which ended the Crimean War, the Powers of Europe had guaranteed the integrity of the Turkish Empire ; and now Beaconsfield had reasonable ground for contending that this Treaty should not be set aside by a separate agreement between Russia and Turkey. He therefore demanded that the Concert of Europe should reconsider and settle the Eastern Question. The Russian Government agreed to this, and a Congress of representatives of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, Germany, Italy, and Turkey met at Berlin on June 13, 1878. The chairman or President of the

Congress was Prince Bismarck, the German Chancellor. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury (Foreign Secretary) were the British representatives. The Russian envoy was a skilful and conciliatory diplomatist, Count Schouvaloff, and the envoy of France was M. Waddington; Waddington was a French statesman and scholar who had been educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge, had rowed in the Cambridge Eight, and had gained a First Class in Classics.

The object of the Congress was to settle the disputes between Russia and Turkey: but when Beaconsfield went to Berlin he already had a convention of his own signed with Russia, and another with Turkey, practically settling all the disputed questions in advance. No wonder he was considered the most prominent man at the Congress, for he had already arranged matters all his own way.

Tenniel in *Punch*, July 1878[1]

The first convention—that with Russia—was signed on May 30. Russia agreed that the area assigned to Bulgaria by the Treaty of San Stefano should be reduced to much more moderate dimensions. Britain agreed that Russia should get Southern Bessarabia from the Turkish vassal State of Rumania. While the Congress was discussing matters in the Radziwill Palace in Berlin, the *Globe* newspaper in London suddenly (June 14) published this Anglo-Russian Convention. A clerk in the Foreign Office had surreptitiously made a copy of the treaty and had sent it to the Press.[2]

The Anglo-Russian Convention satisfied Russia: the Anglo-Turkish Convention (June 4, 1878) was to safeguard Turkey.

[1] By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

[2] It was on account of this offence, which the existing law had no means of punishing, that the Official Secrets Act was passed.

Great Britain promised for the future to defend the Asiatic territories of the Sultan against Russia, and in return received from Turkey the island of Cyprus, 'to be occupied and administered by England'. This treaty remained good till October 1914, when Turkey made war on Great Britain, and consequently the guarantee of the Sultan's dominions in Asia lapsed, and Cyprus was annexed outright.

Although the main question, namely, the fate of Turkey in Europe, had been already settled by the Anglo-Russian and Anglo-Turkish Conventions, there remained a very large number of other questions to be settled by the envoys at Berlin; and it is extremely creditable to the industriousness of its members that the Congress was able to get through its work by July 13, when the great *Treaty of Berlin* was signed. By this, Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania were declared to be completely independent of Turkey; before this they had been subject, but self-governing States. Bulgaria, with an area which extended only from the Danube to the Balkans, became a self-governing Principality (subject to Turkey) under Alexander of Battenberg. Russia received back the portion of Bessarabia which she had ceded to Turkey (or rather to the subject State of Moldavia) in 1856; and Montenegro, for the first time, was given access to the sea, at Antivari, a small port on the Adriatic. Bosnia and Herzegovina, the two important Turkish provinces, whose revolt had begun the Russo-Turkish War, were given into the charge of Austria, to be occupied and administered by her.

Subsequent History of the Berlin Treaty. All the Balkan States concerned in the Treaty of Berlin subsequently increased their territory at the expense of Turkey and declared themselves to be 'Kingdoms', not Principalities. The last Prince to make himself King was Nicholas of Montenegro in 1912. Bulgaria more than doubled its area in the next thirty-five years, but did not reach the dimensions contemplated by the abortive Treaty of San Stefano; this disappointment has rankled as a grievance ever since, and was the cause of Bulgaria's entry in the war against Serbia in October 1915. Austria occupied and administered Bosnia and Herzegovina with great success until 1908,

BALKAN STATES
1878-1914
English Miles
0 50 100 200
HUNGARY
BUKOVINA
MOLDAVIA
RUSSIA
Jassy
BESSARABIA
TRANSYLVANIA
Temesvar
Rother Turm P.
Vulkan P.
Tömös P.
Galatz
1856
1878
1878
AUSTRIA
BOSNIA
Belgrade
Orsova
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
DOBRUDJA
Silistria
DALMATIA (AUSTRIA)
Serajevo
SERBIA
Vidin
Rustchuk
1913
BLACK SEA
HERZEGOVINA
MONTE NEGRO
Nish
Pirot
Plevna
BULGARIA
Varna
Turnovo
Cattaro
Cettinje
Sofia
Burgas
1885
Philippopolis
1913
ADRIATIC SEA
ALBANIA
Uskub
1913
1913
Adrianople
Durazzo
Ochrida
Monastir
Constantinople
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
ITALY
Brindisi
1913
Valona
Salonica
Otrangio
Janina
Lemnos
Corfu
Larissa
1881
AEGEAN SEA
Mitylene
IONIAN SEA
Levkas
GREECE
Chios
Smyrna
Cephalonia
Zante
PELOPONNESE
Athens
Samos
Crete
Acquisitions of Montenegro 1913
" " Roumania "
" " Bulgaria "
" " Serbia "
" " Greece "
Ceded to Bulgaria by the Treaty of London May 30th 1913 retroceded to Turkey Sept. 29th 1913.
State frontiers
Old "

when suddenly, without any reference to the Concert of Europe which had authorized her occupation, she declared them to be annexed. This unexpected blow to the sanctity of treaties was the beginning of a long series of disturbances in the Balkan Peninsula, including four wars, the devastation of several countries, and death by the sword, by disease, and starvation, of millions of people. Till 1908, however—for the thirty years which is the life of most great treaties—the Treaty of Berlin gave a fairly stable settlement to the Balkans and the Near Eastern Question. Russia had been decisively turned aside from Constantinople, and Beaconsfield was able to announce on his return from Berlin that he brought 'peace with honour'. Except Germany, every one had got something out of the Turkish Empire, though in England no one set much store by the island of Cyprus, despite its romantic associations with the Crusades. Bismarck, who, according to his own words, had acted at the Congress as an 'honest broker', had even suggested to Beaconsfield that Great Britain should take the unhappy Turkish vassal state of Egypt, but Beaconsfield let the chance slip by.

Jingoism. The popularity of the Prime Minister was now at its height. The people at large were enthusiastic at seeing themselves once more one of the guiding influences of Europe. Under the romantic inspiration of Beaconsfield they had been ready to go to war with Russia, and it was in the three months before the Congress of Berlin that the music-hall ditty was so popular:

We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money too.

In April Indian troops had been sent to relieve the British garrison in Malta—the only time that Indian troops were employed in Europe till the War of 1914. The British army and navy were put on a war-footing at a cost of two and a half million pounds, and an increase of the income tax to 5*d*. Instead, however, of war, had come the Congress and peace with honour.

§ 4. The End of the Conservative Ministry

The last year of the Conservative Ministry. The year 1879 was no quieter than '78. There was war with Afghanistan, war with

the Zulus, and serious trouble with the Boers in South Africa. Towards the end of 1878 a general depression in business, and still more in agriculture, set in, and the failure of the *City of Glasgow Bank* caused distress to thousands of people. In those days every shareholder was liable for all the debts of any bank in which he had shares, so that private men lost their whole fortune in order to make up for the mismanagement of directors. The only good result of the failure was the passage of the very useful *Limited Liability Act* in 1879, which made it easier for banks to restrict a shareholder's financial liability to the extent of his share in the company.

The Midlothian Campaign. Under the Septennial Act of 1716 the Parliament had to be dissolved at latest in 1880, and custom would have made it end the year before. It would have been better for the Conservative Ministry had it 'gone to the country' at the end of the usual six years of Parliament. Mr. Gladstone, despite his seventy-one years of age, was preparing for the General Election with a great 'campaign' in Midlothian, a campaign (1879–1880) during which his masterful personality and his magnificent rhetoric aroused that almost blind devotion with which he was afterwards regarded in Scotland. The General Election took place in March 1880. The Government knew that its position was less strong in the country and expected to have a reduced majority, but still sufficient to keep the Conservatives in office. To the astonishment not merely of the Ministers, but indeed of the whole country, the telegrams that came pouring into the Whip's office told only of defeat. It was a regular *débâcle*, anticipating that of 1906, which came at the end of a similarly long-lived and warlike Conservative Government. The Liberals obtained a clear majority of 107 Members of Parliament, to which might be added 61 Irish Home Rulers. From the whole of Scotland there only came eight Conservative members. Before the new Parliament met, Beaconsfield tendered his resignation to the Queen, and Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister.

Death of Beaconsfield. In the period between the Treaty of Berlin and the General Election of 1880, much animosity had

been shown in public speeches between Beaconsfield and Gladstone. The Prime Minister indeed had gone so far as to call Mr. Gladstone 'a sophistical rhetorician, inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity'. One of Mr. Punch's cartoons depicted 'Mr. Punch' as a schoolmaster reprimanding Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone, dressed as two schoolboys, and saying, 'What are you two boys throwing mud at each other for?'[1] But when the unexpected result at the General Election became known Beaconsfield took his defeat philosophically. He was seventy-five years old, and his health, never robust, was now gone. He still took his place in the House of Lords, and in March spoke against the evacuation of Kandahar. At the end of the month he was confined to bed with bronchitis, and after an illness of three weeks, which was watched with the keenest interest by the whole people, he died on April 19, 1881. So ended, full of years and honour, the life of the dreaming Hebrew man of letters, who in the Congress of all the great statesmen of Europe in 1878 was admitted by Bismarck to be the ablest of all. He is buried in Hughenden Churchyard.

CHAPTER XL

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN

The Russians in Central Asia. Lord Roberts, in his *Forty-one Years in India*, has pointed out that at the beginning of the eighteenth century the English and Russian frontiers in Asia were separated by a space of 4,000 miles; by the opening of

[1] Reproduced by permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

the nineteenth century the intervening distance had been reduced to 2,000 miles, chiefly by the advance of the British frontier to include the whole of Bengal. After this, the Russians advanced more rapidly than the British, and by the middle of the century the distance between us and them had been diminished by 1,000 miles. It was apprehension of this Russian advance that induced Lord Palmerston (British Foreign Secretary) and Lord Auckland (Governor-General) to make the ill-fated advance to Kabul in 1837, which resulted in the First Afghan War and the loss of General Elphinstone's army.

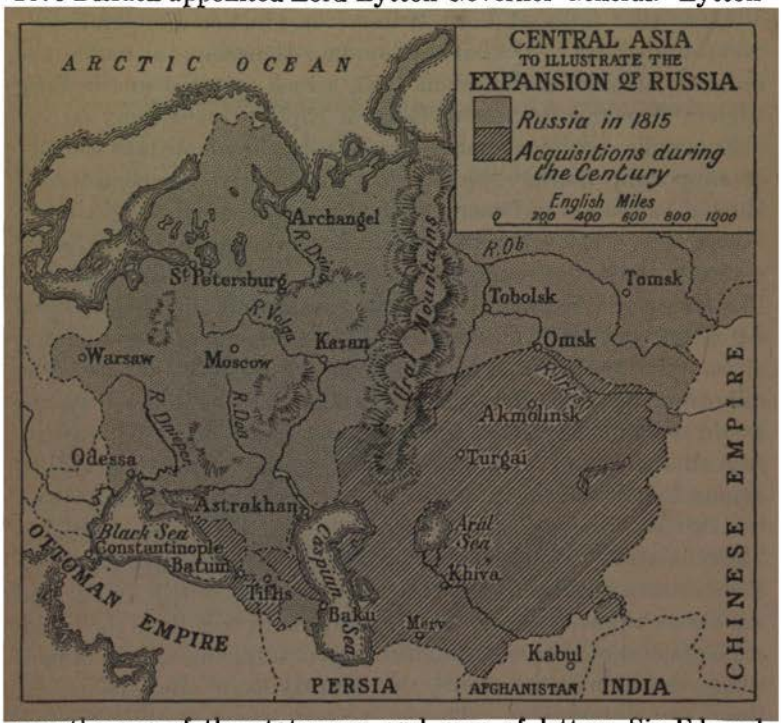
England's consistent policy throughout the nineteenth century of supporting Turkey was largely caused by apprehension of Russia's advance in Central Asia. For a moment the Crimean War checked the advance, which, however, soon began again, under a series of energetic governor-soldiers. In 1865 the Russians took Tashkent, in 1868 Samarcand, in 1874 Khiva. Attention was especially called to their advance by the exploit of Captain Frederick Burnaby of the Household Cavalry, who rode from Kars to Khiva in 1875. It looked as if the Russians would soon be in Merv, on the direct route from Khiva into Afghanistan,[1] and a high degree of 'Mervousness' prevailed among English official circles in India. Lord Salisbury, however, the British Foreign Secretary from 1874 to 1878, remarked that 'Mervousness' would not stand the test of large-scale maps. For between the Indus, on the north-west of British India, and the Oxus, towards which the Russians were trending, the large-scale maps show masses of almost impenetrable mountain-ranges, where the climate is severe, the country poor, and the people fierce and untameable. The most fearful part of this country, the backbone of which is the great wall of the Hindu Kush Mountains, is Afghanistan. Beyond this is desert. There was a serious danger, however, that the Russians might leap this desert, merely by buying the support of the Afghans.

The Empire of India. The Governors-General[2] since the Mutiny had taken no special measures to meet this danger. But when

[1] The Russians under General Skobeleff did take Merv in 1883.

[2] Lord Elgin, 1862; Lord Lawrence, 1864; Lord Northbrook, 1872.

Disraeli became Prime Minister of England, more imagination was infused into official Indian policy. In 1875–1876 the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII) made a tour in India, which caused great public attention and marked the increasing interest taken in Indian affairs by the home Government. In 1876 Disraeli appointed Lord Lytton Governor-General. Lytton



was the son of the statesman and man of letters, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton,[1] and a man of energy and imagination. The previous Governor-General, Lord Northbrook, had already advised that Queen Victoria should be declared Empress of India. On January 1, 1877, in a great Assembly at Delhi, the proclamation of the Imperial title was made.

The Second Afghan War. The Amir of Afghanistan, or more strictly speaking of the territory round Kabul, at this time was

[1] Created Baron Lytton in 1866.

Sher Ali, a man who could not, unaided, rule the wild tribes over whom he was supposed to have sway. In 1878 his receiving a Mission from the Russian Governor of Tashkent made it clear that he leant on Russian support. Lytton at once demanded that a British Mission should be received. There was some delay in the reply of the Amir, and so the British Mission started from Peshawar without hearing from him (September 1878). Besides the head of the Mission, General Neville Chamberlain, there was Major Cavagnari, and the Maharajah Pertab Singh of Jodhpur, a Rajput warrior who nearly forty years later came with the Indian Expeditionary Force to France, to fight against Germany. In order to prepare the way for the Mission, Cavagnari rode in advance into the Khyber Pass, where he was met by the Afghan Commander-in-chief and turned back. The Mission was rejected.

THE RUSSIAN MENACE TO INDIA
Tenniel's cartoon in *Punch*, March 1885[1]

Lord Lytton was prepared for this. Three columns had been organized: the Kandahar Field Force, 13,000 men under Major-General Sir Donald Stewart; the Khyber Field Force, 16,000 men, under Major-General Sir Samuel Browne, and the Kuram Field Force, 6,700 men, under Major-General Roberts. On November 20, 1878, the Amir was declared to be an enemy. Next day Sir Samuel Browne (whose fame is still kept green by the 'Sam' Browne belts') began his advance against the Khyber, and after some hard fighting took the fortress of Jellalabad, which Sale had defended so heroically in 1841.

The Kandahar Field Force was scarcely opposed. After a difficult march of 400 miles, Stewart entered Kandahar. The Kuram Field force marched from Thal, up the Kuram valley,

[1] By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

which was 60 miles long and three to ten miles wide, enclosed on each side by splendid wooded mountains, rising to a height of 14,000 feet. The village of Kuram is 48 miles along the valley, and was reached in four days. At the end of the valley is the Peiwar Kotal, an immensely difficult wooded pass held in strength by the Afghan army. It was captured on December 1.

The Treaty of Gandamuk. The capture of the Peiwar Kotal opened the way to Kabul, which was also threatened by Stewart from Kandahar and by Browne from Jellalabad. Sher Ali looked to Russia for substantial aid, but none came. On Christmas Eve (1878) Roberts, who was back at Kuram, heard that Sher Ali and the Russian Mission had left Kabul and had fled to Turkestan. There Sher Ali died in the following February, and his son Yakub Khan, who had always opposed his father's policy, reigned at Kabul in his stead. A treaty was concluded at Gandamuk (May 1879) between the Amir and the Government of India, according to which there was to be a British Resident at Kabul, and the Amir, while otherwise independent, was to conduct his foreign relations only through the Government of India.

The Massacre of the British Mission. The Treaty of Gandamuk seemed to secure the peace of India by entirely excluding Russian influence from Afghanistan. Cavagnari, who had negotiated the treaty, was now sent to be the first British representative at Kabul. Roberts accompanied him from Kuram as far as the Shutargardan Pass, where they encamped on the night of July 15. Next morning Roberts rode a few miles farther with Cavagnari, and shaking hands turned home.

On September 3 history repeated itself: the British Residency was stormed by the mutinous Afghan soldiery, and Cavagnari[1] with his escort of 75 Indian soldiers was butchered.

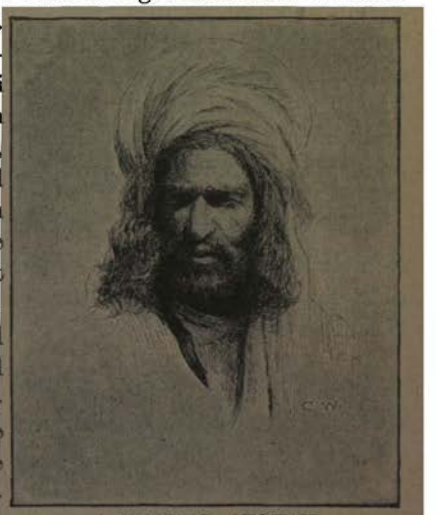
The March from Kuram to Kabul. For the second time in forty years the Afghans had shown, in the most striking way possible, that they cared nothing for the Indian Government nor for any form of law. They had therefore now to be given the lesson which should have been taught them before. By September 30

[1] Cavagnari was an able man of French extraction: a good type of the Anglo-Indian officer in the political service. He had been made a K.C.B. for his services in negotiating the Treaty of Gandamuk.

(1879), Roberts was ready to start from Kuram with the Kabul Field Force (as his contingent was to be called) consisting of 2,558 British and 3,867 Native Indian soldiers.

The force marched by the Kuram valley and over the Shutargardan Pass, and, after some heavy fighting, occupied Kabul on October 9. Roberts always considered this march from Kuram to Kabul to be his greatest feat: many times success seemed to hang by a hair, and had anything gone wrong, not a single man, he says, of the Kabul Field Force would have got back alive to India.

Ahmedkhel and Maiwand. Meanwhile Sir Donald Stewart's force had never evacuated Kandahar since the occupation of that town in 1878. He now, on March 30 (1880), started to march to Kabul, to join Roberts. On April 19 he fought a brilliant action against the tribesmen at Ahmedkhel.



A TYPICAL AFGHAN

Sir Donald Stewart reached Kabul on May 5 (1880) and took over the supreme command from Roberts. On the same day news came that the Beaconsfield Ministry had resigned in England.

Meanwhile Ayub Khan, a pretender to the throne of Afghanistan, had collected the tribesmen once more, and almost beleaguered Kandahar, which had been left in charge of Brigadier-General Burrows. On July 27 Burrows with his brigade, numbering 2,476 men, marched out to meet Ayub, who had 25,000, at Maiwand. The result was the complete rout of the British force: 'The remnant struggled on throughout the night to Kandahar, where the first of the fugitives arrived early on the morning of the 28th. Brigadier-General Burrows, who had two horses shot under him during the engagement, was amongst the last to reach Kandahar' (Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*).

The March from Kabul to Kandahar. The British defeat at Maiwand, the complete rout of a splendid British force by the tribesmen, set Afghanistan in flame again. In India and the wild countries beyond its borders, a few Englishmen were governing millions of Orientals, who obeyed because the Englishmen were strong and were believed to be strong. On this belief in England's invincibility and power to rule, on this *prestige*, the existence of peace throughout the length and breadth of India depends.

Maiwand lost us this prestige: for the second time in their history the Afghans had routed and almost annihilated a British army. At all costs they must be shown, and shown swiftly, that England was invincible. A great, dramatic, and daring feat of arms must be accomplished, which would at once impress and punish them, and at the same time relieve the besieged garrison of Kandahar.

As soon as the Indian Government heard at Simla of the disaster of Maiwand they ordered Roberts to take a column right through the wild, disaffected portion of Afghanistan, from Kabul to Kandahar.

At 6 a.m. on August 11 (1880) the Kandahar Field Force, as Roberts's division was to be called, started from Kabul on its march of 313 miles; no attempt was to be made to establish a line of communication.

It disappeared from view on August 11, and nothing more was heard of it till it reappeared nearly three weeks later at Kandahar. The number of the Force was 9,986 men of all ranks (three brigades of infantry and one of cavalry) and 189 guns: in addition there were 8,000 native followers, used for carrying baggage and for looking after the horses. There were 2,300 horses and gun-mules, and 8,000 baggage-animals—ponies, mules, donkeys, and camels. The supplies were very carefully calculated, as no extra weight could be carried. Only sufficient flour for five days was taken, and the commissariat officers had to procure all that was necessary over and above this from the villages in the bare country through which the division marched.

'At the end of each day's march, certain fields were told off to the several brigades; from these all that was required was cut and carried away, the fields were then measured and assessed, and compensation was awarded by the political officers, who also adjusted all claims on account of wrecked houses, and fruit, vegetables, &c., brought in for the troops.'

The march was a complete success.

Ghazni was reached on the 15th, the place which forty-one years before the commander's father, General Sir Abraham Roberts, had captured in the First Afghan War. Next the Force marched across twenty miles of bare country to Ahmedkhel, where Stewart had won his victory, and where the graves of the British soldiers had been dug up by the fanatical Afghans, and the bones scattered on the ground. At Chardeh a message was received through a native messenger from the garrison of Kandahar, saying that the town was now closely invested by the Afghans. On the 21st—still nine days' march from Kandahar—communication was established by heliograph with the beleaguered garrison. Roberts then learned that an unsuccessful sortie had been made, in which General Brooke and eight British officers had been killed. The Force marched steadily onward. On the 27th Roberts fell ill of fever, and had to be carried in a doolie, 'a most ignominious mode of conveyance' (he says) 'for a general on service.' On the morning of August 31 the Force marched into Kandahar, unopposed.

The garrison had been in a demoralized condition, thoroughly depressed and disheartened, and no one knows what might have happened if relief had not come. There were only 1,000 British and 3,000 native soldiers fit for fighting.

Roberts had no idea of resting till he had finished his work. On September 1, the day after reaching Kandahar, he moved his troops out to assault the forces of Ayub Khan. The main Afghan position was stormed, and the whole army routed. Ayub Khan's camp and artillery were captured, including two British guns which had been taken at Maiwand.

Britain and Afghanistan. The Afghan War was now at an end. British troops left the country. British power had been vindicated, Russian influence expelled, and another ruler, Abdur-

rahman placed on the throne. The new Amir, although he had been living as a Russian pensioner, recognized at once that England not Russia was the dominating force on the Afghan border. A man of great force of character, a born ruler of the tribesmen, he gradually reduced the country to order, being

given the necessary supplies of money and rifles by the Indian Government. His relations with India were fixed on the lines already laid down in the Treaty of Gandamuk. Afghanistan was to manage its own internal affairs, there was to be a British Resident at Kabul, and all foreign affairs were to be transacted through the Indian Government.

CHAPTER XLI

THE BRITISH IN AFRICA

§ 1. South Africa to the Battle of Majuba Hill

Early History. The Union of South Africa is the third largest of the five self-governing Dominions of the British Empire. Canada has about 3½ million square miles, Australia about 3 million, South Africa about ¾ of a million. Although its connexion with Europe is one of the oldest, the Cape of Good Hope having been discovered in 1486, it was for long nothing more than a half-way house, a port of call, for vessels sailing to India. The mariners stopped there to take in water and green vegetables, and then passed on to India and the gorgeous East.

Thus Africa continued for a hundred and fifty years to be the 'Dark Continent', closed and unknown. When the Dutch began to settle there in the seventeenth century, they clung to the coasts, and only had trading-stations. Very gradually they 'trekked' inland; when in 1795 Admiral Elphinstone (Viscount Keith) and General Craig took possession of the Colony, it numbered only about 40,000 white inhabitants.

Geography. Yet South Africa is suited to the life of white men more even than Canada or Australia. Its climate is sunny, dry, and bracing: there are no extremes of temperature; and every one who has visited that magnificent country, ridden on its rolling upland plains, gazed through the pure air at its mountains, will keep ever green in his memory its peculiar charm.

The country consists of coast and plateaux. Behind Table Bay are mountains; and thence the Great Karroo stretches northwards, a magnificent prairie country at a height of 2,000 to 3,000 feet above sea-level: after more mountains comes the Upper Karroo, at a height of 3,000 to 4,000 feet. The great table-land is continued across the Orange River, across the Vaal, and away into Central Africa.

The Early British Period. After the Napoleonic Wars South Africa had a long period of quiet development under British rule.

The Irish were little represented, but Scotsmen and Englishmen came in fairly large numbers, for instance, 5,000 in the years 1821–1822. The colony was strongly Protestant. The Dutch in Europe had won their independence as a Protestant people fighting against Spain, and the Dutch in South Africa were equally strong Calvinists. In 1795 the London Missionary Society was founded. Then as now, an unsectarian body, it actively taught the knowledge of the Gospel in South Africa, and was supported by all Protestant Churches in England.

Thus South Africa, although it has two white peoples like Canada, has, unlike Canada, no problem arising from differences of religion. It is the 'native problem' that looms largest and causes most anxiety to thinking men in South Africa, a problem—which is at once a tremendous burden and an opportunity—that neither Canada nor Australia has to face.

The Kaffir Wars. Till the middle of the 'seventies' the history of South Africa was comparatively uneventful. The Kaffir clans in Cape Colony resisted the intruders, and a Kaffir War took place in 1811–1812. At the close of this campaign the English commander Colonel Graham made a line of frontier-posts, and the chief became the city of Grahamstown. As the colonists advanced over the Karroo, other Kaffir Wars took place. In 1834 the British Governor at the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban (one of Wellington's Peninsular officers) founded Durban, which became the seaport of Natal. The Kaffirs almost immediately came against the new settlements, and murdered every one they found. The raid of 1834 was driven back largely through the efforts of another Peninsular veteran, Sir Harry Smith. As always in South African history till 1899, the number of British forces engaged was to be calculated only in hundreds. There was another Kaffir War in 1846 and again in 1850.

The land was too vast to be garrisoned by British regular troops, and the colonists themselves were too scattered to provide an adequate defence. Sir George Grey, who had been Governor of New Zealand after the Maori War of 1843, became Governor of Cape Colony in 1854, and proposed the establish-

ment of a kind of military frontier, after the Roman pattern, on the east of the colony. He wished to get British pensioned soldiers to come and settle, but only about 100 answered the invitation. At the close of the Crimean War, in 1857, the soldiers of the 'German Legion', which had been recruited by the British Government, were offered land. 2,300 came and settled around East London and King William's Town, and added greatly to the strength of the colony. The last Kaffir War was the rising of the Galeka tribe in 1877, which was successfully dealt with by Sir Bartle Frere.

The Boer Republics. In 1836 the great Treks began. The period of transition between the Dutch and British system of government was naturally difficult. The Netherlands East India Company, which held the Colony before the British occupation, had interested itself only in trading, and had left the settlers alone. The British system of government was different, and was firmly administered by the officers of Wellington's army, who filled many of the higher positions in the colonies after 1815. Many of the old Dutch settlers remained in the Colony; but others resented the use of the British language and British law, and especially the interference of the British Governors in the quarrels between Dutchmen and natives—quarrels which the stern Puritan Boer had a drastic way of settling, all his own.

Accordingly, in 1836, Boer farmers began to cross the Orange River (the northern limit of Cape Colony) to make new homes in the unoccupied territory, braving starvation and death by violence, rather than submit to any loss of freedom under British rule. They took their women and children with them, and gradually spread over the lands known later as Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. The indomitable nature of these men can be inferred from the fact that over that vast stretch of country, greater in extent than France and England, there were less than 10,000 of the 'trekkers'. They built their timber homes, with the picturesque 'stoep' or veranda, they cultivated a little maize and wheat, kept some oxen and sheep, and when threatened by Matabele or Zulu rode out with their

comrades in 'commando', to save their women and children from mutilation, and to smite the heathen to the ground.

Natal. The first province to get some form of common organization from the trekkers was Natal, of which the chief settlement was called Pietermaritzburg, from two of the leading trekkers, Piet Retief and Gerrit Maritz. The 'burghers' as the Dutch came to be called, met occasionally in a sort of Parliament or 'volksraad', and they grouped themselves in commandoes for their native wars. Natal, however, was claimed as British territory, and in 1842, after a little armed resistance, the Natal Boers submitted to the Queen's Government.

Orange Free State. When Natal became a British Colony, most of the Dutch who had come into it to get away from the British flag went to their kinsmen who lived between the Orange River and the Vaal. In 1847 Sir Harry Smith, himself like the Boers a stern Puritan who knew his own mind, declared the country between the Orange River and the Vaal to be British also. He held that the Boers who had left Cape Colony to settle on other land were still British subjects: they might own the land where they settled, but the British sovereignty went with them. A British Resident was placed at Bloemfontein, but the Boers, who for about ten years had carried on a loose Republican government of their own, took up arms to defend it under Commandant Pretorius. Sir Harry Smith at once came north to put down the rebellion, and, unlike subsequent British generals in like circumstances, he did not allow himself to be surprised and beaten. Officers who were trained under Wellington never underrated their opponents, or let courage degenerate into recklessness. In a scattered fight of the usual kind he dispersed the burghers at Boomplatz, south-west of Bloemfontein (August 29, 1848).

The British administration was established; and, relying on this, English colonists began to settle on the land. The country was known as the Orange River Sovereignty. The Boers, however, remained discontented and the British Government disliked having to keep a garrison perpetually in the country. On February 23, 1854, the Convention of Bloemfontein was made,

withdrawing the British authority and acknowledging the complete independence of the Orange Free State. This was the first instance in South African history of the British sovereignty being solemnly proclaimed over a particular region and shortly afterwards being recalled. The Bloemfontein Convention withdrew British authority after a victory; the Pretoria Convention of 1881 withdrew it after a defeat. Perhaps this explains why the earlier reversal of policy was not nearly so serious in its results as the later.

The Transvaal. The Bloemfontein Convention of 1854 created the Orange Free State. Two years earlier the Sand River Convention had recognized another Dutch State, the Transvaal. The Boers who had trekked beyond the Vaal River had gone on to the high, almost boundless veldt, a country nearly as big as France. The British Government had never declared its sovereignty over this area, which was so distant, unknown, and vague that there was nothing particular to annex. The Orange River territory lay between it and Cape Colony, and there were not sufficient settlers to occupy even this intermediate space. The Transvaal Dutch were anxious to be independent and to govern themselves, and as the British Government had nothing to unsay in this respect their independence was easily recognized. The Convention was signed at the Sand River, in the Orange River territory, on January 18, 1852. The emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal were conceded the right to manage their own affairs without interference from the Queen's Government. A condition was made that the 'emigrant farmers' should not practise nor permit slavery.

The Great Trek, or Treks, as the movement of Dutch settlers beyond the Orange River and Vaal is called, is the turning-point in South African history. There is something romantic, picturesque, heroic, about these farmers, desiring only freedom to live their own lives in their own way, inspanning their oxen and trekking away over the endless veldt, with their women and children, their bibles and their rifles, determined to make themselves a home. The result was the formation of two independent States in South Africa, two States in which the Government was

exclusively Dutch. Thus the differences between the British and Dutch races were much more clearly marked than when they all lived under the same flag.

The Zulu Wars. The Zulus were a small tribe of the large Bantu race which is found all over South Africa from the Cape to the Zambezi. The Bantus were savages, but of a comparatively high standard. They had a well-developed language, cultivated the soil, domesticated the ox, sheep, and goats, and were able to work in metal. This widely spread Bantu race was called

THE GREAT TREK NORTH. From an old water-colour

Kaffir by the Arabs who were found living along the coast when the Portuguese first came to South Africa.

The Zulu tribe of the Bantu race lives in the country that lies along the coast to the north of the Tugela River and stretches inland to the Lebombo Mountains. This country is about 160 miles long and 70 to 100 miles wide. At the end of the eighteenth century the Zulus were quite a small and insignificant people, but in the course of the nineteenth century, under a dynasty of able chiefs, who imitated the discipline of English troops, they became an exceedingly powerful tribe. Their greatest leader was Chaka, who before he died in 1828 had conquered a vast area of land, and had extirpated innumerable opponents. In 1877 the Zulus were ruled by a chief called

Cetewayo, who had a standing army of 40,000 men. In this year the British Government had quietly annexed the Transvaal, because it was unable to govern itself and to resist the incessant raids of the Zulus. Soon afterwards the British High Commissioner in South Africa, Sir Bartle Frere, ordered Cetewayo to disband his regiments, and to permit the young Zulus to settle on the land in peace (December 11, 1878). After allowing one month for reply from Cetewayo, and receiving no answer, Frere ordered the British troops to advance into Zululand.

In the middle of January (1879) Lord Chelmsford, with the main column of the British forces, crossed the Tugela, and on January 20 encamped at Isandlwana, one of the few hills of the flat and pleasant country of Zululand. On the 22nd, leaving about half his men—numbering only 800—to hold the camp, he himself went forward with the rest to reconnoitre the way towards Cetewayo's kraal Ulundi. While he was away, the Zulus came up and attacked Isandlwana. The commander of the camp impetuously led his men out to meet them. Only forty British soldiers survived the fight.

The victorious Zulus passed on to the Tugela, crossed it, and would have spread desolation over the colony, but for the heroism of the small British force which, posted on the Natal side of the river, held Rorke's Drift. Here ninety-eight men, under Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead, kept three thousand Zulus at bay throughout a whole afternoon and night, until Lord Chelmsford's returning column relieved them.

Lord Chelmsford soon retrieved the defeat of Isandlwana by defeating the Zulus at Ghingilovo, Eshowe, and finally (July 4) at Ulundi itself. A sad event marked the closing weeks of the campaign; the Prince Imperial, the only son of Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie, had been killed in a skirmish on June 1. He had been trained at Woolwich and had volunteered for active service when the Zulu War broke out.

Cetewayo was left with most of his former dominions to rule over. He died in 1884. In 1887 the whole of Zululand was annexed to Natal.

Annexation of the Transvaal. 'It would almost need', says

Lord Morley in his *Life of Gladstone*, 'the pen of Tacitus or Dante to tell the story of European power in South Africa.' On that vast area small companies of men were playing for stakes which involved the destinies of nations: while far off, in Downing Street, grave overworked statesmen were honourably trying to hold the scales of justice between peoples whom they did not know: while over all hangs the shadow of the ill luck, the mischance, which has so prominently marked at certain intervals our dealings with that fascinating and fateful continent.

Since the Sand River Convention of 1852, the Transvaal Republic had not prospered. Excluding women and children, there were only 8,000 able-bodied Boers in that territory nearly as large as France. The Boers would not pay taxes to their own Government; the Government could not preserve order within its own frontiers; nor could it defend its territories from the Zulus. Moreover, the stipulation of the Sand River Convention against any form of slavery had not been observed by the Boers, whose treatment of the natives had not improved since David Livingstone, the great Scottish missionary and explorer, protested against it in the middle of the century.

In 1876 the British Government sent the Natal Commissioner for Native Affairs, Sir Theophilus Shepstone, to inquire into the state of things in the Transvaal. Shepstone had been brought up in South Africa[1] and knew the people and the country as well as any one. In January (1877) he went up from Pietermaritzburg to Pretoria, with an escort of only twenty-five men. After a stay of nearly three months at Pretoria, and after making most careful inquiries, he came to the conclusion that annexation was the only solution of the problems. Accordingly on April 12, 1877, acting on the authority he had received from Lord Carnarvon, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, he solemnly proclaimed, in Church Square, Pretoria, that the Transvaal was henceforth British territory. A promise was also made that the Transvaal would have a Government of its own, as soon as circumstances permitted. President Burgers of the Transvaal made a formal protest, but accepted the situation and retired

[1] His father emigrated to South Africa when his son was two years old.

on a British pension. The Vice-President, however, a very shrewd and strong-willed farmer called Paul Kruger, protested more decidedly, and never ceased from his opposition. There was no general movement, however, and no overt resistance.

In the same year Lord Carnarvon, the broad-minded British Secretary of State for the Colonies, brought forward a scheme for a Federal Union of all the South African Colonies. No enthusiasm, however, was shown in South Africa itself, and so the scheme never came into effect.

The First Boer War. In April 1880 the Conservative Government of Lord Beaconsfield in Britain fell, and was succeeded by the Liberal Government of Mr. Gladstone. The shrewd Boers of the Transvaal formed the idea that they might induce the

The changes of status of the Transvaal shown by its stamps

new British Ministry to re-grant to them the independence which the previous Ministry had taken away. They had a legitimate grievance, too, in the delay of the British to give the promised self-government to the Transvaal. So on December 16, 1880, the anniversary of a memorable victory over the Zulu chief Dingaan in 1838, the Boers, under the leadership of Paul Kruger, Andries Pretorius, and Piet Joubert, proclaimed their independence.

The war which followed was very short, and was suddenly broken off by the British Government after four disasters, in which only a few hundred troops were engaged. The strength of the Empire was never for a moment exerted in the struggle.

The first disaster occurred on December 20 (1880). A detachment of two hundred and forty men of the 94th regiment had been ordered to march in, from Lydenburg, to head-quarters in

Pretoria. They were cut off by Joubert at Bronker's Spruit (Bronkhorst Spruit), forty miles north of Pretoria. Within about fifteen minutes, one hundred and fifty-seven of the troops were dead or wounded; the survivors were taken prisoners.

The next three disasters occurred in rapid succession. In January Major-General Sir George Colley, the Commander-in-chief in South Africa, concentrated about 1,400 men at Newcastle, in the north of Natal, and advanced from there against the Boer insurgents. Commander Piet Joubert, with some few thousand Boers, held Laing's Nek, a pass where the Buffalo River breaks through the Drakensberg Mountains, the boundary between the Transvaal and Natal.

On January 28 Colley tried to force the passage of Laing's Nek. Although his troops fought their way to the top, they could not hold it, and had to retire with the loss of one hundred and ninety men.

On February 7 (1881) the General tried to dislodge the Boers who had come down to the Ingogo River (a tributary of the Buffalo), but failed, losing one hundred and sixty men.

On the 26th of February Colley made his great effort, a night march which was to end with the ascent and occupation of Majuba Hill. This was a steep, flat-topped hill, rising about 2,000 feet above Laing's Nek and commanding the pass. The operation was at first successful, and when dawn broke the Boers on Laing's Nek saw the British bayonets glistening in the sun on the hill above them. There were six hundred British soldiers, with Colley, on the top.

Joubert, though surprised, took in the situation at a glance. Realizing that he must either take Majuba Hill or abandon Laing's Nek, he chose the bolder course. His men worked their way to the summit—the British, owing to the convex slope, being unable to see them most of the time—and then fought their way in extended order along the top. General Colley was shot dead while attempting to rally his men. The rest were all killed or captured.

The Retrocession of the Transvaal. The defeat of Majuba could easily have been repaired. Sir Evelyn Wood, in Natal, had

five times as many forces as Colley, and to make things doubly sure Mr. Gladstone's Government sent General Sir Frederick Roberts from India with an expeditionary force. Yet between the time of Roberts's departure from India and his arrival at Capetown, the Government had changed its mind, and Sir Evelyn Wood, acting under instructions, had concluded a treaty with the Boers on March 23 (1881).[1] They were to be given complete self-government under the suzerainty of the British Crown. Mr. Gladstone, intensely sympathetic with the claims of small peoples to govern themselves, was convinced by the Majuba campaign that the Boers really desired independence; and having made up his mind to grant their request, he did not think it right to shed blood by defeating them first in the field merely to restore the prestige of British arms.[2]

§ 2. Egypt

The Egyptian Question. Egypt was a Turkish province which had become practically independent under its governor (Khedive) Mehemet Ali in 1841. Mehemet Ali was an able man, but his descendants who held the Khediviate showed a marked decline. They could not govern, and they could not forbear wasting money. They borrowed enormous sums in Europe—chiefly in England and France—and then they let their country drift into bankruptcy.

In 1876 the Khedive Ismail could not pay his debts, nor even the necessary expenses of government; so Great Britain and France arranged with him that two officials—one French and one British—should be appointed to put his accounts in order; the English official was to see that the revenue was properly collected, and the French official to see that it was properly spent. The first British Commissioner thus appointed was

[1] The Convention of Pretoria, August 3, 1881, ratified this arrangement.

[2] It should also be noticed that on February 21 General Colley had transmitted to Kruger an offer of the British Government, that if the Boers would disband their forces a Commission would be appointed to consider their grievances. A reply was required by Colley within 48 hours. Unfortunately, Kruger did not receive the letter till February 28 (the day after Majuba), when he at once wrote to the British Government accepting the offer.

Evelyn Baring, a captain in the Royal Engineers who had been private secretary to Lord Northbrook, Governor-General of India. The Khedives' misgovernment was so great that in 1879 Ismail was deposed by the Sultan of Turkey, Abdul Hamid. His son Tewfik, warned by the example of his father, came to rely more and more on the *Dual Control* of France and Great Britain. A national party, however, was formed to oppose this foreign influence, and under Arabi Pasha, a colonel in the native Egyptian army, it broke out into rebellion against Tewfik. On June 11, 1882, Arabi's fanatics descended upon Alexandria and murdered about fifty Europeans. The British fleet was promptly sent to bombard the rebels in Alexandria into surrender. It was in this action that Lord Charles Beresford, an impetuous Irish lieutenant in command of the gunboat *Condor*, first distinguished himself.

The British Occupation. Egypt was falling straight into anarchy; the Europeans could save themselves by leaving the country, as indeed they did, for 14,000 departed; but in the general collapse of Egyptian society and government, the peaceful population was the first to suffer. Great Britain proposed a joint intervention by herself, France, and Italy. France and Italy refused, so the British Government by itself sent a small army to Egypt under the command of General Sir Garnet Wolseley. He defeated Arabi at Tel-el-Kebir on September 13, 1882. The firebrand Egyptian colonel was sent into exile at Ceylon, where he lived in modest comfort till 1909, when the British Government allowed him to return in his old age to Egypt. General Wolseley's Army of Occupation reinstated Tewfik, who had had to fly. Meanwhile, till some arrangement could be arrived at with the other Powers, the British army remained temporarily to keep order. As a matter of fact, it has never left.

England remained in Egypt in spite of herself, for she made violent efforts to get rid of the incubus (as it then seemed) of responsibility for an unhappy and bankrupt country. In June 1882 a meeting of ambassadors of the Powers took place at Therapia, on the Bosphorus, at the residence of the English

ambassador. The Powers bound themselves to seek no exclusive privilege in Egypt in consequence of any joint action which they might undertake. Still, all the other Powers except England hung back from taking action; so that England was left alone to keep order in Egypt.

In 1884 Mr. Baring, who became famous later as Lord Cromer, was made Consul-General in Egypt; year by year he acquired more power and influence, and the country, which had been bankrupt and miserable, became quiet, orderly, and flourishing. Railways and irrigation works were constructed; taxation was lightened and equalized; the land-holdings of the peasants were marked out and settled; Egypt became a model of good administration, arousing the admiration of every traveller who went there.

In 1887 Lord Salisbury sent a British Commissioner, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, to Constantinople, to arrange with the Sultan for the evacuation of Egypt by the British. On May 22 a Convention was drawn up, and Great Britain engaged that 'at the expiration of three years from the date of the present convention, Her Britannic Majesty's Government will withdraw its troops from Egypt', with the right of *temporary* re-entry if the internal condition of the country should require this. But the Sultan refused to ratify the agreement, apparently because France and Russia protested against the condition regarding re-entry. So the Convention was never concluded, and England, being free to act as she pleased, chose to remain. The government remained in the hands of the Khedive and his native ministers, but to each department of the State an English adviser was attached. In effect, the English governed the country, but it required infinite care and infinite tact on the part of Lord Cromer to ensure this. In theory Egypt was still a foreign country, tributary to Turkey; the relations of the British Government at home were conducted with Egypt through the Foreign Office. Lord Cromer's official title was merely 'Her Majesty's Agent and Consul-General' in Egypt.

Franco-British Relations. Although the Dual Control of Egyptian finance had been abolished in 1883, France still possessed considerable influence in Egypt, and looked askance

upon our position there. Our position would certainly be made more regular if France recognized it. This actually happened in 1904. In that year one of the two documents which together composed the famous *entente* was an Anglo-French agreement concerning Egypt and Morocco. France agreed not to ask for any time-limit to be fixed for the British occupation of Egypt; the British Government, on its part, recognized that Morocco was a French sphere of influence in much the same way as Egypt was an English sphere (April 8, 1904).

Tenniel in *Punch*, August 1883[1]

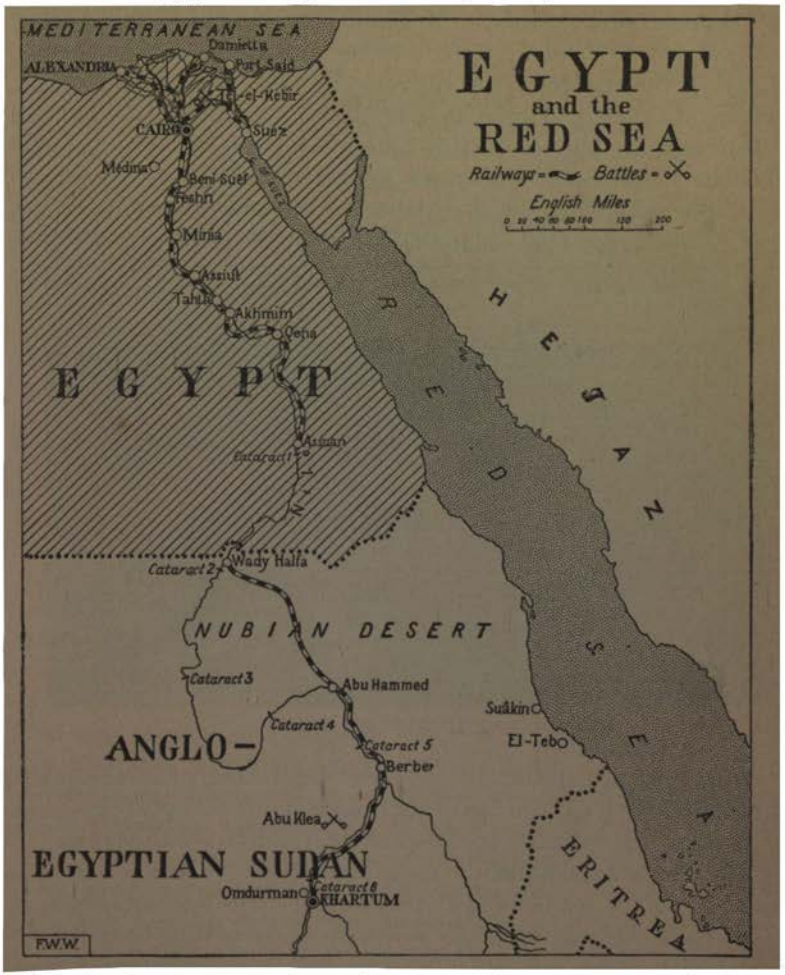
Lord Cromer retired from his post in Egypt in 1909 and was succeeded as British Agent by Field-Marshal Earl Kitchener, who, among other things, carried out a most beneficial land-reform, by which a larger number of peasants than ever before were enabled to become small landowners.

Mr. Gladstone. The history of England in Egypt shows circumstances compelling the unwilling British Government to do good in spite of itself. That Government was the Liberal Administration over which Mr. Gladstone presided from 1880 to 1885. Mr. Gladstone intensely disliked interfering with the affairs of another country; and he shrank with the utmost sensitiveness, as may be seen from his attitude to the Boers after Majuba Hill, from appearing to use the strong hand. Yet he was compelled by circumstances first to send an army to Egypt to protect the British and others who were exposed to violence; and then to keep the army there year after year. The history of the Sudan shows how unwillingly Mr. Gladstone acted.

The Sudan. The Sudan was a distant southern province of

[1] By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

Egypt, watered by the upper Nile, and inhabited by a peasantry like that of Egypt, docile, peaceful, and given up to the cultivation



of the land. The Egyptians misgoverned this country very badly, for they had no good native officials to send to those distant parts. In 1876, however, the Khedive Ismail appointed a British officer to be Governor, Charles Gordon, of the Royal Engineers,

who remained in the Sudan till 1879, after which the Egyptians again misgoverned the Sudan by themselves.

Against this misrule, a Mohammedan fanatic, calling himself the Mahdi or Messiah, raised a revolt, and soon conquered a large part of the country. But his rule was even more terrible to the peasants than had been that of Ismail. In 1883 the Egyptian Government sent a British officer who was in their employ, Hicks Pasha, with a force of Egyptian soldiers to the Sudan. It was annihilated by the Mahdi in the desert, 30 miles south of El Obeid, and Hicks himself was killed. Next year the Khedive

THE ASSUAN DAM

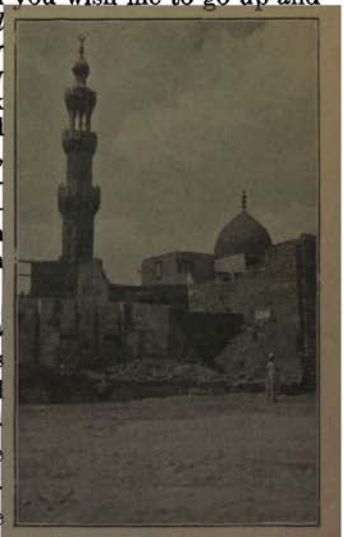
asked Gordon to come back as Governor-General of what was left of the Sudan; and Gordon, who thought it was his duty to go, went to Khartum with the approval of Mr. Gladstone's Government.

Gordon's Appointment. Great disputes have arisen over the responsibility for Gordon's appointment. He was actually sent out to the Sudan with the sole purpose of getting the isolated Egyptian garrisons out of it. All the chief officials in Egypt reported in favour of evacuation; the British Government had no responsibility in the Sudan; and Mr. Gladstone had not the slightest intention of employing the British army there.

Gordon had attended a meeting of British Ministers, along

with Lord Wolseley, at the War Office, in January 1884. He had been distinctly told his duties and had agreed. The interview was as follows:

'Lord Wolseley came to Gordon (who was waiting outside the Minister's room), and said: Government are determined to evacuate the Sudan. Will you go and do it? *I said* Yes. *He said:* Go in. *I went in and saw them. They said:* Did Wolseley tell you our orders? *I said:* Yes. *I said:* You will not guarantee future government of the Sudan, and you wish me to go up and evacuate now. *They said:* Yes, *and it was over and I left at 8 p.m. for Calais.* Lord Granville, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, took Gordon's ticket at the station, Lord Wolseley carried the General's bag, and the Duke of Cambridge (Commander-in-Chief) held open the carriage-door. Thus General Gordon went off on the journey from which he was never to return.'[1]



A VIEW IN AN EGYPTIAN VILLAGE

General Gordon was a man of a noble, unselfish character. He was a first-class soldier, a capable practical administrator, and thoroughly honourable. Yet he had an impracticable side too, and having arrived at Khartum on February 18, 1884, with the distinct purpose of bringing away the Egyptian garrisons, he cast that policy to the winds, and resolved that the Sudan must remain under Egyptian government. His ardent spirit could not bear the idea of leaving the scattered peasantry of the Sudan to be plundered, oppressed, and made slaves of, by the Mahdi and his fierce Dervish tribes from the south.

So he remained at Khartum month after month. The outlying posts, which were held by small garrisons of Egyptian troops, were one by one cut off, as the Mahdi advanced. No attempt at a general evacuation was made.

[1] Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, iii. 150 and note.

Meanwhile the British people watched with bated breath this biblical soldier, true to the duty which he had conceived, holding on in Khartum while the savage forces of maddened fanatics drew round him. Every boy in the land knew about 'Chinese Gordon' and the 'Ever Victorious Army' which had put down the Taiping Rebellion in China[1]: they knew the cool soldier who went into the thick of a fight with only a light cane in his hand, and yet brought victory everywhere to his men. And all England passionately admired the man, who fought all his life against cruelty, corruption, and spiritual ignorance, and counted his own life as nothing in the balance.

Tenniel in *Punch*, February 1885[2]

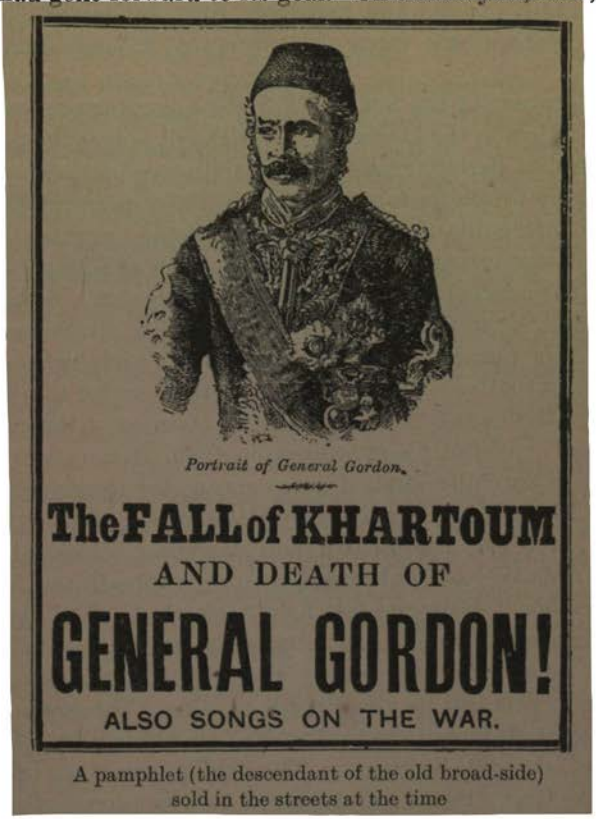
The country called on Mr. Gladstone to send a British army to extricate the hero. Mr. Gladstone was loath to spend more British lives, but public opinion was insistent. At the end of June Berber, 200 miles north of Khartum, fell before the Mahdi. The Government at last resolved to send an army to extricate the General. In September Lord Wolseley was sent to Egypt; by October he had a small army, perfectly equipped and organized, at Wady Halfa, and the famous Nile campaign began.

The Nile Campaign. The army was divided into two parts, the River Column under Lord Wolseley himself, and the Desert Column under Sir Herbert Stewart, an Indian officer of great brilliance, who was chosen to make the 'dash to Khartum'. Stewart won the battle of Abu Klea, but in the next action received a mortal wound.

[1] The Chinese Government had employed Gordon as chief of their forces against the Taiping Rebellion in 1863–1864.

[2] By permission of the Proprietors of *Punch*.

The River Column had the longer route. Its progress was slow but sure; the Dervishes could not stand against the rifle-fire and machine guns of Wolseley's carefully trained men. Meanwhile the Desert Column, in spite of Sir Herbert Stewart's death, had gone forward to its goal. On January 21, 1885, it was



A pamphlet (the descendant of the old broad-side) sold in the streets at the time

at Gubat on the Nile, 80 miles from Khartum. Two of Gordon's river steamers came down stream to meet it. The troops had to halt till the 24th, to repair the steamers and to make the country safe behind them. Then the steamers, with 26 British soldiers and 240 Sudanese troops, went on ahead.

'As the two steamers ran slowly on, a solitary voice from the

river bank now and again called out to them that Khartum was taken, and Gordon slain. Eagerly searching with their glasses, the officers perceived that the Government House was a wreck, and that no flag was flying. Gordon, in fact, had met his death two days before.'[1]

The Mahdi's forces had taken the town by assault. Gordon met his death on the steps of Government House (January 26, 1885).

The Conquest of the Sudan. For the next thirteen years the Sudan was left to the Dervishes. But Egypt, under the guidance of Sir Evelyn Baring, growing more and more prosperous, could not consent to see its former province suffer perpetually under the devastating rule of the Mahdi. In 1898 the Egyptian Government felt strong and wealthy enough, with the help of Great Britain, to undertake the reconquest of the Sudan. A combined British and Egyptian force under Sir Herbert Kitchener, who then held the position of Sirdar, or Commander-in-chief in Egypt, advanced into the country which was then under the Mahdi's successor, the equally fanatic Khalifa. General Kitchener had taken part in Wolseley's expedition in 1885. He knew the risks, and he had carefully studied every means for reconquering the Sudan. The campaign was in every way a model. Well equipped, well fed, well led, the British and Egyptian forces advanced without a check. At Omdurman, about five miles from Khartum, on September 2, 1898, the last fight took place. The Dervishes threw themselves against the Anglo-Egyptian infantry, which received them with volley fire. The enemy were driven back, and then broken up by the British cavalry. The losses to the Anglo-Egyptian force were under 500. On September 4 General Kitchener entered Khartum. The Sudan was then annexed jointly to Great Britain and Egypt, and Gordon College was founded at Khartum, to commemorate the hero who had sacrificed his life for the country, and to educate the young Sudanese.

[1] Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, iii. 166.

CHAPTER XLII

GLADSTONE'S SECOND MINISTRY

Political Parties 1880 to 1914. With the retirement of Beaconsfield, and the beginning of Mr. Gladstone's Second Ministry, English politics enters on a new phase. The first thing that happened was that the Liberal party split over the question of Home Rule for Ireland. A new party under Mr. Chamberlain broke away, and, under the name of Liberal Unionist, formed an alliance with the Conservative party, and gradually became amalgamated with it. At the same time the Conservatives, under the influence of a fiery member of the Marlborough family, Lord Randolph Churchill, became less conservative. All these three parties—the Liberal, the Conservative, the Liberal Unionist—claimed, as every party should, to represent the country as a whole. At the same time there was the Irish Nationalist party, not a party in the historical sense of the word, for it professed to represent nothing but Ireland, and to have no other interest. Finally, in the twenty years before the War of 1914, a fifth party began to exercise a powerful influence, the Labour Party. This, too, was for years a body of politicians, who were not a real party in the sense in which Edmund Burke explains the term, for their primary object was to defend and advance the interests of the labouring classes, and not of the whole population, and it was in their name only that they professed to speak. But towards the end of this period the Labour Party began to adopt a more comprehensive attitude, and by allowing some of their members to accept Cabinet office showed that they meant, in theory as well as in practice, to stand for the country as a whole. The Irish Nationalist party, on the other hand, would never allow any of its members to become members of a Government.

The Irish Party. The Irish Nationalist Party, as a separate group in the House of Commons, was founded by Isaac Butt, formerly Professor of Political Economy at Trinity College, Dublin, and later M.P. for Youghal. Butt died in 1879, and his

place was taken by Charles Stewart Parnell, M.P. for Meath, a Protestant Irish landowner, who was in the confidence of the Clan-na-Gael, the Fenian or Irish Nationalist Club, in America.

Except in the north, elections in most Irish constituencies had become a foregone conclusion. The Irish peasants, and most of the townspeople, unhesitatingly went on returning to Westminster the same members, pledged to vote with O'Connell, or, later, pledged to vote with Parnell. The ' pocket ' constituencies of the eighteenth century appeared in a new form in Ireland. The position of an Irish Nationalist member became almost a freehold. If he held the right views—that is to say, if he would work simply to gain self-government for Ireland, if he would follow his leader with this object unhesitatingly, and would have no truck or traffic with the British Government—he could hold his seat for life. Clever young Irish barristers entered Parliament almost as soon as they had completed the legal age, and grew old in the House of Commons. Thus the Irish Nationalist party became a body of men, knowing their own mind exactly, with all the power given by firm, united action, and the skill which comes from long Parliamentary experience. Ministers and British members might come and go, attendance at debates might flag, and spirits might fail at the end of an arduous session ; but the Irish Nationalist members were always present, always fresh, always decided, ready to cast their votes in one solid block in any way which, however indirectly, would help the cause of self-government for Ireland.

The disintegration of Irish Society. By the year 1880 Irish society was in a condition which can only be described as disintegration. The most enterprising of the peasants had left the country—since 1846 about two and a half million having gone to the United States. Of the large number still left at home, very many were in debt to their landlords, although the rents were not high. They could not get their heads above water. What was worse, the peasantry as a whole had lost all sense of justice and restraint. Evil-disposed people had taken to methods of assassination. Landlords and landstewards were shot and stabbed, but credible witnesses could scarcely be

obtained, and juries, in the face of incontrovertible fact, would refuse to convict. Nor was the terrorism directed only against landlords. Land often came into the market through the eviction (or forced quittance) of a peasant who was in arrears with his rent. A new tenant with some capital and unencumbered by debt, might take the holding ; but one night masked men would break into his house and shoot him and his whole family.

As bad a sign of demoralization as any was the houghing and otherwise maiming of helpless cattle. The man who shoots a landlord or stabs a more successful farmer is a murderer ; but the man who will steal into a field some dark night and slit the flank of a cow, leaving it to bleed to death, is as bad as a murderer too.

The Land League. In 1879 Michael Davitt founded a society called the Land League. The object of the League was to form a public opinion and to bring pressure to bear on the Government, so that rents might be reduced and means found to enable tenants to own their land. There was no harm in a society which merely tried to educate the public to obtain legitimate objects by fair means. What was wrong with the League was that in its meetings and reports it did nothing to discountenance assassination and other forms of ' moonlighting '. It did not, of course, advocate these methods ; but it is scarcely too much to say that, by not condemning, it almost tacitly approved. There can be no doubt that many of its members were moonlighters. One theory which the League did publicly advocate was the odious and tyrannical practice of boycotting.

Though this can scarcely be made a legal offence, it is nothing more than a conspiracy to defeat the law. Boycotting was advocated by Parnell, the President of the League, in a meeting at Ennis on September 16, 1879. ' What are you to do to a tenant who bids for a farm from which his neighbour has been evicted ? ' ' Kill him, shoot him,' came from the audience. Parnell, says the historian of the occasion, replied, ' with a cold intensity ' [1] :

' You must show him on the roadside when you meet him, you

[1] Paul, *Modern England*, iv. 167.

must show him in the streets of the town, you must show him at the shop counter, you must show him in the fair and at the market place, and even in the house of worship, . . . by isolating him from his kind as if he were a leper of old, you must show him your detestation of the crime he has committed, and you may depend upon it, that there will be no man so full of avarice, so lost to shame, as to dare the public opinion of all right-thinking men, and to transgress your unwritten code of laws.'

The method was first put in force against Captain Boycott, the agent for Lord Erne's estates in County Mayo.

The tasks of the British Government. Such was the condition of affairs in Ireland when Mr. Gladstone, at the age of seventy, began his Second Ministry.[1] There were three things to be done by the British Government in Ireland. One was to vindicate the law, to put down murder and terrorism, and to protect innocent people, rich or poor, who went about their own business. The second was to find some means of improving conditions on the land, so that a solvent and self-respecting peasantry should exist on it. The third was to deal with the political discontent of Ireland, with the persistent demand for self-government.

The first task, the equal enforcement of law, was ultimately accomplished with great courage and honesty by Lord Spencer, Lord-Lieutenant from 1882 to 1885. The second task, the creation of a peasant proprietary, without plundering the landlords, was advanced by the Second Land Act of Mr. Gladstone, and was completed by the year 1906 by a Unionist-Conservative Government. These were the main tasks, and many people hoped that with their accomplishment, the third task, the assuaging of Irish political discontent, would in time settle itself. This, however, was not to be.

The Crimes. In order that law and order may prevail it is necessary that the Administration be supported by the general moral sense of the community. The peculiar difficulty in

[1] The chief members of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet were Lord Hartington (Secretary of State for India), Lord Northbrook (First Lord of the Admiralty), Mr. Forster (Chief Secretary for Ireland), Mr. Joseph Chamberlain (President of the Board of Trade). Mr. Gladstone himself was both First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Ireland was that the public opinion of the mass of the people not merely did not support, but even passively withstood the Administration in its efforts to suppress crime. For instance, in September 1880 Lord Mountmorres was shot dead by the roadside at Rusheen in County Galway. The whole countryside showed active sympathy with the foul deed, and the dead man's family were practically driven out of the county. They were poor gentry, and were only relieved by Queen Victoria giving them rooms in Hampton Court. The murderers were never discovered. In March 1882 Mr. Forster the Chief Secretary, during a tour made in County Clare, visited the bedside of a farmer called Moroney, who had been fatally shot by masked moonlighters in the presence of his wife.

On May 6, of the same year, a new Lord-Lieutenant (Earl Spencer) and a new Chief Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, came to Dublin. After doing some business at the Castle Lord Spencer went with a small escort to the Viceregal Lodge in Phoenix Park, while Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke the Under-Secretary followed on foot. Opposite the Viceregal Lodge four men set upon Mr. Burke and stabbed him to death. They did not apparently know the Chief Secretary; but Lord Frederick Cavendish, umbrella in hand, went to Burke's assistance, and was stabbed to death also.

Lord Spencer. Fortunately Ireland had a Lord-Lieutenant who was a man in a million. A nobleman, with a strong sense of duty, and a tradition of accepting responsibility, he went to Ireland to administer the law without fear or favour, and without thought of the consequences, political or otherwise. Courteous, dignified, patient, always calm, always reasonable, he impressed even the most hostile Irish; they recognized his clear honesty, his unswerving purpose to do only what was right; and as always happens, when a man is perfectly fair, perfectly determined, and completely disinterested, he gained his way. Quite apart from force, the claims of what is right are, if put fairly, in the long run irresistible; if Governments never compromised with justice, they would, sooner or later, find the whole community at their back.

Such was Lord Spencer's experience. He gave up putting people in prison (as the Administration had special authority to do) merely because they were suspected; but he carefully investigated every breach of the law, and with endless patience worked to get honest juries and fearless judges. The culminating effort came with the trial of the Invincibles, an association of murderers who had, among other things, committed the Phoenix Park murders. On February 10, 1883, four of the miscreants were identified. Lord Spencer had them indicted in the Dublin Court House. It is said that the prisoners laughed and chatted during the proceedings, confident that no definite evidence would be given against them. But when the court opened again on February 17, one of the prisoners in the dock, a man named Carey, was missing. The three others looked somewhat taken aback. In a few minutes Carey entered the court, and took his place in the witness-box. 'Decisive moments in life are rare, but this was one of them. When the other murderers saw Carey on that 17th of February, they knew that they were dead men.'[1] They were tried by Mr. Justice O'Brien, who never suffered for his fearlessness, though many thought his life not worth a moment's purchase. The murderers were hanged, except Carey, who having turned Queen's evidence was pardoned and sent out of the country. But the remnants of the secret gang dogged his footsteps, and he was shot on board a ship at Cape Town. The Government was thorough, however; this latest assassin was caught too, brought back to England, and hanged. By this time Ireland, though not more content, was getting peaceful. Lord Spencer's firmness, justice, and dignity had triumphed.

The Bessborough Commission. In 1879 a Royal Commission had been appointed, with the Earl of Bessborough as chairman, to consider the Irish land problem, for that was at the root of the political and social trouble. In 1881 the Commission reported in favour of what was known as the *three F's*—fixity of tenure, fair rent, and free sale. Most of the Irish tenants had no fixity of tenure, but held their land on a six months or yearly agree-

[1] Paul, *Modern Europe*, iv. 293.

ment. For various reasons they might receive notice to quit, and therefore took little interest in the land. The rents too were higher than, with his unskilful methods, the Irish peasant farmer could pay. The Commission wanted to get some element of permanence into the tenant system, to have rents fixed at what the tenant could reasonably pay; and to enable industrious peasants to acquire the ownership of their holdings, and to sell these freely if they wished to do so.

The Second Land Act. After the Bessborough Commission had reported, the Government brought in a Land Act, which set up a Judicial Commission to fix rents (1881). On the application of either landlord or tenant, the Land Commissioners could declare what it considered to be the equitable rent; this rent once fixed could not be changed for fifteen years. Thus peasants who were industrious and thrifty could put their labour and money into their land, knowing that the land would stay by them, and that any increase due to themselves could not be taken away by increased rent. Further a tenant who wished to purchase his holding could borrow three-quarters of the necessary sum from the Commissioners, at low interest. The Land Act of 1881, however, had little effect, as Mr. Parnell and the Land League thought it did not go far enough. Atrocities continued till Lord Spencer put a stop to them. Yet in 1885, when Mr. Gladstone's Government fell, Ireland was still merely a suppressed volcano.

The Nationalists in Parliament. In January 1881, when disorder and moonlighting were becoming common in Ireland, Mr. Gladstone's Government introduced a *Protection Bill*, to enable the Lord-Lieutenant to imprison any Irishman merely on suspicion of his being concerned in the outrages. The practical effect of this Bill was to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland —a serious step, but one which the Irish had brought upon themselves by their conspiracies against Law. Nevertheless it was quite natural that the Nationalists should oppose the passage of the Protection Bill in Parliament. The means which they employed proved, for a short time, to be very effective, and turned the proceedings of the House of Commons into a farce. It was quite simple for an unscrupulous and perfectly determined

group of men like the Nationalists to use the privileges of debate in such a way that no business could be done.

On Tuesday, January 25, the day began in the House with Mr. Gladstone proposing that the Protection Bill should be read. This motion, which should have taken about five minutes to settle, actually occupied twenty-two hours. On Thursday the House—where Liberals, Radicals, and Conservatives were all alike in favour of the Bill—found itself still debating whether the Bill should even be introduced for discussion. A week passed, and the tireless Irish members were still discussing the question.

The Closure. But 'the resources of civilization' (to quote a phrase of Mr. Gladstone's) were not quite exhausted. At midnight on February 1 the Speaker, Mr. Brand, left the Chair, and the Deputy took his place. The debate continued. At nine o'clock next morning the Speaker came back to the Chair, and an Irish member who was speaking sat down, as the custom was, waiting to be called to continue his speech; but instead the Speaker rose himself to say a few words. A measure, he said, which both the Government and the Opposition declared to be necessary for the maintenance of public order, had been discussed for five days without the preliminary stage being completed. There were no rules as precedents for dealing with such a contingency, and it was necessary for the Chair to use its independent position. Having made this brief statement, the Speaker put the motion that the Bill should now be introduced. It was carried by 164 to 19. 'Thus', says the historian of *Modern England*, 'ended in not undignified calm, a great episode in the history of Parliament.'[1] It is the origin of the 'closure' system, according to which, after a measure has been discussed, the Speaker can put the motion that the discussion be closed. It is the only way now to get through the mass of legislative business which the House undertakes. But the closure has not been all clear gain: 'in order to cope successfully with Irish obstruction, Englishmen had abandoned the ancient right of their representatives in the Legislature to prolong discussion until argument was exhausted.'[2]

[1] Paul, *Modern England*, iv. 181.

[2] Paul, loc. cit.

The End of the Liberal Government. In June 1885 the Government was defeated by the combined votes of the Conservative Party and the Irish Nationalists. The particular measure which was defeated was the Budget; this provided for raising one hundred million pounds for the year's revenue. A 'hundred million budget' was an unheard-of thing in those days, and shocking to the economic sense of the country; and Parnell seized the opportunity to get his revenge on Lord Spencer the Lord-Lieutenant, and Mr. Gladstone, the Liberal Premier, by turning them both out of office.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE HOME RULE BILL OF 1886

Conservative Ministry. When Mr. Gladstone's Government was defeated in the House of Commons on June 8, 1885, the Conservatives could only get a majority through the support of the Irish Nationalists. They could not expect, accordingly, to form a particularly strong Government. Mr. Gladstone on the other hand could not continue in office, with a majority against him, even though that majority depended on arbitrary Irish votes. A General Election might have settled the difficulty, but neither Liberals nor Conservatives were anxious to risk a General Election at the moment. Accordingly Mr. Gladstone resigned. The Queen, in the exercise of one of the few remaining powers of the Crown, had to choose a Prime Minister. With Queen Victoria this was no mere form. She could not help choosing a man from the Party which commanded a majority in the House of Commons; but she was not bound to choose any particular man of that party. In 1880 she had unsuccessfully offered the premiership to Lord Hartington, in preference to Mr. Gladstone; and now in 1885 she was able again to exercise a real right of choice, between Sir Stafford Northcote, the Conservative leader in the Commons, and Lord Salisbury, the leader in the Lords. Most people expected that she would, almost as a matter of course, choose Sir Stafford, a genial and

sensible statesman, popular alike in the House and in the country. The Queen, however, chose Lord Salisbury, a dignified and able man, with a remarkable knowledge of foreign affairs. Lord Salisbury became Premier and also Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The post of First Lord of the Treasury was given to Sir Stafford Northcote, who at the same time accepted a peerage, and entered the House of Lords as Earl of Iddesleigh.

The Conservatives had only a brief six months in office. Lord Ashbourne's Land Purchase Act extended the Land Act of 1881, so that the Treasury should be allowed to advance the whole, instead of three-fourths, of the purchase-money to Irish tenants who wished to buy their holdings.

The General Election was held at the end of the year, and the Liberals gained a majority of eighty-five seats over the Conservatives; but the Irish Nationalists had eighty-four seats of their own. The scales were in their hands; what would they do with these eighty-four votes?

Gladstone's decision. During the interval of Conservative Government, Gladstone had been reflecting incessantly on the Irish Question. Merely to keep Ireland in order, without satisfying her, was obviously unstatesmanlike; moreover, the Irish Nationalists, holding the balance of power in the House of Commons, could decide the fate even of purely English measures. And this power they would wield, without any reference to England's or the Empire's interest, but solely with a view to getting what they wanted for Ireland. This was, indeed, to reduce representative government to something like a farce.

The result of Gladstone's reflection was a decision to settle the Irish question by a grant of Home Rule. By this Ireland would be given what she demanded; and the Irish Nationalists would no longer be in the House of Commons to upset the balance of parties there.

The Liberal Split. Mr. Gladstone, at the age of seventy-seven, was entering on his third term as Premier, and was approaching the greatest political struggle since the Reform Bill. He was quite conscious of the magnitude of the conflict, but he entered on it undaunted. His Cabinet was soon made: Lord Hartington

THE YOUNG QUEEN VICTORIA

refused to join; he could not, he said, depart from the traditions of British statesmen, and he was against a separate Irish legislature. Mr. Chamberlain agreed to join the Government with his hands free; he would decide his attitude when he could see what Gladstone precisely intended. This was also the position of Mr. George Trevelyan, Secretary for Scotland. Most of the Cabinet, however, were Home Rulers; Lord Rosebery was at the Foreign Office, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman at the War Office; and Mr. John Morley at the Irish Office.

The Home Rule Bill was prepared between the end of February and the beginning of April, and the complete draft was put by Gladstone before his Cabinet on March 26 (1886). Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan immediately resigned. As Sir Robert Peel by his repeal of the Corn Laws broke up the Tory Party, so Mr. Gladstone broke up his party without even the satisfaction in the end of passing his Bill.

The Bill. On April 8 the great Bill was introduced, which, it was hoped by its author, would put an end to the 'lacerating struggle' of the last five years in Ireland. The provisions of the Bill were as follows: there was to be a legislative body in Ireland, composed of two 'Orders'. The First Order (which was to be really a Second Chamber) was to consist of the twenty-eight representative peers of Ireland and seventy-five other elected members, with a property qualification of £200 a year. The Second Order was to consist of 206 members, elected by the counties and towns.

There was to be a Viceroy and a Ministry responsible to the Legislature. Judges were to hold their positions during good behaviour. Ireland was to contribute one-fifteenth of the common imperial charges, such as charges for defence, and for interest of debt. The Irish Legislature could legislate on everything except defence, armed forces, foreign and colonial affairs, the laws of trade, navigation, and legal tender. Thus the Irish Government was to be unable to make treaties or to enact customs duties. They were also forbidden to endow any religion. Finally, a very important provision of the Bill was that the Irish members—of whom under the Act of Union there were no

less than 103—were to disappear from the British House of Commons altogether. They could only appear to vote in the House of Commons, if there were any question of altering the Home Rule Bill.

The Fate of the Bill. The Home Rule Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Gladstone in a three and a half hours' speech on April 8 (1886). The great problem, which, in its actual result, was to make worse than ever the 'lacerating struggle' in Ireland, was debated with calmness and dignity in the House. The rich modulated voice of the Premier rolled forth the periods which he had carefully prepared. The House and galleries were crowded.

QUEEN VICTORIA IN LATER LIFE

'Of the chief comrades or rivals of the minister's own generation, the strong administrators, the eager and accomplished debaters, the sagacious leaders, the only survivor now comparable to him in eloquence or in influence was Mr. Bright. That illustrious man seldom came into the House in those distracted days; and on this memorable occasion his stern and noble head was to be seen in dim obscurity. Various as were the emotions in other regions of the House, in one quarter rejoicing was unmixed. There, at least, was no doubt and no misgiving. There, pallid and tranquil sat the Irish leader, whose hard insight, whose patience, energy and spirit of command, had achieved this astounding result, and had done that which he had vowed to his countrymen that he would assuredly be able to do.'[1]

The great Election, which had returned the Liberals to power, had not been fought on the question of Home Rule, and accordingly there was no certainty that the Liberal majority would

[1] Morley, op. cit. iii. 311–312. The Irish leader was Parnell, who had been consulted by Gladstone in the preparation of the Bill.

support it in the House. In the second reading Lord Hartington, the most influential Whig in the country, and formerly the chief of the Liberal Party along with Mr. Gladstone, rose to oppose the motion.

'The direct and unsophisticated nature of his antagonism, backed by a personal character of uprightness and plain dealing beyond all suspicion, gave a momentum to his attack that was beyond any effort of dialectics.'[1]

Lord Hartington's opposition was really decisive. The Conservatives were already solid against the Bill; and with them went most of the Whig element in the Liberal Party. To these opponents of the Bill were added Radicals like Mr. Chamberlain and John Bright. Their reasons for opposition were not all alike: Lord Hartington adhered to the 'traditions of British statesmanship' since 1800, and invoked the mighty shade of Pitt. John Bright, whose peaceful Quaker nature had been shocked by the crimes and, worse still, the tacit approval of crime by the Irish members in Ireland, believed the Irish could not govern themselves. He also feared for the Irish Protestants.[2] Mr. Chamberlain wanted a Federal system of government—a general scheme for the whole British Isles in which an Irish legislature should stand towards the Imperial Parliament in the same sort of relation as the Provincial legislatures in Canada stand towards the Dominion Government. Mr. Gladstone's Bill on the other hand was to concede, so to speak, colonial self-government to Ireland, to make it stand towards the British Parliament in much the same relation as the Dominion of Canada or the Commonwealth of Australia.

The final debate took place on June 8. Sir Michael Hicks Beach made a last telling speech for the Conservatives: throughout the debates he is admitted to have 'led his party with remarkable skill and judgment'.[3] Then Mr. Gladstone arose to make the final reply.

'He was almost as white as the flower in his coat, but the splendid compass, the flexibility, the moving charm and power of his voice, were never more wonderful.'[4]

[1] Morley, op. cit. iii. 313. [2] See Bright's letter to Gladstone (Morley, iii. 329).
[3] Morley, iii. 338. [4] Ibid.

'Ireland', came the rich tones from the Premier, 'stands at your bar, expectant, hopeful, almost suppliant.' This was 'one of the golden moments of our history'. The House had been appealed to by every one 'to abide by the traditions of which we are the heirs. What traditions?' It was on this point that the English disagreed. That night settled the tradition for many years. When the division was taken, there were 313 votes for the Bill and 343 against. Ninety-three Liberals voted with the Noes. Forthwith Parliament was dissolved.

The General Election of 1886. At the succeeding General Election the Liberal Home Rulers only had 191 seats. Gladstone's former followers, who had opposed Home Rule, now called themselves Liberal Unionists and had 78 seats; the Conservatives had 316. The numbers of the Irish Nationalists varied little; they had 83 members. Thus the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists commanded a clear majority of the House.

Significance of the Rejection. The introduction and rejection of the Home Rule Bill was undoubtedly one of the great crises of British history, one of the 'Imperial occasions' of which Mr. Gladstone often spoke. In the first place the Bill raised hopes of self-government in Ireland; and, whether it was right or wrong originally to encourage these hopes, they were now raised to an intensity which nothing seemed likely ever to quench but their fulfilment.

Secondly, the introduction of the Home Rule Bill had momentous results on the Party System. Liberalism, which had till then numbered among its members the philosophic humanitarians like John Stuart Mill and Bright, became now less philosophical, and more bound than before by party-rules and discipline. In 1886 most of the chief intellects of the country went against the Bill; such men were Huxley the scientist; the poets Tennyson and Browning; Lecky, Seeley, and Froude, the three most thoughtful of nineteenth-century historians; Herbert Spencer, the philosopher, and Jowett, the famous Oxford tutor and Master of Balliol. On the side of Home Rule the most eminent intellects were those of John Morley, the Irish Secretary, a writer of magnificent English and a master of profound sentiments

rather than of continuous thought; and George Meredith, the novelist, a man of great fire and brilliance, but with a critical rather than constructive and systematic intellect.

Besides the intellectuals, the Home Rule struggle detached the Whig aristocrats (like the Duke of Devonshire) from the Liberal party. A certain proportion of the aristocratic element is good in all parties; it is grave, responsible, dignified, and sagacious, and these qualities were especially prominent in the traditions of the Whig Houses like those of Devonshire and Bedford. The Conservatives, however, already had, and always will have, sufficient of the aristocracy within their ranks; while the old Liberal party had barely enough; it was not good for the Liberals to lose those grave and balanced minds; it was not good for the Conservatives to be identified with a particular class. The system of Government by two parties—the best and most stable system of Government which has yet been evolved—depends on the two parties being different from each other so that they shall compete, but not so different that they cannot accept each other's measures. If parties are too extreme, too widely opposed to each other, either one in the end will establish a tyranny, or the two will drift into civil war.

CHAPTER XLIV

TORY-DEMOCRACY

Lord Hartington. When Mr. Gladstone was working his hardest to carry the Home Rule Bill through the last Parliament, the Conservative Opposition made an offer to the Liberals who objected to Home Rule, that any one who voted against Home Rule should be assured of an unopposed candidature in his constituency at the next General Election. Lord Hartington's followers accepted this offer, and the agreement was known as the *Compact*—a perfectly honourable understanding between two bodies of men who were working for a common public object (May 1886).

The Liberal Unionists, however, although they supported the

Conservatives, would not join the Government of Lord Salisbury. Lord Hartington, who had held the highest positions except the premiership (and this he had refused), was content to sacrifice his career, and to remain simply a private member of the House of Commons. His object was to preserve the Union : to do this he would vote with the Conservatives ; but unless the Conservatives became leavened with his principles—Whig principles —he would not join their Government. There has been no more disinterested public man in English history ; this was not the only time he had to make such a decision. In 1903 the Government of which he was a member began to waver in its Free Trade principles. The Duke of Devonshire (he was no longer Lord Hartington) at once resigned.

Lord Salisbury's Government. The chief members of the Government, besides Lord Salisbury himself (who became First Lord, but shortly afterwards took the Foreign Secretaryship), were Sir Michael Hicks Beach, who became Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Lord Randolph Churchill, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, at the age of thirty-seven. Next year 1887 Hicks Beach had to resign from the Government owing to his eyesight ; his place was taken by Lord Salisbury's nephew, Mr. Arthur Balfour. Mr. Gladstone, after the defeat of his policy, went for a holiday to Tegernsee in Bavaria, where he stayed with Lord Acton, and climbed mountains with the eminent Catholic theologian Döllinger.

Lord Salisbury. There was certainly no want of talent in the Conservative Government, and it had in particular representatives of gravity and prudence, fire and enthusiasm, philosophy and criticism. Lord Salisbury provided the gravity and prudence. Not that his speeches were always grave ; on the contrary he was sometimes accused of being flippant, and he had a gift for making phrases, cultivated in his early journalistic days. His appearance, however, was impressive ; he looked substantial and dignified, and people felt that his calm and thoughtful manner was more typical of British statesmanship than the *perfervidum ingenium* of Mr. Gladstone, whom Lord

Randolph Churchill characterized as 'an old man in a hurry'.[1] Lord Salisbury was never in a hurry. His position in the Cabinet was as great as his position in the country; 'his experience, his patience, his fame, his subtle and illuminating mind, secured for him an ascendency in his Cabinet apart altogether from the paramount authority of First Minister'.[2]

Lord Randolph Churchill. The brief career of Lord Randolph, who simply flashed like a meteor across the political horizon, is noteworthy because it renewed Disraeli's idea of *Tory Democracy*. The two great historic parties of England are the Conservatives and Liberals; but within these great parties there is room for many varieties of opinion. Thus while the tradition of the Liberal party is still that of the Whigs, it contains also the more forward 'Radical' element; so too the Conservative Party, while continuing the tradition of the younger Pitt and of Peel, has room for a more forward element too, which is almost Radical, though Tory. During Disraeli's time, working men voted in the Conservative interest; and between 1896 and 1901, when the glamour of Mr. Chamberlain was spread over the land, masses of the labouring classes were again enthusiastically Conservative. In the Government of Lord Salisbury, however, in 1886, Mr. Chamberlain had no direct part. Lord Randolph, himself an aristocrat (a son of the Duke of Marlborough), had all the gifts that make for popularity with the multitude. Brilliant, fiery speeches, caustic phrases, ready, witty replies distinguished all his public appearances. He felt the pulse of the ordinary man, and hit off in three words what every one was feeling but could not say. The multitude likes to be carried away on a flood of words which expresses outright its own indistinct convictions. This is what Lord Randolph could do. Moreover, he had a policy; if he was not original, he at least was open to the advice of the best minds, and when he was Chancellor of

[1] 'All useful and desired reforms are to be indefinitely postponed, the British Constitution is to be torn up, the Liberal party shivered into fragments. And why? For this reason and no other: to gratify the ambition of an old man in a hurry.'—Address to the electors of South Paddington, 1886. The reference is to Gladstone's Home Rule Bill. (From *Lord Randolph Churchill*, by W. S. Churchill, ii, Append. v.)

[2] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, ii. 218.

the Exchequer he showed the keenest sense for the public interest. He became an idol of the people, and the Conservatives became the popular party.

Arthur James Balfour. Mr. Balfour was a man who never pushed himself forward. Through the influence of his family (his mother was a daughter of the second Marquis of Salisbury) he was given an early opportunity of making his mark in public life; he took the opportunity, and, without apparent effort or ambition, was found to be indispensable in the nation's active life for the next forty years. Thus in 1917, it could be said of Mr. Balfour that he had 'held all the highest positions in the state, and always with distinction'.[1] His effectiveness lay in a manner of great charm, a perfect command of temper, a serene and unclouded mind, and a keen, critical intellect. No one could see a point in an argument so quickly, and express it so tersely and clearly. Thus he was admirable in explaining measures in the House of Commons, in criticizing them, and in defending them. In legislation his thoughtful, tolerant, though critical, temperament inclined him to moderation and compromise. In administration he was conspicuously successful, owing to the personal pleasure which he gave to all who met him, to the consideration and loyalty which he showed to all his subordinates, and to the firmness with which he always enforced and defended the policy of his department.

It was this somewhat indolent aristocratic student who was allotted in 1887 the most harassing and difficult task in British government—to give to Ireland the firm and fair administration which Lord Salisbury had said was the cure for all its ills.[2]

Character of the Conservative Government, 1886–1892. The period of Conservative government from 1886 to 1892 has a place altogether its own in English history. There was nothing quite like it before in the nineteenth century; there was certainly nothing like it in the years which followed. If it is to be compared with any other times at all, it should be with the premiership

[1] From the Address of the Lord Mayor of London.

[2] Lord Salisbury in May 1886, before the introduction of the First Home Rule Bill, said that if Ireland only got twenty years of firm and fair administration, it would settle down in peace.

of Sir Robert Walpole, or the last administration of Lord Palmerston. Yet it was different from both; peace, security, and firm administration, with non-interference in people's affairs or interests—these were the main aims of Lord Salisbury's government, as they were of Walpole and Palmerston. At the same time, however, some seventy former Liberals, the Liberal Unionists, were supporting the Government, which was thus always under challenge to be progressive and alert. The period, therefore, was not barren of progressive measures, though not on an ambitious scale. The new laws were of the nature of adjustments to circumstances as the years rolled on, rather than new ways of life thrust upon the people.

Lord Randolph, Leader and Chancellor of the Exchequer. People felt that to make this electric young man Leader of the House was something of an experiment. '"*How long will your leadership last?*" asked a Liberal friend. "*Six months,*" replied Lord Randolph gaily. "*And after that?*"—"*Westminster Abbey.*"'[1] Lord Randolph was not far wrong in this reply.

As Leader of the House Lord Randolph was keen, energetic, reasonable, and courteous, and throughout the first session of the Conservative Government he won golden opinions. As Chancellor of the Exchequer he was, for a time, equally successful. He had himself no knowledge of theoretical economics, and his son acknowledges that 'in his private affairs he was usually extravagant and often unbusinesslike'. At the Treasury, however, he showed himself open-minded to the advice of the cautious officials, and quick to grasp the points of their economic theory:

'Over all public departments the department of finance is supreme. Erected upon the vital wings of national prosperity, wielding the mysterious power of the purse, the final arbiter in the disputes of every other office, a good fairy or a perverse devil, as 'My Lords' may choose to every imaginative Secretary of State, the Treasury occupies in the polity of the United Kingdom a central and superior position. No school of thought is so strong or so enduring as that founded on the great traditions of Gladstonian and Peelite finance. Reckless ministers are

[1] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, by W. S. Churchill (1906), ii. 127.

protected against themselves, violent ministers are tamed, timid ministers are supported and nursed. Few if any are insensible to the influences by which they are surrounded. Streams of detailed knowledge, logic and experience, wash away fiscal and financial heresies; and a baptism of economic truth inspires the convert not only with the principles of a saint, but —too often—with the courage of a martyr.'[1]

Though careless of money in private life, Lord Randolph looked jealously on public expenditure: 'public money seemed to him a sacred trust.'[2] Many small, but collectively important, economies were effected. For instance, he learned that Government specie was being conveyed in private merchant ships at great expense, because an old custom entitled naval officers to a percentage if it was carried on Royal Navy ships. Lord Randolph speedily put an end to this system, so that Her Majesty's gold could be conveyed on Her Majesty's own ships, free of charge. Again a sum of 'secret service money' had for many years been paid over to Government for use, not in foreign secret service, but in helping Government candidates to pay their election expenses. Even the purifying influence of Edmund Burke in 1783 had been able only to get this annual grant reduced to the sum of £10,000. Lord Randolph stopped it altogether. A simple administrative act further freed the trade of the country. At that time all coal coming into London from any part of the country, by sea or otherwise, paid a special duty, which was taken by the City Corporation and the Metropolitan Board of Works. It was the only *octroi* duty in Great Britain. It was not a Parliamentary duty, and the Treasury had authority to discontinue it. Lord Randolph did so. He also thought of purchasing the Irish Railways for the State, but time and opportunity were wanting.

His next effort was his biggest; to introduce a Budget of free trade and economy, on the lines of Gladstonian finance. The effort failed; his proposals never got to the House of Commons: 'he is the only Chancellor of the Exchequer who never introduced a budget.'[3] His simple object was to keep Government

[1] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, by W. S. Churchill, ii. 180.
[2] Ibid., p. 184.
[3] Ibid., p. 188.

expenditure low, so that what people earned they should be able themselves to spend. Trade would be unhampered, because money would be plentiful, and the cost of living would be low.

It is very easy, of course, to have a small Budget if the Government does not wish to spend money; but if so it must abandon many objects which it wishes to attain. Lord Randolph's Budget was simple enough; the ordinary expenditure was just over £90,000,000 a year; he reduced the estimated expenditure for the next year (1887–1888) by certain rather questionable

THE LONDON DOCKS. St. Katherine's, 1827–1828

economies[1] to £82,000,000. He then found that the revenue (£94,500,000) would yield a surplus of £12,500,000, which he proposed to employ in relieving the public from taxation; the tea duty was to be reduced from 6*d*. to 4*d*. in the lb., 4*d*. was to be taken off the tobacco duty, and the income tax to be lowered from 8*d*. to 5*d*.

[1] The one to which economists would take serious objection was the proposal to reduce the amount to be applied in paying off the National Debt from £28,878,000 to £24,417,000. The higher figure had been fixed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, in 1875, and under his scheme it was calculated that the whole National Debt would have been paid off by the year 1930.

The Budget never saw the light of day. It could only be a real thing if every Department could do without any increase of expenditure at all, and if the Admiralty and War Office—the 'great spending Departments', as they used to be called—would cut down their estimates. Lord George Hamilton, the First Lord of the Admiralty, said he could possibly do with £700,000 less. The Secretary of State for War was Mr. W. H. Smith, the founder of the well-known firm of booksellers; he said that to reduce the War Office expenditure this year was impossible.

THE LONDON DOCKS TO-DAY

Lord Salisbury indicated the way this controversy would be settled in a very characteristic letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer:

Hatfield, *December* 15, 1886.

MY DEAR RANDOLPH.—I will be in Downing Street at half-past three. I have got to go to Windsor at a quarter to five. There was nothing for it but to consent to the Egyptian expenditure, though it is very lamentable—all Gladstone's fault. The Cabinet, happily, not I, will have to decide the controversy with you and Smith. But it will be a serious responsibility to refuse the demands of a War Minister so little imaginative as Smith, especially at such a time. It is curious that two days ago I was listening here to the most indignant denunciations of Smith for

his economy—from Wolseley. I am rather surprised at George Hamilton being able to reduce so much. I hope it is all right.

Ever yours very truly,
SALISBURY.[1]

The reduction of expenditure was refused in the Cabinet and Lord Randolph Churchill resigned. He lived for nine years more, in bad health, spending part of his time travelling in South Africa. His last public action was in opposing the Home Rule Bill of 1893. He died on January 24, 1895, and was buried at Bladon, near Woodstock, in Oxfordshire.

Consols Conversion (1888). Lord Randolph Churchill was succeeded as Chancellor of the Exchequer by Mr. Goschen; Mr. W. H. Smith became leader of the House of Commons. Mr. Goschen had learned his finance in the City of London and administered the Treasury in the sound spirit of a Governor of the Bank of England. His most famous achievement was to convert the Consolidated Stock of the National Debt from bearing interest at 3 per cent. to bearing only 2½ per cent. This operation was not, of course, effected by an arbitrary act of confiscation and bad faith. All the fundholders were offered the choice of having the loan repaid at the sum to which they were entitled, namely, £100 in cash for each £100 of stock; or, alternatively, of retaining their stock, at a lower interest. This interest was to be 2¾ per cent. for the next fifteen years, and thereafter 2½. Those who agreed to retain their stock with the reduced interest were given a small 'premium', 5 shillings for each £100 of stock held. Finally, the year 1923 was fixed as the year in which Parliament, if it chose to do so, could redeem 'at par' all the then existing Consols.

Mr. W. H. Smith continued to lead the House of Commons as Leader and First Lord of the Treasury till his death in 1891. He was a man of solid, sensible character; in politics, as in business, he was upright and public-spirited. On his death the leadership in the House was given to Mr. Arthur Balfour.

Ireland. The introduction and failure of the Home Rule Bill had not improved the state of public feeling in Ireland.

[1] *Lord Randolph Churchill*, ii. 231.

Mr. Balfour's first measure was to get a Coercion Bill passed through Parliament (it is known as the Crimes Act of 1887). By this the Lord Lieutenant was given power to 'proclaim' any disaffected districts; and in districts thus specified, the Resident Magistrates were to have authority to try cases of conspiracy without a jury. The reason for this measure was that Irish juries, trying political offenders, were not trustworthy. There was no time limit to this Coercion Act; it was to stand until Parliament chose to repeal it. It has never been repealed, and the Lord Lieutenant still had in 1921 power, by 'proclaiming' a district, to put it outside the ordinary law.

The Crimes Act was followed in the same year (1887) by a Land Act, to allow leaseholders to come before the Land Court, and to enable rents to be further reduced at the expense of the landlords. Having thus got the necessary law for Crime and for Land, Mr. Balfour set to work to show that the Union with Ireland was not an impossible thing in practice. The Land League had been superseded by a new association of Mr. Parnell's called the National League; and the National League had issued (October 1886) a *Plan of Campaign*, to this effect: if the tenants of any Irish estate considered their rents too high, they were to offer the landlord whatever lower rent they thought fair. If the landlord would not accept this, the money was to be paid into a general fund. This fund was to be used by the National League for opposing evictions.

The Plan of Campaign was declared by the Irish judges to be conspiracy to defeat the law. In England it was disapproved by practically all the people, and Mr. Parnell would have done better never to have issued it.[1]

Mr. Balfour's method of government in Ireland was to administer the law simply as it stood, and to support all the officials who acted according to this principle. The great difficulty of officials in dealing firmly with disturbances where politics are concerned is that they rarely know if their political chief will support them; there is frequently an impression that the chief

[1] 'The plan of campaign was one of those devices that cannot be reconciled with the principles of law and order in a civilized country.'—Mr. Gladstone in a speech of July 1887. (*Life of Gladstone*, iii. 372.)

may refuse to be responsible for their actions, and may leave them to bear the consequences. This at any rate was not Mr. Balfour's way. If tenants would not pay the lawful rent, and if the landlord served them with a process of eviction, the officials were bound to carry the law into effect, and if they had to use force the Chief Secretary supported them. Some serious incidents occurred, where it was difficult to get at the exact truth. At a political meeting at Mitchelstown in County Cork, in September 1887, the police tried to force a way for an official reporter through the thick of the crowd. The mutual shouting and pressing which this effort produced naturally developed into a tumult. In the end the police used their firearms, and three people were shot. Mr. Gladstone's indignation at the Government blazed forth and the cry which he raised, 'Remember Mitchelstown,' became, as Lord Morley says, a watchword.[1] Mr. Balfour, however, stood by the officials and maintained stoutly in Parliament that they had acted only according to their duty; and he refused to allow any special judicial inquiry to be made. This attitude of the Chief Secretary, maintained equally on other occasions, had at least the result of confirming the police in their natural habit of mind, which is to be resolute, firm, and confident, a habit of mind which has often been temporarily turned into hesitancy and weakness through fear of political consequences.

During the next five years Ireland was undoubtedly better ordered than it had been for many years: but it was still calling for settlement of the land problem and for Home Rule. Coercion, even when wisely and firmly administered, can only be a temporary expedient. Government must in the long run be by consent. The Conservatives believed that it was possible by administration to restore the habit of obedience to the law, and then, by making the small tenants into peasant proprietors, to enable them, to become a substantial, thriving people on the land. So it was hoped that they would grow to be as pleased with their Union with England as the Scots were with theirs. Mr. Balfour was not a mere cold administrator of the law. When in 1890 the

[1] *Life of Gladstone*, iii. 380.

potato crop partially failed, he was most energetic and efficient in relieving the distress, and one historian of the period—a convinced Home Ruler—acknowledges that the Chief Secretary was at least 'a friendly stranger',[1] and that the warm-hearted Irish themselves felt him to be so.

The Vicissitudes of Parnell. In 1887, while the Crimes Bill was being passed through the Commons, *The Times* newspaper published a series of articles on political crime in Ireland. On the morning of April 18, when the division in the House was to be taken on the Bill, people who opened *The Times* were electrified at seeing a letter, signed by Mr. Parnell, approving of the Phoenix Park murders. It purported to have been written on May 15, 1882, just after the murders had been committed. Parnell took no action against *The Times*, but simply denied that he had written the letter. When political feeling burns strongly, people are apt to think the worst of their opponents; and the very cool attitude he had always shown with respect to Irish agrarian and political crime led people to believe all the more readily that he had written the letter. Nevertheless, the letter was pure forgery.

Next year, however (1888), another Irish Nationalist Member of Parliament who had been mentioned in *The Times* articles took legal action against that newspaper, and in the course of the lawsuit more letters, in support of crime and purporting to have been written by Parnell, were read in court. The excitement of the British public was tremendous, and the question, not of Parnell's complicity, but of that of all Irish Nationalist members, in the political and agrarian crimes, was everywhere discussed. The Government resolved to appoint a special commission to investigate the allegations contained in *The Times* articles. This commission, popularly called the Parnell Commission, consisted of three judges, one being a Liberal Unionist and the other two Conservatives. The cause of *The Times* was pleaded by the Attorney-General, Sir Richard Webster, for at that time the Attorney-General, though a member of the Government, was allowed to take private practice; the Irish members

[1] Paul, *Modern England*, v. 200.

were represented before the Commission by Sir Charles Russell, afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen. Russell was a Roman Catholic, an intensely patriotic Irishman and a brilliant advocate. In the course of the investigations *The Times* admitted that the famous 'Parnell' letters had been purchased by them from an Irishman of very indifferent reputation, called Richard Pigott. Sir Charles Russell, by a most clever cross-examination of Pigott, proved that the letters were forgeries. The wretched man fled to Madrid, and, finding that the law still hung over him there, blew out his brains.

The report of the Commission was issued in 1890. It decidedly cleared Parnell and the Irish Nationalist members from the charge of inciting people to commit crime in Ireland, but it found that they had incited people to intimidate, without violence, their opponents. The most serious finding of the Commission was number 6 of the Report: that the Irish members had not placed themselves on the side of law and order.

THE FIRST ISSUE OF BRITISH GUIANA

The end of Parnell. In November 1890 a gentleman who had been one of Parnell's own friends brought a suit in the Divorce Court against his wife and Parnell. There was no defence, and the divorce was granted. Parnell's character was ruined in the public mind. The English disliked the sordid intrigue, and in Ireland opinion was even more shocked. It is true that a majority of the Nationalist members agreed to follow him still as leader, but the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland publicly proclaimed their disapproval of him. The Liberal Party in England, at the Sheffield Conference of November 1890, also decided that they would no longer support Home Rule if Mr. Parnell remained leader of the Irish party. The disapproval of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland and of the Liberal party in England made Mr. Parnell's continuance as leader impossible. Still, as ever, completely misunderstanding English opinion, he refused to resign, so that the Irish Nationalist Party, in a famous meeting in Committee Room 15 of the House of

Commons, deposed him. He was succeeded as leader, first by Mr. Justin McCarthy, an historian, and subsequently by Mr. John Redmond. Parnell died of inflammation of the lungs at Brighton in October 1891. He was only forty-five years old.

The discrediting and deposition of Parnell mark the greatest crisis in the history of the Irish Nationalist Party. Parnell was a Protestant, a member of the Episcopal Church of Ireland. He cared nothing for the Roman Catholic priests, and his Nationalist policy was purely secular. His fall was due in great measure to the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, which from that moment became closely identified with the Nationalist policy. The Home Rule movement went on with the blessing of the Irish priesthood: and this undoubtedly strengthened the movement in

THREE ISSUES OF UGANDA[1]

Ireland, and to some extent in England: it made the movement less violent, for priests do not associate themselves with crime and outrage. With increasing orderliness, the Home Rule movement disarmed a good deal of criticism in England, though on the other hand its connexion with the Roman Catholic Church gave ground for uneasiness to English Protestant feeling.

Foreign Policy. Lord Salisbury was Foreign Secretary throughout the period of his administration, and as such he maintained and increased the respect in which Great Britain was held abroad. His speeches and writings abound in wise sayings. He realized, more than most people, what a disaster

[1] For Uganda see page 931. The stamps illustrate how colonial expansion often follows missionary effort. The first stamp is merely typewritten by a missionary, the second prints in type his crude design, the third indicates the formal acts of government. On the facing page the first issue of British Guiana (1850) shows similar crude beginnings.

to civilization European War would be, and he worked continuously, quietly, and sensibly, to avoid it. His policy was, on the whole, that of the ' free hand ', to keep Great Britain, so far as possible, without commitments or obligations for the future. Yet he by no means blindly clung to a policy of *isolation*, as is often said of him : he entered into most friendly relations with foreign powers, and particularly into something very like an *entente cordiale* with Germany. His aim was to keep things as they were at the time so far as the frontiers of the European States were concerned :

' Our policy is well known to all the world. Our treaty obligations are matters of public property, and our policy with respect to Europe and the Mediterranean has been avowed again and again to be a policy of peace, of maintaining things as they are, because we believe that in the state of things as they are there is a sufficient opportunity for progress and prosperity of those who inhabit those countries, without trusting anything to the sinister and hazardous arbitrament of war.' [1]

Lord Salisbury welcomed the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, because it seemed to him a sure means of maintaining existing frontiers : such an alliance would prevent Austria from trying to regain her lost Italian dominions ; it would prevent Italy from trying to get the Trentino or Trieste from Austria. The combined alliance would prevent France from trying to recover the territories lost in 1870. On the other hand, he had no apprehensions that the Triple Alliance could have aims against the other Great Powers, France or Russia or England. This was why he welcomed the news of its conclusion as ' good tidings of great joy '.[2]

Lord Salisbury's friendliness to Germany, and his readiness to adjust all differences with her, is seen in his treatment of the affair of Heligoland. This was the time when the unoccupied and uncivilized regions of Africa were being partitioned among the European Powers. The division of the Dark Continent into colonies and spheres of influence naturally gave rise to some friction between the partitioning Powers. In East Africa, British

[1] Speech at the Guildhall. (*The Times*, Nov. 12, 1889 : Egerton, *British Foreign Policy* (1917), p. 343.)

[2] Egerton, op. cit., p. 345 ; FitzMaurice, *Life of Lord Granville*, ii. 211.

and German interests came into collision, particularly in Uganda and in the island of Zanzibar. To avoid such difficulties Lord Salisbury made an arrangement which at the time was considered to be very favourable to England. By a treaty made on July 1, 1890, and submitted to the Houses of Parliament, the British Government ceded to Germany the island of Heligoland, and in return received from Germany a recognition of a British Protectorate in Zanzibar and the adjacent territory.

On a previous occasion the German ambassador had suggested to Lord Granville (at that time Foreign Secretary) the cession of Heligoland, urging that it would strengthen the good feeling of Germany towards England—to which Lord Granville had dryly replied that the cession of Gibraltar too would no doubt strengthen the good feeling of Spain towards us. Lord Salisbury, however, thought Great Britain could afford to give up Heligoland, and that to do so would show Germany that we were sincerely friendly. He would probably have done better to adhere rigidly to his own maxim of maintaining things as they were.

CHAPTER XLV

HOME RULE AGAIN

Mr. Gladstone's Fourth Premiership. The 1886 Parliament, through effluxion of time, was dissolved by Proclamation on June 28th, 1892. In the ensuing general election there were 269 Conservatives returned at the polls, with 46 Liberal Unionists, giving a total of 315 members against Home Rule. There were only 274 Liberals, but with them there could be reckoned, for support in a Home Rule Bill, 80 Irish Nationalists. It was, therefore, quite clear that the people of Great Britain had definitely pronounced against Home Rule. But the Liberals and Irish Nationalists together gave Mr. Gladstone a majority of 39, and he resolved to accept office with the Nationalist support, and to introduce another Home Rule Bill. 'He was at the mercy of the Irish vote,'[1] but it was not in order to gain their support that he brought in the Bill. He was now 83 years old, and he

[1] Paul, *Modern England*, v. 234.

only remained in politics for the purpose of passing a Home Rule Bill, and so, as he believed, settling the Irish problem.

The Second Home Rule Bill. Accordingly on February 13, 1893, the Second Home Rule Bill was introduced in the House of Commons. In the main it was the same as the first Home Rule Bill, except for one important point—Irish representatives (80 instead of 103 as under the Act of Union) were to remain at Westminster, as full members of Parliament for all purposes. The opposition of the Conservatives and Liberal Unionists to the Bill was keen and tireless. Mr. Balfour was the Conservative leader in the House, and his brilliantly critical mind, and his rapier-like facility in debate, had now full scope.

The progress of the Bill was so slow that Mr. Gladstone proposed a device for shortening debate : namely, that a time-limit should be fixed when debate must cease and when voting on the particular section of the Bill under discussion should take place. This measure, called the *Gag*, was carried in the House by a majority of 34.

The Gag, which (as the bulk of English members were against it) was imposed through the Irish vote, inflamed the Opposition; and on one occasion at the end of July a disgraceful tumult broke forth in the House, and blows were actually exchanged before the Speaker could interfere. Nothing can be more injurious to the political life of the nation than that the dignity of Parliament should be destroyed.

In the third reading the Home Rule Bill was carried by a majority of 34. Without counting the Irish there would have been a majority of 23 against the Bill.[1] It was thus carried by the Irish vote : but the Conservatives, who were wholehearted supporters of the Union, could not reasonably object to the Irish using all the influence in Parliament to which they were entitled under the Act of Union.

When the Bill went up to the Lords, they rejected it by 419 votes against 41 (September 8, 1893). Excitement rose high throughout the country, but no one could deny that the Lords had reasonably exercised their power to reject a House of

[1] Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, iii. 504.

Commons measure, concerning which, admittedly, the electorate was not very decided. Mr. Gladstone recognized this by advocating an immediate appeal to the country, but his colleagues dissuaded him. He remained in office for five more months and then resigned (March 3, 1894), feeling that there was no more work he could do; Parliament was not dissolved, and the Liberal Government remained under the premiership of the Earl of Rosebery.

The End. Mr. Gladstone now at 85 was, as he recorded in his diary, to have a period of comparative leisure for the first time in his life. His sight was failing, his wonderful vitality was on the ebb. There was little for him to do, as Lord Morley says, but 'to lower sails and gather in the ropes'—*calar le vele e raccoglier le sarte*.[1] He went on preparing his edition of Butler's works, and translating Horace. His tranquil days were spent at Hawarden. Occasionally he went up to London, and in 1897 he went on a visit to Cannes: his power of work, he laments, was, at the age of 87, greatly diminished; 'on my outing (at Cannes) I may have read, of one kind and another, twenty volumes.'[2] On March 18, 1898, he was informed that he had an incurable malady. He received the news serenely. At the end he was greatly touched with a message of sympathy sent to him by his old University, Oxford. In the early morning of May 19, with his family kneeling around the bed, he ceased to breathe.[3]

The Verdict of the Country. After the resignation of Mr. Gladstone, the Liberals still remained in office. They had indeed a majority in the House of Commons, but that majority was largely dependent on the Irish members, who since the failure of the Home Rule Bill had naturally lost their zeal.

The Queen disappointed the outgoing Premier, Mr. Gladstone, by not consulting him concerning a successor. She exercised a real choice by appointing Lord Rosebery; Sir William Harcourt had confidently expected to be the next Prime Minister, and his disappointment had a depressing effect upon himself, and through him upon the whole Liberal Party in Parliament.

[1] Dante, *Inferno*, xxvii. 81.

[2] Quoted by Morley, iii. 52–53.

[3] Ibid., p. 528.

It was, therefore, neither a vigorous nor cordial Ministry. Its life was short, and is now remembered only for the new scale of death-duties imposed by Sir William Harcourt, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer. There were already in existence small succession duties, paid by heirs who succeded to property. Lord Randolph Churchill proposed to extend these, in proportion to the size of the estate (1886). His plan was that a man should pay according to what he received. For instance, if a large estate passing to heirs was divided, so that each heir received only £500, the duty which each heir paid would be small (1 per cent. in 1894) because the benefit which he received was small. In Sir William Harcourt's scheme, the scale of duty was calculated on the total value of the property which passed at the death of the owner. Thus if a man died and left £1,000,000, the scale of death-duty to be paid would be 8 per cent. : and any of the heirs or legatees who received only, for instance, £500, would still have to pay to the Exchequer 8 per cent. of his £500, not 1 per cent. as under Lord Randolph's scheme.

The death-duties are a levy upon the capital wealth of the country which is therefore replaced or increased more slowly than would happen if there were no death-duties. This objection would be removed if the sum realized by the death-duties were used to restore an equivalent amount of the national capital by buying back or repaying the National Debt. Most of the money, however, is used, as if it were income, for the ordinary recurrent expenditure of the Government.

The end of the Rosebery Administration came in June 1895 : the Secretary of State for War, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, was censured by vote of the House of Commons on the ground that he had kept an insufficient supply of cordite explosive. The Government resigned, and the Queen asked Lord Salisbury to form a Government. A General Election was held. The result was overwhelming for the Liberal Party and for Home Rule ; 411 Conservatives and Unionists were returned to the House of Commons, and only 177 Liberals ; even the 82 Irish Home Rulers could make no difference to the balance of parties. The Liberals were now, like the Conservatives in 1846, to go

into 'the wilderness ; they were to remain there till the advent of the Labour Party in 1906 restored them by a powerful alliance. Meanwhile the Conservative Party had for ten years the guiding of the British Empire.

CHAPTER XLVI

AFRICA, TO THE UNION

§ 1. The Outbreak of the Second Boer War

The Partition of Africa. In 1880 Africa was still the Dark Continent, mysterious and wonderful, and a little terrifying. Its vast extent, its undeveloped riches, attracted the nations of Western Europe, looking out for new fields for their bustling commercial energy. It was the last great area of the world which was still open for the competition of the European States. In the south, Cape Colony, Natal, the Boer Republics, were already settled ; in the extreme north, Algeria had come under France, and Egypt, to a certain extent, under Britain ; but between the north and south were hundreds of thousands of square miles of unallotted territory. The years 1881 to 1891 were the period of the partition of Africa. At the end of that period the map of Africa showed broad political areas, each definitely allocated to a civilized State. That this was accomplished without a conflict between the competing States was largely due to Lord Salisbury.

Germany in Africa. Till 1871 the States of Germany were separate, independent, and entirely bounded in their interest by European affairs. In 1871 they became united in one powerful land empire, and entered upon a period of great commercial activity. The Imperial Government looked around for colonies, but the only unoccupied spaces which it could find were in Africa. Whether the German Government formed any comprehensive design, or whether it merely proceeded piecemeal to take parts of Africa, it is impossible to say. Sir Bartle Frere, the far-seeing Governor of the Cape, stated as early as 1878 that the Germans were aiming at a regular empire in Africa ; and 40 years later

General Smuts repeated the same thing, in a more definite and detailed way.

A military empire in Africa, with hordes of disciplined barbarians, led by highly trained German officers, equipped with the most powerful modern weapons of destruction, would have been a tremendous asset to a military European State like Germany.[1]

A beginning was made with a German colonial empire by the proclamation of the Kaiser's authority over Damaraland (German South-West Africa). In 1883 a merchant called Lüderitz established a trading-station at Angra Pequena, where the remains of the cross still stood, raised by Bartholomew Diaz in 1486. In 1884 the German Imperial proclamation of a Protectorate was issued. Frere had urged the British Government to occupy this region in 1878; although refused in this, he had succeeded in getting Walfish Bay, the only really good harbour on the south-west coast.

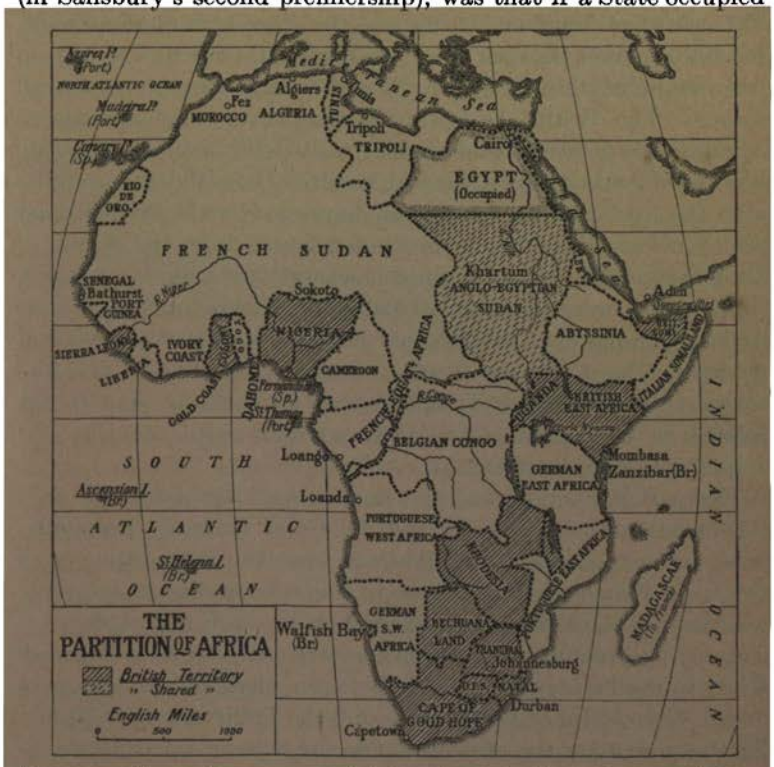
In 1884 the Germans declared themselves to be in occupation of the Cameroon and Togoland, and the German power might have spread farther had not the private enterprise of an Englishman secured Nigeria for England. This was Sir George Goldie, who in 1887 induced Lord Salisbury to grant a Charter to the Royal Niger Company.

On the other side of Africa the Germans had also acquired great possessions. In 1885 an explorer, Dr. Karl Peters, representing the German Imperial African Company, had gained a large tract of territory opposite Zanzibar. By 1889 the Germans had acquired an empire in Africa bigger than their empire in Europe, and they had a chance of almost doubling it by extending southwards to the borders of the Transvaal: but the diplomacy of Lord Salisbury and the genius of Cecil Rhodes forestalled them.

The Rules of the Game. Lord Salisbury made at least two notable achievements with regard to South Africa. One was in his first premiership, in 1885, when at the Conference of Berlin he obtained an agreement that the Powers would not recognize *paper annexations*; thus, for instance, a European Power could

[1] See Zimmermann, *The German Empire of Central Africa* (trans. 1918).

not simply declare such and such a part of Africa to belong to it; it must effectively occupy the region. The second achievement was the doctrine of the *hinterland*; this doctrine, as accepted by England, Germany, and most other Powers since 1890 (in Salisbury's second premiership), was that if a State occupied



the coast-line, the unoccupied territory behind the coast went with it.

At the same time (1890) British and German power met in the debatable land of Zanzibar (a Mohammedan State which was sure to fall under the influence of one or other Power), and also in Uganda and Witu (East Africa). The treaty of 1890, giving Heligoland to Germany, settled the question of Zanzibar (which was recognized by the German Government as a British

Protectorate), and also the question of Uganda and Witu (British East Africa), which were assigned to Great Britain.

New British Dominions. In 1875 the possession of the territory round the spacious Delagoa Bay was disputed by Great Britain and Portugal, and the question was submitted to arbitration. The award of Marshal MacMahon, the President of the French Republic, gave Delagoa Bay to Portugal (which was not in occupation at the time), on the ground of ancient historical claims. The British Government was never very anxious to acquire new territory, and usually waited till some enterprising private individual thrust several hundred thousand square miles into its hand. This was what happened with British East Africa, which Sir William Mackinnon leased from the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1887. Mackinnon was a merchant and also a strong supporter of missionaries. British East Africa, under his East African Company, became a great home both of missionaries and traders. The Company itself, however, was not a financial success. It administered its territory for nothing, and in the fullness of time handed the territory and people over to the Imperial Government (1895).

The partition of Africa was now nearly complete. In 1884 Bechuanaland had been occupied by Great Britain. Bechuanaland was being raided by filibusters from the Transvaal, whom President Kruger could not keep in control; and German agents were said to have their eyes fixed upon it. It is a notable great country, stretching northwards for 800 miles from the Orange River to the Zambezi, and lying between what was then German South-West Africa on the one side and the Transvaal on the other. Farther north lay the great country now known as Rhodesia.

Rhodes. Rhodes as a young man saw visions, and in middle age saw some at least of his dreams come true. He dreamed of a South Africa, British from the Zambezi to Table Bay; and he had the infinite satisfaction of adding to the Empire, by his own energy, optimism, and capacity, one of the finest of the African territories. All his plans were on a magnificent scale, and yet with something of the old Greek idea of proportion: they were all possible and practical.

Cecil John Rhodes was born at Bishop's Stortford in 1853, and received his education at the grammar school there. In 1870 he went to Natal for his health ; and in 1876 returned to complete his education. For the next three years he was in residence at Oriel College, Oxford, but spent all his Long Vacations in South Africa. After taking his degree at the University, he went back to South Africa, and made a large fortune, rising to be head of the De Beers Diamond Mines (1881) ; and in 1890 he became Prime Minister of Cape Colony.

The Work of Rhodes. By his federation of the diamond mines of Kimberley, Rhodes assured to South Africa one of the most powerful sources of its prosperity ; by his splendid acquisition of Rhodesia, he secured for South Africa a domain of the fairest promise ; and when he died the project of union of all the South African colonies into one dominion was already ripe. He left his private house, a beautiful white building among trees and lawns on Groote Schuur, to be the residence of the first Prime Minister of United South Africa ; and it had not long to wait. He endowed about 175 scholarships at Oxford, so that selected young men from every part of the Empire overseas, and from the United States and Germany, might come for education there.[1]

Rhodesia. In 1817 one of the Zulu tribes, the Matabele, fled north to escape the tyranny of the Zulu Chaka. This tribe, led by one of Chaka's Generals, Moselekatse, settled in Mashonaland, between the Limpopo and the Zambezi, and drove the Mashonas farther north. Moselekatse's son was Lobengula, like his father an able despot. The land from which his father had thrust the Mashonas was large and naturally rich, and in 1887 the Boers and the Germans were believed to be entering into an arrangement to occupy it. So Rhodes, always swift and fortunate in action, sent his friend Dr. Jameson to meet Lobengula (1888). The chief was induced to grant a concession to Rhodes to trade in his country, and to work mines. The next step was for Rhodes to get his position recognized by the British Govern-

[1] The German scholarships were, in consequence of the War of 1914, done away with in favour of additional United States scholarships.

ment; in 1889, when Lord Salisbury was Premier, the Government gave a Charter, authorizing the founding of a trading and administering corporation, on the model of the former East India Company. The Company was formed with the Duke of Abercorn as Governor. £1,000,000 were subscribed in shares; the money has gone to make the thriving country of modern Rhodesia but no return has yet come to the shareholders.

In 1889, however, the land was not yet won. It was in the next year, 1890, that a Pioneer Column, guided by the mighty hunter F. C. Selous, was sent to occupy Matabeleland. The column consisted of about 900 men, many of whom are still alive, taking part in the vigorous life of the land which they have made.

Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, a cool, determined, personally charming man,[1] was Administrator of the Chartered Company's property from 1891 to 1896. In 1893 Lobengula's Matabele were still ravaging the unfortunate Mashonas, and the Company called upon him to desist. Lobengula, too, was beginning to repent of his bargain with the incomers. At length Dr. Jameson led 1,600 men from the British Settlement at Victoria against the centre of Lobengula's power at Buluwayo. At the Shangani River the Matabele were defeated, for even trained Zulu regiments could not stand against machine guns. In the further advance, thirty-one troopers under Major Allen Wilson were cut off on the north side of the Shangani, and defending themselves to the last, were all killed (December 4, 1893). The main body of Jameson's troops, however, drove Lobengula north to the Zambezi, and the whole territory was put under the administration of the Chartered Company. Lobengula died in January 1894.

The Origin of the Second Boer War. Concerning every war there are at least two sides which can be presented. An eminent Uitlander, writing *before* the Boer War, put his theory of the cause as follows:

'By the force of his [President Krüger's] own strong convictions and prejudices, and of his indomitable will, he has made the Boers a people whom he regards as the germ of the Afrikander

[1] He is the original of Mr. Kipling's hero in 'If' (see *Rewards and Fairies*).

nation ; a people chastened, selected, welded, and strong enough to attract and assimilate all their kindred in South Africa, and then to realize the dream of a Dutch Republic from the Zambesi to Capetown.' (Sir J. P. FitzPatrick, writing in 1896.)

This statement probably is a true representation of the view of Kruger (who was a deep and silent man), though there are no words of his own to quote. Among his people, however, other feelings were at work. There was nothing ambitious or Napoleonic about the ordinary Boer ; what annoyed him was that thousands of Englishmen were coming into his country (especially since the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand Reef in 1886), buying land, digging mines, claiming citizenship, and disturbing his ancient peace. He feared that if they received rights of full citizenship, those Uitlanders, always growing more and more, would come to rule the State, and in time to be the State itself. The old Boer Republic would then be practically gone.

Again, there was the view of the Uitlanders and of the Imperial Government itself, that Englishmen had, in fairness, every right to settle in the Transvaal and to become citizens there ; just as the Boers could, if they pleased, go into Cape Colony and Natal, and become British subjects. The controversy between the Imperial Government and the Transvaal was over a demand for equal treatment in the Republic for Boers and Uitlanders. As the law stood in 1894, an Uitlander could not become a full burgher till he had resided fourteen years in the country.

Finally, it must be borne in mind that, however hot was the controversy about the franchise, however strong the demands of the Uitlanders, the British Government could never on this ground have gone to war. Public opinion, in spite of many 'jingo' elements, would not have tolerated an armed attack on Boer liberty ; and the tension between Great Britain and the Transvaal would have endured for years, or in time would have been settled by negotiation, if President Kruger, choosing what he must have thought to be a favourable moment, had not issued his ultimatum.

Feelings among British and Boers in South Africa were

further inflamed by the raid which Dr. Jameson and 450 police of the Chartered Company made from the Bechuanaland frontier into the Transvaal, with the object of raising a revolution among the Uitlanders in Johannesburg (December 29, 1895). The raiders were defeated and captured by Commandant Piet Cronje at Doornkop, and were handed over to the British Government for punishment. President Kruger was led to imagine his triumph greater than it really was, by a congratulatory telegram which the German Emperor William II sent to him.

The Ultimatum. The Uitlanders continued to press for the franchise, but President Kruger was still firm. Meanwhile he concluded a treaty of alliance, of defence and offence, with the Orange Free State. The Orange Free State, since the death of its President, Sir John Brand, who was a real statesman, had been governed by President Steyn, a man without judgement. There was no reason, either of honour or policy, why President Steyn should have plunged his State into the desperate adventure of war with the British Empire.

The British Colonial Secretary at this time was Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain, who retained his Radical convictions throughout his career, warmly sympathized with the demand of the Uitlanders for political representation. He worked hard to reach a settlement by negotiation, but as President Kruger did not *see* any great military force behind our diplomacy, he could not be convinced of its strength. At the beginning of the year 1899 there were only between 10,000 and 12,000 British soldiers in South Africa.

For the past two years the High Commissioner in South Africa had been Sir Alfred Milner, a distinguished Oxford scholar and Treasury official. On going to South Africa he learned the Boer tongue (Cape Dutch or ' Taal ') and studied the country and its problems most carefully. Long negotiations were carried on patiently on both sides, between Sir Alfred Milner and President Kruger. But no agreement was reached.

At no time, however, can it be said that the resources of diplomacy are exhausted. President Kruger, however, and an intransigent group (certainly not a majority) of the Dutch took

BECHUANALAND
PROTECTORATE
KALAHARI DESERT
SOUTH-WEST
AFRICA
TRANSVAAL
ORANGE
FREE
STATE
NATAL
CAPE
COLONY
British
Bechuanaland
Great Bushman
Land
Basuto
Land
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
INDIAN
OCEAN
Palapye
Lehutitang
Khokong
Mokopon
Vryburg
Upington
Griqualand
West
Kimberley
Winburg
Bloemfontein
Thaba Bosigo
Ladybrand
Wasehu
Harrismith
Ladysmith
Greytown
Pietermaritzburg
Durban
Tugela R.
Newcastle
Kroonstad
Heilbron
Majuba Hill
Potchefstroom
Johannesburg
Pretoria
Pietersburg
Zeerust
Mafeking
Lydenburg
Barberton
Swazi
Land
Zoutpans B.
Limpopo R.
Lourenco
Marques
Delagoa B.
Nylstroom
Standerton
Transvaal
Orange R.
Vaal R.
Modder R.
Riet R.
Molopo R.
Nosob R.
Windhoek
Swakopmund
Walfish
Bay
Keetmannshoop
Angra Pequena
Warmbad
Orange
Port Nolloth
Springbok
Prieska
Hopetown
Springfontein
De Aar
Carnarvon
Calvinia
Victoria
West
Prince
Albert
Beaufort
West
Graaff
Reinet
Cradock
King William's Town
East London
Great Fish R.
Kei Skama R.
Grahamstown
Port Elizabeth
Mossel Bay
Cape Agulhas
False Bay
Cape of Good Hope
Simonstown
Cape
Town
Malmesbury
Tulbagh
Worcester
Paarl
Swellendam
Caledon
Uniondale
Oudtshoorn
Saldanha B.
Olifants R.
Great
Karroo
Little
Karroo
Orange R.
Aliwal
North
Storm B.
Maclear
Londo
Land
Port Shepstone
Tugela R.
Pietermaritzburg
Durban
St. Lucia L.
Tonga
Land
Majuba Hill
Newcastle
Ladysmith
Oliundi
Greytown
Harrismith
Basuto
Land
Thaba Bosigo
Ladybrand
Wasehu
Bloemfontein
Winburg
Kimberley
Bethlehem
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Kroonstad
Potchefstroom
Johannesburg
Pretoria
Pietersburg
Zeerust
Mafeking
Lydenburg
Barberton
Swazi
Land
Zoutpans B.
Limpopo R.
Lourenco
Marques
Delagoa B.
Nylstroom

another course. On October 9, 1899, the Transvaal Government handed a forty-eight hours' ultimatum to the British Resident at Pretoria. This document contained demands that all British troops should be withdrawn from the borders of the Transvaal; that the reinforcements which had come to South Africa since June 1 should be sent out of the country; and that the troops which were upon the high seas should not be allowed to land. This dispatch, naturally, received no answer, and on October 12 Boer forces crossed the frontier of Cape Colony.

§ 2. The Second Boer War

Boer Organization and Tactics. The Boers were a nation of farmers. Each household was separated from its neighbours by great distances; riding and shooting were among the common necessities of life.

The Boer's method of attack was to advance concentrically (as was nearly always possible in their vast country), from cover to cover, driving the enemy inwards by good shooting. His method of defence was equally cautious. He would skilfully defend a position; and when hard pressed, would retire to another, which he had more chance of holding. He never engaged in hand-to-hand fighting.

His equipment was simple. He had no uniform. Each man wore the ordinary garb of the veld, rode a good horse, and carried a proved Government rifle. The Boer artillery numbered only thirty field-guns.

The British Organization and Tactics. The organization of the British Army in the Boer War is acknowledged to have been good. The transport, equipment, and feeding of the troops were excellently managed.

The tactics of the Army were not at first suitable for the South African veld. The wars of Marlborough, the victory of Minden, and, to a less extent, the Peninsular War, had established a firm tradition in favour of direct attack, and of bayonet-fighting. Moreover, except in India, British troops had no experience of manœuvring over large spaces of country. Finally, the little colonial wars, with their disasters involving the loss of

300 men, as at Majuba, or 800 men, as at Isandlwana, had given the British public a wrong sense of proportion for the prosecution of war on a large scale. It is therefore not to be wondered at now, that the first campaigns of the War were a failure.

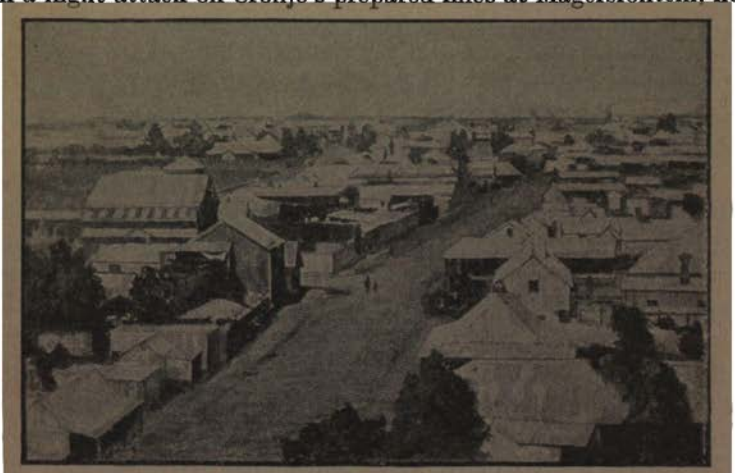
The Operations in Natal. In October (1899) a force of about 4,000 Boers invaded Natal, and, although checked at Talana Hill and Elandslaagte (both on October 20), were able to advance to Ladysmith, an important junction on the railway to Durban, and the head-quarters of the British forces in Natal. Outside Ladysmith they captured a whole British column at Nicholson's Nek (October 30). General Sir George White was besieged in Ladysmith for the next four months. He would have done better to have abandoned the town and joined his troops to the British forces in the field elsewhere.

When the siege began, a strong force of Boers under General Botha passed on southwards, in order to hold the line of the Tugela River, which, flowing from west to east, cuts Natal into two parts. Then began a series of determined attempts on the part of the British forces brought up from Durban, to force the line of the Tugela, and to relieve Ladysmith. On December 15 General Buller, who had been sent out from England as Commander-in-chief, failed to fight his way over, at Colenso.

The next effort to force the Tugela was nearly successful. The British got across the river, but had to retire again, owing to a disaster to General Sir Charles Warren's force on Spion Kop (January 23, 1900). Another effort of the indomitable Buller failed at Vaalkranz on February 5. The next attempt, made between February 12 and 22 in the neighbourhood of Colenso (the operations are known as the battle of Pieter's Hill), was completely successful. General Botha, having made a fine defence, withdrew his mobile troops to other fields; and on February 27 the British cavalry were riding into Ladysmith. In the relief operations Buller had lost 5,000 out of his army of 20,000 men.

Operations for the Relief of Kimberley. The Boers had also invaded Cape Colony and were besieging Kimberley, in the most northern portion of the Colony. The operations for the relief

of this place were entrusted to Lord Methuen, with 8,000 men. On November 22 (1899) Methuen crossed the Orange River and began advancing northwards along the line of railway which runs for 75 miles from Orange River Station to Kimberley. A Boer force under Generals Cronje and de la Rey opposed his advance. On November 23 Methuen fought a successful action at Belmont, and another on November 25 at Graspan. On November 28, he crossed the Modder River, but on December 11, in a night attack on Cronje's prepared lines at Magersfontein, he



AN EARLY VIEW OF KIMBERLEY

was seriously repulsed, and had to retire to the Modder again. The week in which Magersfontein was fought was a bad one for Britain, for it included the repulse of Buller at Colenso, and the defeat of General Gatacre at Stormberg on December 9.

Roberts. These defeats were soon to be retrieved by the energetic steps which Lord Salisbury's Government at once took. The most famous living British soldier, Lord Roberts, was sent out to be Commander-in-chief in South Africa.[1] Roberts was then aged sixty-eight. He took with him, as Chief of Staff, General Sir Herbert Kitchener, then aged forty-nine. The

[1] It is reported that the offer of the Government came to Lord Roberts on the same day as he learned of the death of his only son, Lieut. Roberts, V.C., at the battle of Colenso.

troops in the field were greatly augmented, and gradually rose to the number of 150,000, including contingents from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, as well as local South African forces.

Paardeberg. Arriving at the Modder on February 9, 1900, Roberts and Kitchener, having now plenty of troops, took in hand a great turning movement, which resulted in the relief of Kimberley by General French's cavalry on February 15. Three days later Kitchener with the infantry on the south of the Modder, and French with the cavalry on the north, cut off Cronje at Paardeberg, where the Boer general was trying to get his troops across, so that he might get them away safely into the Orange Free State. Cronje held out in his laager at Paardeberg till February 27, when he surrendered to Lord Roberts with 4,000 men.

The Annexation of the South African Republics. Continuing his victorious course, Lord Roberts entered Bloemfontein on March 13. The Orange Free State was formally annexed to Great Britain. On June 5 Roberts entered Pretoria, and a week later defeated General Botha in the field, at Diamond Hill (June 11). The last place besieged by the Boers, Mafeking, near the Transvaal frontier, in British Bechuanaland, had been relieved by General Plumer in May. Botha fought one more battle at Belfast on August 26, and was defeated. On September 1 (1900) the Transvaal was formally declared to be annexed.

The End. The war actually lasted for two more years, and before it was ended Queen Victoria had died (on January 22, 1901), and King Edward VII was reigning. Hostilities continued because the country was so large that all the Boer commanders could not be ' rounded up ' at once. There was no Boer Government, for President Kruger had abandoned the struggle, escaping through Portuguese territory in October 1900. He was conveyed to Europe in a Dutch man-of-war.[1]

Blockhouses were built all along the railways so that men and food could be freely brought along the line. In January 1902 the country was divided into areas ; vast quantities of barbed wire were strung between blockhouses, and bodies of mounted

[1] He died in Switzerland in 1904.

troops were told off to sweep each area systematically. Even the Boer with his pony and rifle could not make a living for ever in the veld, with all the British Empire against him ; and every week the ' drives ' of the British columns swept in a few more prisoners. At last on May 31, 1902, the Boers agreed to the terms of Vereeniging which were arranged by Sir Alfred Milner and General Kitchener, on the one part, and by Louis Botha and Jan Smuts on the other.

The terms given by the British Government were of the most generous kind. All Boers in arms were to surrender themselves, but were to lose neither their liberty nor their property, and were to be restored by the British Government to their homes. A sum of £3,000,000 was to be given by Great Britain, to help to rebuild the farms destroyed in the war. All Boers returning to their homes were to become British subjects, and were promised self-government at some future, and not distant, date.

Thus ended the Boer War. It had cost Britain 5,774 men killed and 22,829 wounded. The Boers had 4,000 killed. It was a clean fight from beginning to end, and the terms of Vereeniging were the generous offer of an honourable combatant to the adversary whom he respected. The two former States—the Orange Free State and Transvaal—were made into British Crown Colonies. In 1906 the Government of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman entrusted them with self-government as complete as that of Cape Colony or Canada. When in 1909 all the colonies of South Africa joined together under one constitution, General Louis Botha became the first Premier of the Union, the first to occupy the fine white house above Cape Town which Cecil Rhodes had left for united South Africa.

CHAPTER XLVII[1]

THREE DOMINIONS: AUSTRALIA; NEW ZEALAND; CANADA

§ 1. Australia

Overseas Dominions are the daughter communities of England, which bid fair to grow bigger than their mother. The United States have already outstripped England in population and wealth; Australia and Canada may, in time, do so too.

Discovery of Australia. Australia is a vast continent lying wholly within the southern hemisphere. When great tracts of Europe and Asia were still under the sea, Australia was solidly formed and stood as it does now. Its existence was long suspected, although till the late eighteenth century it was a veritable *terra incognita*. It is said that the mediaeval Chinese to whom so much knowledge was revealed knew of the great southern continent, and men from the bustling, thriving Malay States may have reached Australia.

The first of the Western peoples to approach it were the Spaniards, when Admiral de Torres, who started in 1605 from Callao in Peru, sailed through the Torres Straits which lie between Australia and New Guinea. Then followed a number of Dutchmen, who sailed to the Terra Australis, the Southern Land—Australia—at different times in the seventeenth century, from their busy colony of Java. The best known of these hardy skippers was Abel Tasman, a native of Groningen, who was engaged in the Dutch East India trade. In 1642, when he was thirty-nine years old, Tasman was sent by Antony Van Diemen, the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, to explore the Pacific. He discovered Van Diemen's Land (now called Tasmania, after himself), sailed right round Australia, and discovered New Zealand. The Dutch, however, made no settlements in any of these countries.

The English did not appear on the scene till the end of

[1] For South Africa see pp. 881, 935.

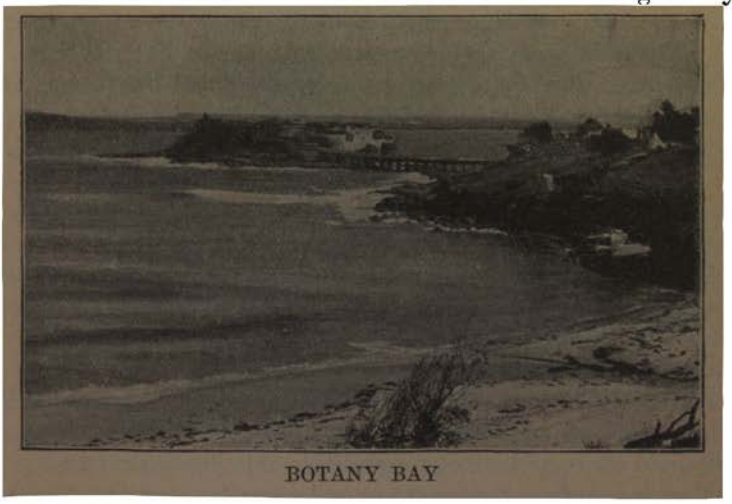
the seventeenth century. In 1699 the Government of King William III sent Captain William Dampier in the *Roebuck* to make observations round Australia. Dampier was a Somersetshire man, born in 1652, who began his sailing days from the famous old port of Weymouth. He was a regular sea-dog—a trader, a buccaneer, but also a scientific observer. Central America, South America, the West Indies, the Philippines, were the various scenes of his depredations and his trade. The expedition of 1699 was highly successful. He explored nearly 1,000 miles of the coast of Western Australia, and wrote down the results of his accurate observation.

Captain Cook. The greatest maritime explorer, however, was Captain Cook. James Cook was the son of a farm labourer who lived in the Cleveland district of Yorkshire. For years he was a merchant seaman, and did not enter the Royal Navy till 1755, when he was twenty-seven years of age. By the year 1768 he had reached the rank of Lieutenant R.N., and had become known to the Admiralty as an expert navigator and surveyor.

In that year he was sent in command of H.M.S. *Endeavour*, 370 tons, to explore in the southern hemisphere, and to observe the transit of Venus across the disk of the sun. In April 1769 the ship was at Tahiti : from there Cook sailed to New Zealand. He spent six months in charting the New Zealand coasts, and then made for Australia, where he charted a great part of the east coast. On April 28, 1770, he discovered the great inlet, which he called Botany Bay, because of the splendid number of plants which the land produced. The magnificent natural harbour on which Sydney stands, Cook named Port Jackson, after Sir George Jackson, secretary of the Admiralty. He arrived back in England on June 12, 1771.

Captain Cook made two more voyages, thoroughly exploring the Pacific, and making invaluable observations off New Zealand, Australia, many of the Pacific Islands, and Alaska. On February 14, 1779, he met his death in a scuffle with some natives (who had stolen one of his ship's boats) on the shore of Kealakekua Bay in Hawaii.

The Settling and Opening of the Country. For some years after Cook's discoveries no attempt was made to colonize Australia, although the 'great circumnavigator' had formally hoisted the British flag there. In 1776, however, the revolt of the American colonies put an end to the transportation of British criminals to America; and the Government, looking round for fresh fields, cast its mind's eye upon the great unoccupied land of Australia. Philanthropists and public men believed that criminals had the best chance of reforming if they



BOTANY BAY

were taken right away from all their old associations to new scenes and work, where they would begin a new life. It was this humane intention, as much as the object of ridding Britain of the criminals' presence, which led to the transportation of convicts to Australia.

In May 1787, when Pitt was Prime Minister of England, the first fleet sailed for Botany Bay. It consisted of six transports and two warships and three store ships. There were 756 convicts (564 men and 192 women) and 200 officers and men of the army. The whole squadron was under the command of Captain Arthur Phillips, R.N., who was given the temporary rank of commodore. The expedition was well supplied with seed for

farming, and had also some live-stock—horses, cattle, pigs, and chickens.

On January 20, 1788, the squadron dropped its anchors in Botany Bay, but finding the locality less suitable than was expected, Commodore Phillips moved on to Port Jackson, where the splendid city of Sydney has since risen. The penal settlement of Port Jackson continued in existence, with periodical arrivals of fresh batches of convicts, till 1840.

Convicts. For the first fifty years of its history New South Wales (as Captain Cook had named the east coast of Australia) had a double process of development. There was the convict population, which began arriving from the year 1788 ; and there was the free population, which began with the arrival of an emigrant ship in 1793. The convicts were entirely at the disposal of the Government, which was in the hands of strong men, generally soldiers, such as Captain Macquarie (Governor from 1809 to 1820).

State Development. The early development work of the New South Wales colony was largely carried out by the State authorities, using convict labour. Thus the State undertook to do in Australia many things which in the mother-country have been done by private enterprise. This tendency of the State to engage in other work than mere governance or administration has remained characteristic of Australian public life ever since.

The Squatters. Free settlers continued to arrive, although not in large numbers, from the year 1793. These established themselves on the land, which, owing to its wide grassy spaces, and also to the scarcity of labour, naturally lent itself to the pastoral industry. The better-behaved convicts were ' assigned ' to the free settlers. The assigned men were given no wages, and were bound to serve their masters for a certain term of years, varying with their previous offences and with their present behaviour. Thus in the first half of the nineteenth century practically every grazing ' station ' of New South Wales was owned by a 'squatter', a free settler, who lived in a large timber house with his wife and children ; while near by were the cottages of the ' hands ' (assigned convicts) who looked after the sheep,

and who also supplied the servants for the squatter's house. The assigned convicts might be married men, with their wives and children who had followed them to Australia. The squatter had to be a man of strong character to manage such a ' station ', but the law was always on his side, and the authorities gave him unflinching support.

When the assigned convicts had served their time, they became free. The spacious air of the grazing stations was a fine medium in which to start a new life, and there is no doubt that many poor sinners found salvation there. The assigned convicts in the towns—the more clever rogues who could do things requiring skill and neatness—prospered less. The normal conditions in towns were less conducive to a new life than were the grazing stations ; so that it is not there we must look for the regeneration of the convicts.

The Survival of the Free. In the first half of the nineteenth century, even while deportation continued, the free settlers steadily gained in numbers on the unfree ; and with their superior character—their honesty, enterprise, and industry—it was they and not the convicts, who constituted the real community. The convicts, too, gradually were sifted and strained till they blended with the free. Those who would not learn good ways, who had no self-respect, became social pariahs. They lurked about the gold-diggings, they lived a wretched life of want and privation, with occasional orgies in the town. Such men in the long run are sterile. They die, and their place knows them no more.

The Explorers. For years after the first settlement, the British only peopled small tracts of the coast on their wonderful new continent. Mountains set a bound to their advance inland : beyond the mountains was the great unknown country, more unknown than was ' darkest Africa ' to the Dutch and Portuguese who went there in the sixteenth century.

The romance of Australian life does not lie in wars with natives (which make so much of the history of South Africa) nor in struggles for empire with a Great Power (as happened in Canada) ; nor does it lie in the deeds of desperado bushrangers,

bubbles of scum which came and went upon the surface of Australian life.[1]

The romance of Australian life lies with the explorers : the men who took their life in their hands and went forth into the wilderness, tracing the course of apparently endless rivers, crossing what seemed to be impenetrable mountain-ranges, dense forest, and thirsty desert.

The great series of inland explorations began with the historic journey of three colonists—Blaxland, Lawson, and Wentworth—in 1813 across the Blue Mountains to the Fish River ; and it was only closed in recent years with the exploration of the vast Western and South Australian borderland by John Forest and by David Carnegie.

Mount Oxley in the Blue Mountains and Oxley town on the Lachlan River preserve the memory of a daring lieutenant R.N. who explored the Lachlan and the Murrumbidgee in 1816. The Macquarie and the Darling Rivers are called after two great Governors, while the town of Sturt is a more modest memorial of another great explorer. Sturt was a captain in the 39th Foot (Dorsetshire Regiment) who, while serving in New South Wales, became interested in its fascinating geography. In 1828 he began a series of explorations (particularly of the Darling River and of Lake Alexandrina). The hardships which he endured rendered the explorer blind. He continued in the service of New South Wales till 1856, when he retired, after having held the position of Chief Secretary.

The opening of South Australia was due greatly to John Edward Eyre, known in English history as Governor Eyre of Jamaica.[2] Eyre in 1840 travelled along the whole barren coast of the Great Australian Bight, and showed how land communication could be made between South and West Australia. What Eyre did for South Australia, Dr. Leichhardt did for the north-east. In 1844 he penetrated from the Fitzroy river in

[1] They are treated with all their tragedy, and all the adventure they can supply, in *Robbery under Arms*, by Rolf Boldrewood, perhaps the finest book of its kind.

[2] Governor Eyre's strenuous action against the revolted negroes of Jamaica in 1865 created one of the great controversies of the time, though people had almost forgotten it when he died peacefully in England in 1901.

Queensland across country to the Gulf of Carpentaria. In 1847 he set forth from the Condamine River to cross the continent, but died on the way, no one knows how.

What the intrepid German had failed to do was accomplished by Robert O'Hara Burke of the Victoria Police and William John Wills of the Melbourne Observatory, in 1860. Starting from Menindie on the Darling (about 100 miles east of Broken Hill), they travelled with seven men, using horses and camels, northwards to the Flinders River, down which they went till they met the salt waters of the Gulf of Carpentaria. On the return journey, they were disappointed in finding no supplies at Cooper Creek, on the Barcoo (where now is Fort Wills), for the men they had left had abandoned the post. For months they kept themselves alive with some plants and a little food given to them from their scanty supplies by friendly natives. At the last, when a relief party came on their tracks in June 1861, only one of the party, King, was alive.

Next year, 1862, John M'Douall Stuart, a native of Dysart (Fifeshire), after two unsuccessful attempts, crossed the continent from Adelaide to the Gulf of Carpentaria. The line which Stuart explored is now marked by the north to south telegraph line. Stuart never recovered from the privations of his great journey and died in 1866.

Gold. In February 1851 gold was discovered by a Californian prospector at Summerhill Creek, twenty miles north of Bathurst. At once the whole of Australia was in a turmoil. Hands left the grazing stations, artisans threw down their tools and quitted the towns; from New Zealand, from America, from Britain people came in thousands to the 'diggings'. A new great industry was opened. Every colony was found to contain gold, and so all shared the prosperity.

But for some years the life of the continent was disturbed. The old towns lost many of their people, the farmers could not get hands, mushroom towns arose, prices soared, and in some districts famine actually menaced the community. The diggings became congregations of men, many of them reckless, extravagant, and disorderly. It required a very firm hand to

manage a goldfield, but such a hand was generally to be found in the magistrate, usually a strong-willed soldier of the type which has made the British Empire in its outlying parts.

Bushrangers. It was near the goldfields that the *bushrangers* got their chance. These were bands of men who lurked in the uninhabited valleys and woods, and descended with their horse and gun upon the stage coach that was conveying gold ; or they would raid the bank of a little town, provided that they had

THE RUSH OF GOLD-DIGGERS AT BENDIGO
From an old drawing by Samuel Thomas Gill

some accomplices among the miners ; or they would simply attack a prosperous grazing station and loot the house.

The last bushranger was Edward Kelly, born at Walla-Walla, Victoria, the son of a convict. He was a man of some ability as well as of great daring. His field of operations was the almost trackless border country between Victoria and New South Wales, and he had a regular network of spies and secret agents in the mining towns and even in the stations on each side of the border. Banks, stores, and rich men's houses were the objects of his plunder ; the poorer people he left alone or gave money to, and he claimed never to have injured a woman. Yet the career

of this chief among robbers, as an outlaw, only lasted for two years (1878–1880). At the end of this time the police had located him in a log shanty at Glenrowan. The shanty was surrounded; Kelly's companions were shot dead; and the bushranger himself was taken off to be hanged.

The Goldfields. The diggings are now industrial towns, quiet and orderly, with nothing more bizarre in their appearance than the countenances of the Chinese laundrymen and shopkeepers.

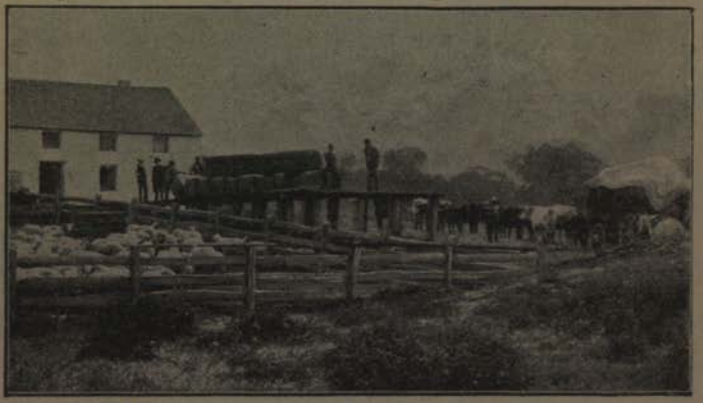
DIGGERS WAITING FOR LICENCES, FORREST CREEK
Drawn by Samuel Thomas Gill

Stacks of machinery and dumps of earth give a certain air of picturesqueness, though not the picturesqueness of Nature. The mines now are not generally worked in private 'claims', or held (not always securely) by a 'miner's right'; they are mainly in the hands of companies, some of them Australian, some British, and managed with the cleanness and care which characterize the large business enterprises of the Empire.

The Labour Movement. Australia is the country where the 'labour movement' has had the greatest chance to develop itself. Before there was a Labour Party in the British Parliament, the manual workers in Australia had made themselves

felt as a political force. The labour movement grew out of the jealousy which early in the colony's history arose on the part of the poorer of the free settlers against the bond labour—the unpaid convict labour—which competed with them for work. Then in the sixties and seventies came the gold rushes, with consequent scarcity of labourers in every employment. Those labourers who were left were therefore, as after the Black Death in England, able to exact the highest terms from their employers.

Wages rose steadily all through the seventies and remained at a high level through most of the eighties ; but towards the

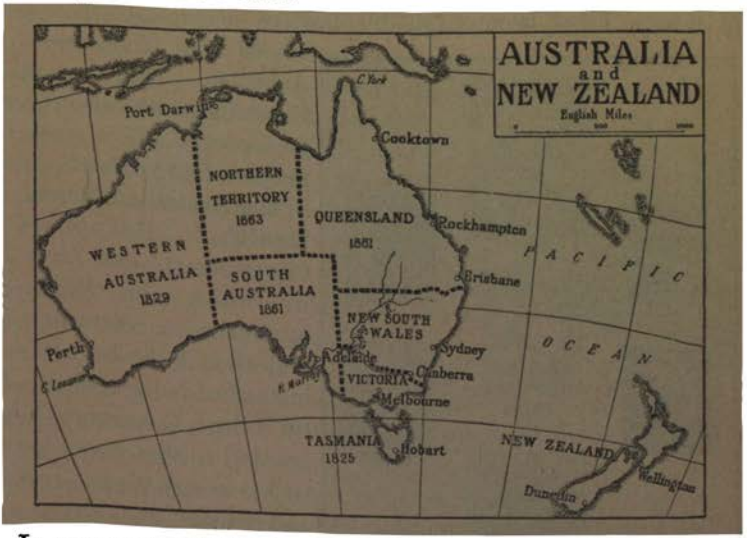


AUSTRALIAN WOOL. Woolshed, Ox-Wagons, and Loading Platform

end of this decade they began to fall again. The goldfields were now fairly well settled, there was less competition for labour, and some of the great industries of the country were temporarily depressed. The workers grew more and more discontented, and in 1890 a strike in the two great industries—the shearing and the mining—was arranged in every State in Australia. For the whole of the year the strike continued, but as the employees were trying to wrest better wages not from the prosperity of the country, but from its depression, the movement failed. The employers stood firm, and as they had really little to give away at the time, their cause won.

Thenceforward the more thoughtful men of the manual workers of Australia set themselves to gain by political means

what the strike—a most wasteful, though sometimes effective instrument—had in the year 1890 failed to gain. A Labour Party was formed in every State. Each member elected to the State Legislature was pledged always to vote with the majority of his party. Accordingly there soon appeared a solid body in State politics, aiming at getting laws passed which should secure moderate hours of work, good wages, and an equal chance for every one on the land.



In some respects the laws passed have hampered labour and production, but the employers and men have shown reasonableness—without which no legislation can fail to be bad—and have adapted themselves to the new conditions. And if strikes which cause such enormous losses to every one are avoided, the community can afford to pay very highly indeed for the services of its members. The labour legislation has not by any means superseded the strike method, but it has greatly strengthened the public opinion against strikes, for if the workmen do not like the conditions of their work, they have regular means of redress provided by the law.

The *Factories and Shops Act* of the State of Victoria (1896)

is a type of the Australian labour legislation. By this Act a *special board*, consisting of an equal number of employers and workmen, under an independent chairman, may be established in any particular trade. The board considers the condition of the trade, its capital, profits, wages, hours of work, and so forth ; and then it gives its decision, called a *determination*, which is thereupon applied by law to the whole trade. By determinations of such boards the hours of labour and rate of wages have been fixed by law in nearly all the chief trades and industries of Australia. The Australian Commonwealth also gives pensions of 10*s*. a week to people of 65 years of age.

The Australian Commonwealth. 'Responsible Government'—the system by which the Ministers must always represent the majority of the Legislature instead of being nominated by the Governor — was granted to Victoria in 1855, to New South Wales in 1856, and to the other States in succession—the last to receive it being Western Australia in 1890. By the year 1900 the movement towards Federation had reached its full development ; a new constitution was drawn up in Australia, and was passed through the British Houses of Parliament as the Commonwealth of Australia Bill.

Under this Act, the six States—New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, and Tasmania—retain their separate existence, their legislatures, and their Governors who are appointed by the Colonial Office in London. Each State has the powers of general administration and legislation. The Federal Government has definite spheres of its own,

in legislation and administration, allocated to it under the Act: these are shipping, railways, customs-duties, posts, and telegraphs, immigration, emigration, and certain other matters which concern all the States equally. There is a Federal Governor-General, a Senate to which each State sends six representatives, and a House of Representatives, consisting of men elected in proportion to the population of each State. The Ministry is responsible to the Legislature.

Special provision is made by the Constitution for consulting the electorate, directly, through a *referendum* on particular matters. The question of conscription for service abroad, for instance, was submitted to the people in 1916 and 1917, and was rejected. The Commonwealth has a vigorous home-defence system of its own, and every able-bodied citizen is trained to arms.

A rare New South Wales 'Sydney View', unused, 1850

Froude found the people of Australia in 1884 eager to send a body of men to help in the Egyptian campaign for the relief of General Gordon. Khartum fell and Gordon was killed, but they sent their force none the less. Thirty years later the Australians were again taking service abroad under the British flag, in England's most gigantic war. But now it was not a contingent that went, but a veritable army ten times as large as that which Wellington led at Waterloo. Australia had become one of the nations which would settle the destinies of the human race.

§ 2. New Zealand

Settlement of the Colony. New Zealand, which is one of the great self-governing Dominions in the British Empire, is among the youngest of the colonies. It was discovered by the Dutchman Abel Tasman in his famous voyage of 1642. Its coasts were charted by Captain Cook in 1769, but it was not till January 1840 that the British Government, after incessant appeals by Edward Gibbon Wakefield the philanthropist and colonizer, sent Captain Hobson, R.N., formally to take possession of the islands. One result of this lateness in time for the foundation

of a colony was that New Zealand never was a place of deportation nor a penal settlement.

The country is not a vast continent like Australia, inhabited only by a few thousand of extremely backward black men. The New Zealand islands form a group of about the same size as the British Isles, and in 1840 they had a native population of about 60,000 intelligent, vigorous, and warlike Maori. This people took ten years to conquer and now live in their own territories with the rights of citizens.

Growth of the Population. Settlers came only slowly into New Zealand, despite its temperate and genial climate, and its incomparable grasslands which provided a splendid livelihood for the industrious worker. In 1840 the colony began with about 2,000 white people ; the next twenty years brought the white population to about 100,000. After 1860, however, the discovery of gold and the consequent opening of many industries gave a great stimulus to immigration. New Zealand is now a very solid and efficient State with upwards of a million people.

Sir George Grey. Sir George Grey has left the mark of his work in three great Dominions. The son of a Peninsular officer who was killed at the storming of Badajoz, Grey was born at Lisbon in 1812 ; his life lasted till 1898, so that his active career covered the greater part of the century. After passing through Sandhurst he was gazetted in 1829, and spent eight years in the army. In 1837 he went to West Australia in an exploring expedition equipped by the Royal Geographical Society of London. His work was so notable that in 1840 Lord John Russell appointed him Governor of South Australia. From there after five years of successful administration, Captain Grey was sent as Governor to New Zealand. He at once set himself actively to develop the colony, building roads, establishing friendly relations with the natives, purchasing land on fair terms from them, and arranging for its permanent settlement.

In 1854, when Grey had succeeded in making New Zealand settled and prosperous, he was sent by the Colonial Office to Cape Colony as Governor. There he won the confidence of

British, Dutch, and natives alike, and in 1859 he induced the Orange Free State and Cape Colony to approve of a plan for Federation. This scheme would have anticipated the Union of South Africa by half a century, and would have prevented the Boer War of 1899–1902. But the time was not ripe, apparently, for Federation, and the scheme failed. In 1861 Grey returned as Governor of New Zealand.

The Maori Wars. In spite of Grey's sympathy with the Maori and his strictly honourable dealing with them, a desultory war broke forth in 1861 between the white settlers and the natives. There are two sides to nearly every quarrel; the natives had some real grievances against the settlers; the settlers were badly provoked by the natives. The Maori were skilful fighters, and as they now possessed rifles and gunpowder, it was a work of immense difficulty to reduce them among the forests and mountains of North Island. Gradually the natives were penned in more and more restricted territories, but it required 15,000 regular troops, 15,000 colonial riflemen, and ten years of desultory fighting before the last Maori stockade was captured. The Maori are now settled by themselves in large State reservations of land, which no white man is allowed to acquire from them by purchase or any other means.

In 1868 Grey fell foul of the authorities in London, through objecting to Maori land being confiscated after the rebellion. The Colonial Office dismissed him, but for the rest of his long life he wielded a great influence in public affairs. In 1877 he was Premier of New Zealand (the colony obtained Responsible Government in 1856) and carried measures through the Assembly for manhood suffrage, the purchase of large estates by Government, and national education. His Ministry fell in 1879, but he remained an eloquent and respected member of the New Zealand Assembly.

The New Zealand of to-day. New Zealand is not a member of the Australian Commonwealth, but stands alone, proud of its history, of its undeniable efficiency, and of its place in the Empire. For the last twenty years the Liberal Party has chiefly been in power. The State engages with great activity in railway work,

in mining, and in carefully regulating the payment and hours of labour. The Government owns the bulk of the land, which is granted on long leases—up to 999 years—at moderate rentals. Every man serves in the forces, and for the European War of 1914–1918 drafts by conscription were regularly sent to maintain the New Zealand contingent.

In this distant Dominion the ordinary features of English life are reproduced more closely than in any other colony, except that there are no beggars, and there is still unoccupied land to be leased. The price of horses has risen, but those who will, can still ride, and in that large air the youth of old England is perpetually renewed.

§ 3. Canada

Upper and Lower Canada. In the thirty years following the annexation of Canada the country prospered, and, except during the American War of Independence, enjoyed peace. In 1791 Pitt, who was then Prime Minister of England, thought the time had come to establish representative government in Canada. The province, which in 1763 had been entirely French, had now a prosperous and increasing British population. The English-speaking settlers lived chiefly west of the French-speaking part, that is to say, along the St. Lawrence *above* Montreal and along Lake Ontario. Pitt thought it best to recognize this division when establishing representative government. So he divided Canada at the Ottawa River into two provinces, Upper Canada to the west, with its capital at York (now called Toronto), and Lower Canada to the east, with its capital at Quebec. Each Province had a legislature of its own. This political division of the country lasted till 1840.

The Movement Westwards. The movement westwards to the Pacific, which, as in the United States, has been a note of freshness and romance in the life of the young nation, was due chiefly to the enterprise of two Scotsmen, Alexander Mackenzie and Lord Selkirk. Alexander Mackenzie came out from Scotland as a clerk in the counting-house of the North-West Company, a rival of the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1789 he discovered the great

river which now bears his name, and sailed down it into the Arctic Ocean. In 1793 he ascended the Peace River, and then by land reached the Pacific.

In 1811 Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, in order to relieve social distress in Scotland, acquired 70,000 square miles of territory from the Hudson's Bay Company, and settled a large number of Scottish peasant families upon it. The settlement was on the Red River, which flows into the south end of Lake Winnipeg. The intrusion of Lord Selkirk's immigrants into this country provoked a regular war between the armed forces of the North-West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company.[1] The quarrel was only terminated by the amalgamation of the two Companies in 1821. After this the West of Canada was steadily, though not rapidly, opened.

The War of 1812. In 1812 Great Britain became involved in war with the United States, chiefly owing to the right of search which our Government claimed during the Napoleonic Wars with regard to American ships on the high seas. Despite the fact that Canada was left almost entirely to her own resources, which were very slender compared with those of the United States, the Canadians drove back the invaders, and even carried the offensive into the Americans' own territory. The war ended with the Peace of Ghent on December 24, 1814.

The Canada Company. After the American War and the end of the troubles of Lord Selkirk's colony at Red River, Canada continued to prosper steadily. The fur trading of the Hudson's Bay Company was an important part of the economic life of the country, although it did not promote land-settlement. In this respect the operations of the Canada Company, which was founded in 1824, are more important. This Company, on the advice of its agent, the famous Scottish novelist John Galt, acquired eleven hundred thousand acres of land along Lake Huron, and sank a large amount of capital in opening the country for settlement. A road was made connecting Lakes Huron and

[1] In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company gave up its territory to the Dominion Government. The Red River settlers refused to recognize the transfer, rose in rebellion, and were only brought to order by a military expedition under Sir Garnet Wolseley.

Ontario, and the town of Guelph was planted in the centre of the Company's property (1827).

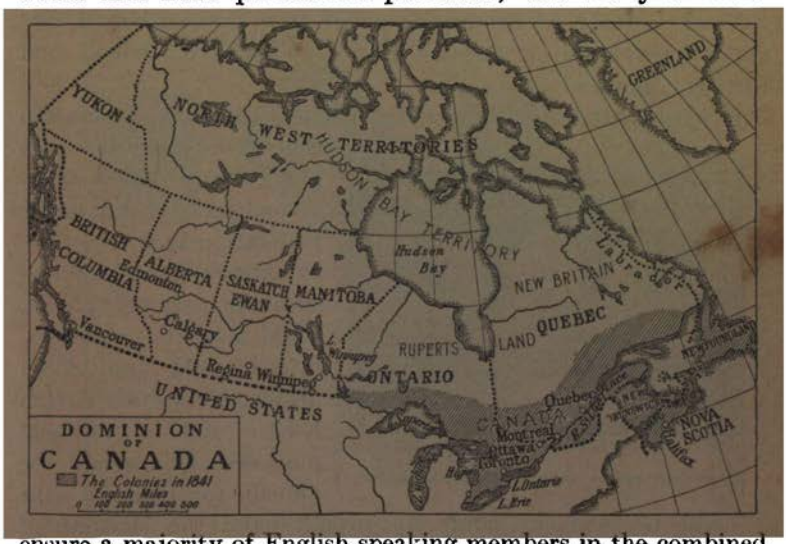
In Upper and Lower Canada schools were established, and the intellectual life of the country manifested itself in a vigorous journalism. The only thing which was disturbed in the country was politics. The ordinary French-Canadians took little interest in politics, but their leaders were extremely keen and energetic. The Assembly in each Province was practically controlled by a few leading politicians, and a great deal of time was spent in disputes with the Governor. For there was no responsible Government at that time, no means of making the views of the Legislature and of the Governor's ministers correspond. So acute did political feeling become that in 1837 there were two serious rebellions, one in Lower Canada, aroused by Louis Papineau, a fiery French-Canadian politician ; the other in Upper Canada, organized by William Lyon Mackenzie, a Scottish Radical journalist. Both revolts were put down after some sharp fighting. The result was to convince the British Government that some better system of government must be established. It was to consider the best means of introducing this that Lord Durham was sent on his famous mission to Canada.

The Durham Report. Lord Durham was a Whig, or rather an advanced Liberal, who had been Lord Privy Seal in the Ministry which passed the English Reform Bill in 1832. Afterwards he had been Ambassador at St. Petersburg. He had many qualities to fit him for his work in Canada ; his views were progressive, and as something of a grand nobleman he would be all the more likely to stand apart from the political factions which were distracting Canada.

He arrived in the country in May 1838 and remained five months, resigning at the end of this time because the Home Government censured his treatment of the rebels. During his stay he collected the materials for the monumental Report which bears his name.

This work is a veritable treatise on Canada and on Imperial affairs in general. Two recommendations stood out clearly. Those were that complete self-government should be conceded

to the Canadian people; and that Upper and Lower Canada should be joined into one. Self-government would ensure that the Executive and the Legislature would always be in accord, for the Ministers would be chosen by the Governor out of whatever party had a majority in the Assembly. The union of Upper and Lower Canada would bring French and English together in one Legislature and Government; it would provide a large field for the choice of members of Parliament and officials, and would thus make politics less parochial; and finally it would



ensure a majority of English-speaking members in the combined Parliament. The long-continued stream of immigration from Britain was now making the population of Canada as a whole preponderantly English in tongue.

Lord Durham's recommendations were carried into effect. The Act for the union of Upper and Lower Canada passed the British Parliament in 1840. The next ten years saw the gradual establishing of complete responsible government, with politics conducted according to the party-system as it exists in England. In 1847 Lord Elgin, the son-in-law of Lord Durham, became Governor-General and definitely assumed the moderating and

detached rôle of a constitutional sovereign towards the political parties of the day. Since that time Canada has managed her own affairs as one of the great self-governing dominions of the British Empire.

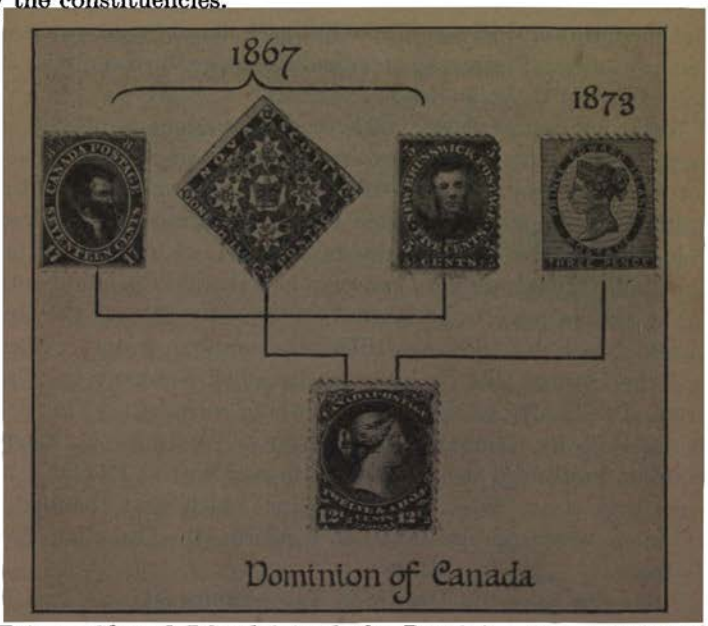
The British North America Act. In spite of the establishment of self-government, the Union of 1840 was not a complete success. The French-speaking part of Canada did not like losing its separate identity. The other British Colonies in North America were left out of the Union ; these were the Maritime Provinces —Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, and two Crown Colonies on the Pacific, Vancouver Island and British Columbia.

Eventually the chief leaders of all parties came to the conclusion that Federation was most likely to solve the political difficulties. For under Federation each province, including the French-speaking part of Canada, could keep its own separate identity and in all provincial matters govern itself ; and for national purposes all would be joined together in the Federal Government, and thus would have the strength of a complete union.

Commemorative issue of 1917 enlarged

In 1867 by agreement between the different provinces a scheme was drawn up, and was passed through the Imperial Parliament as the British North America Act. Canada was once more separated into Upper and Lower, henceforth to be called the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. These with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were then federated into the Dominion of Canada. Each province retained a system of local self-government, under its own lieutenant-governor and its own provincial legislature. Matters which concern the Dominion as a whole are dealt with by the Dominion Government at

Ottawa; matters which each province can manage and pay for, by itself, are left to the provincial governments. The Dominion Government consists of the Governor-General appointed by the Crown, the Privy Council (or Cabinet) of Ministers, appointed by the Governor-General but responsible to the Legislature; and the Legislature, composed of a Senate, whose members are nominated for life, and a House of Commons elected by the constituencies.



Prince Edward Island joined the Dominion as a province in 1873, so that all the Eastern Provinces were within the Dominion. In 1869 the Hudson's Bay Company surrendered its territorial jurisdiction and exclusive property over its huge northern and western territory to the Dominion in return for £300,000 and one-twentieth of the land known as the *fertile belt* between the United States Boundary and the Saskatchewan River. Although ceasing to be sovereign, the Hudson's Bay Company has continued as a trading and land-owning corporation; its ancient territories as the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and

British Columbia have become parts of the Dominion of Canada, which now stretches from Atlantic to Pacific, and from the Great Lakes to the Arctic snows.

Communications. Canada has a magnificent system of natural communications by water, and where Nature has left breaks in the chain, human skill and energy have found a way across them. In 1827 the Rideau Canal was constructed, connecting Ottawa with Kingston by way of the Rideau River, the Rideau Lake, and the Cataraqui River. In 1829 the Welland Canal was begun, and now, owing to successive widenings, large ships can pass from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie.

Water-communication, however, is not alone sufficient, and many of the natural routes of communication run north and south, not east and west. If the Canadian people were effectually to control and use its inheritance from the Atlantic to the Pacific it must bind the opposite coasts together with bands of steel. The great transcontinental railways have bound Canada together.

The first railway to be started on a large scale was the Grand Trunk, which by the year 1860 was running trains to Sarnia on Lake Huron. Bit by bit, with its allied company the Grand Trunk Pacific, it has spanned the whole continent. The Grand Trunk Railway Company was formed and paid for by Englishmen,[1] and although it has reached its goal on the Pacific it took over forty years to do so. The line which first spanned the continent was a purely Canadian concern—the Canadian Pacific Railway.

From the time the Dominion was established, and especially after British Columbia joined it in 1871, the need for a transcontinental line was urgently felt. Sir John Macdonald, the Conservative Premier, encouraged the project in every way, and even started to carry it out as a Government undertaking in 1878. Under public management, however, the scheme made little progress and much public money was wasted. In 1881 the Government gave the concession to a company formed by prominent Canadians, one of whom became well known later in Great Britain as Lord Strathcona. It was an immense

[1] In 1919 it was purchased by the Canadian Government.

undertaking for a private company, for the permanent way had to be laid for three thousand miles, through forests and over river, swamp, and mountain-range. The greater part of the country was still unsettled; the railway, in fact, would have itself to carry and settle the colonists who would ultimately supply it with freight. This is why the history of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company is so intimately bound up with the development of modern Canada. As the line advanced the country became cleared for settlement. Farms and townships were dotted everywhere, and vast wheatfields began to take the place of the rolling prairie. The Government helped the Company with grants of money and free land, and with so much energy was the line pushed forward that by 1886 it was complete across the continent.

The opening up of the country by the transcontinental lines enabled the grain-growing area to be greatly extended. Canada became one of the great exporters of wheat to England. In return she took large quantities of British manufactures; and in 1897, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was Premier, the Dominion Government gave British goods a preference of 33⅓ per cent. reduction in customs duties, as compared with foreign countries.

Modern Canada. Since this time Canada has developed quickly and solidly both on the material and the spiritual side. It is the greatest wheat-producing country in the British Empire; and yet if a traveller only visited its big cities and mining camps he would consider it to be *par excellence* an industrial country. Since the opening of the nineteenth century schools, like Sir John Colborne's foundation Upper Canada College (1829), and colleges, like McGill University, Montreal (1821), have been established, and now from Halifax to British Columbia each large centre of population has a well-equipped and enthusiastic university at its door. The Canadian people, which as a nation is over two hundred years old, has its roots deep in the past, and its eyes on the future; no one who meets Canadians can fail to be impressed with their buoyant optimistic ways, their free and generous outlook.

CHAPTER XLVIII

DOMESTIC HISTORY BEFORE THE GREAT WAR

§ 1. The Party System

The Political Aspect. In Great Britain till the Great War the system known as party-government was highly developed, in the sense that there were only two really large parties—the Conservatives (including Unionists [1]) and the Liberals. As one or other of these parties was always in a majority, the Government of the day could usually look forward to a long period of office, until, merely through effluxion of time, they had to appeal again to the electorate. The Government was nearly always strong; while the undivided Opposition party, if not strong enough to 'turn out' the Government, was yet always strong enough to provide a very effective criticism.

THE GROWTH OF PICTORIAL ADVERTISEMENT
Advertisements of Tobacco cut in wood by Bewick about 1800

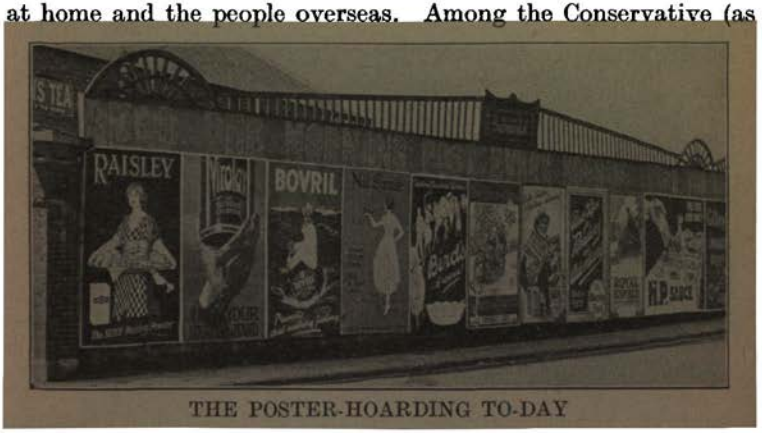
The years 1895 to 1914 showed this type of Government in full action; from 1895 to the end of 1905, the Unionist-Conservative Party was in a clear majority; and from 1906 to 1914, the Liberal Party likewise commanded a clear majority. Thus each party had a good innings, and by the score it made must be judged in history.

The Coalition Ministry. When Lord Rosebery resigned office in June 1895, the Queen naturally entrusted the task of forming a new Ministry to Lord Salisbury. The General Election which ensued returned a majority of 152 Conservatives and Unionists

[1] The term Unionist is the same as Liberal Unionist, the adjunct 'Liberal' falling gradually into disuse in the twentieth century.

over Liberals and Home Rulers. The Liberal Unionists supported the Conservative Party, and now, for the first time, consented to take office with them. The Duke of Devonshire, the Marquis of Lansdowne, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain—old Liberals who had left Mr. Gladstone rather than support Home Rule—became members of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet.

Mr. Chamberlain went to the Colonial Office, and began a new era in Colonial administration. His ardent sympathetic nature, his sweeping imagination, grasped the infinite possibilities of the Empire, and familiarized the idea of it both to the people at home and the people overseas. Among the Conservative (as



THE POSTER-HOARDING TO-DAY

distinct from Liberal Unionist) statesmen, Mr. Arthur Balfour was the most prominent after Lord Salisbury. Mr. Balfour was leader of the House of Commons.

From this time the distinction between Conservatives and Liberal Unionists grew less and less, until by the year 1914 it had practically disappeared. Indeed, owing to the opposition to Home Rule, the name of Unionist became commonly applied to both Liberal Unionists and Conservatives. The name of Conservative almost disappeared. With it the tradition of Conservative policy largely departed too; and the 'Unionist' Party became immersed, as the years went on, simply in the question of Ireland, Foreign Affairs, and economic Protection. Whether the old Conservative Party will again emerge, to form

in honourable rivalry with the Liberals or with the Labour Party one of the only two controlling Parties of the State, is a serious question which the coming years must solve.

§ 2. Ireland

The history of Ireland between 1895 and 1914 falls into two distinct periods which correspond to the period of Unionist Government in England from 1895 to 1905, and the period of Liberal Government from 1906 to 1914. In the first period the Home Rule question was not prominent either in official or unofficial circles. The Irish themselves were rather

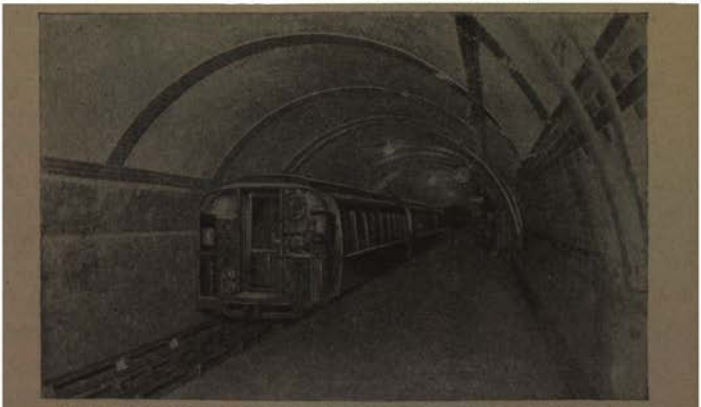
TRANSPORT in 1829. Locomotive Competition at Rainhill. The Rocket in front

tired of the question, after the exciting and somewhat harassing experiences of Mr. Gladstone's time. The Unionist Government believed that by giving good administration and by promoting the national prosperity of the country, they would gradually reconcile the Irish to the Act of Union. In this policy they met with a very considerable measure of success.

The Irish Agricultural Organization Society. In the years before Lord Salisbury's Government of 1895, the flow of emigration from Ireland (chiefly to the United States) had never ceased; cultivation of the land scarcely provided a living for the tenant or a rent for the landlord. After 1895 all this was changed. The land began to return a bountiful increase, peasants in ever greater numbers bought their holdings, the money deposited in the banks grew steadily every year and all classes, from highest to lowest,

felt the sunshine of prosperity. All this was very largely due to sympathetic administration and to a lull in the political ferment.

In 1894 Horace Plunkett, a member of a very distinguished Anglo-Irish family, started the Irish Agricultural Organization Society. This body, which had no connexion of any kind with politics, had for its object to help Irish peasants and farmers to help themselves. In particular, it instructed them, by lectures, classes, and personal effort, to form local co-operative societies. The small farmers of each district were shown how to join together in bodies, which could buy seeds and manures on good terms, in the best market, for their members; or in creamery

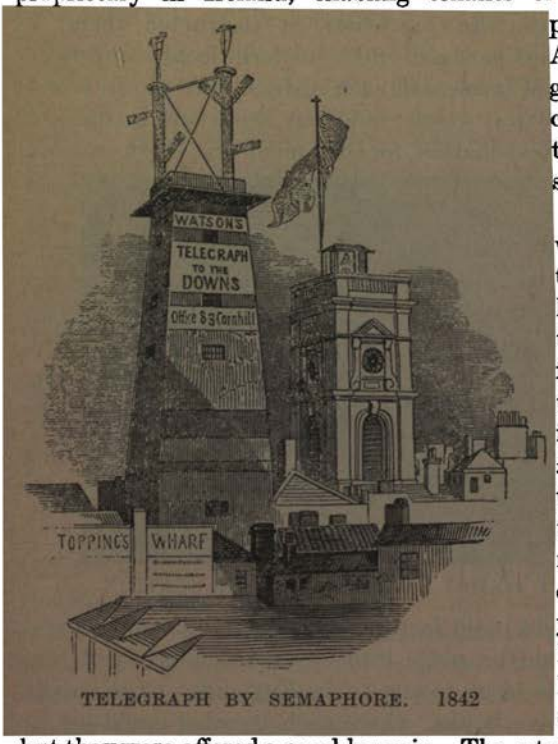


TRANSPORT TO-DAY. A LONDON TUBE STATION

societies, which could build factories, where the milk from every member's farm could be made into cream or butter, and then sold in bulk in the large towns or in England; or in credit-societies, co-operative banks, where each member could get an advance of money, to buy a new horse or bull or cow, without having to go to the 'gombeen-man', or village usurer, who was generally also the local publican.

This system of self-help proved wonderfully successful. In village after village co-operative societies sprang up; the small farmers got the advantage of collective buying and selling; they became substantial, self-respecting men, with money in the bank, and a healthy interest in their land.

The Wyndham Act. The Irish Agricultural Organization Society could do most excellent work, especially among peasant proprietors, who only wanted capital and mutual help to make their little properties flourish. The Wyndham Act of 1903 completed the series of land Acts, which created a peasant proprietary in Ireland, enabling tenants to acquire private property, which as Arthur Young, the great eighteenth-century agriculturist said, 'turns sand into gold'.

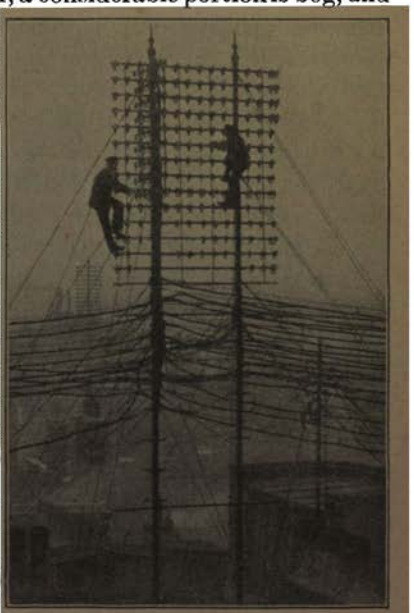


TELEGRAPH BY SEMAPHORE. 1842

This Act was the work of the versatile George Wyndham, Chief Secretary in Mr. Balfour's administration. Under its provisions £100,000,000 was to be advanced by the British Government, in amounts of £5,000,000 a year, to purchase Irish estates. The landlords were not compelled to sell, but they were offered a good bargain. The estates thus purchased were then broken up and offered to the peasants as small farms. Any one who took one of these small farms agreed to repay the State by annual payments spread over 68½ years. The payments were calculated to return the original purchase price to the State with 3¼ per cent. interest.

It was a good Act. The landlords were fairly treated; the peasants too were not demoralized by getting something for

nothing, but they bought their holding fairly, and paid for it, year by year, with the money they made by the land. Many thousands of acres were in this way acquired by the Irish peasantry, who thus became firmly settled on their own land. It is calculated that half the land of Ireland is now owned by the former tenants; of the other half, a considerable portion is bog, and therefore useless in anybody's hands. Ireland is distinctly a country, and a prosperous country, of peasant proprietors.



A CENTRAL TELEPHONE EXCHANGE TO-DAY

The Third Home Rule Bill. There was no change in the Ministry when Queen Victoria died and King Edward VII succeeded to the throne (January 22, 1901). Lord Salisbury retired from being Premier in 1902, and Mr. Balfour, who took his place, had to resign at the end of 1905. At the ensuing General Election the Liberal Party was returned to power, with a large majority. In addition to 390 official Liberals and 40 Labour members (then for the first time constituting a powerful group in the House of Commons), there were 80 Irish Nationalists. These formed a very solid and efficient party, under the leadership of Mr. John Redmond, a Catholic landowner of moderate political views, and a man of considerable eloquence. Home Rule, indeed, had not been an issue at the General Election of 1906, but the old Liberals, men like Lord Morley, who had been Gladstone's right-hand man, were very sympathetic towards it. Ireland, orderly and prosperous, was now ready to face another period of political endeavour, and the Irish Nationalist Party, with eighty solid, unvarying votes, was very capable, and had many opportunities for making its will felt in Parliament.

The demand for Home Rule, made by the Nationalists, was readily met by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and by Mr. Asquith, who succeeded as Prime Minister in 1908.

The Third Home Rule Bill was not particularly popular in England, but certainly the majority of the people of Great Britain did not disapprove of it, although they could not be expected to show deep enthusiasm. It survived two General Elections, the Liberals returning to power each time, although with diminished majorities. The Unionist Party vigorously opposed the Bill; the House of Lords rejected it three times, but in 1914 it passed by the consent of the King and Commons, under the operation of the Parliament Act (see p. 989).

Meanwhile the people of Ulster, mainly Protestants and the descendants of Scottish settlers of the seventeenth century, announced that they would never submit to the Home Rule Act; and they organized and drilled themselves in battalions while the Government made no effort to stop them. The Ulstermen were drilling, the Government was looking on, and the Unionist Party in England, through its leader Mr. Bonar Law, had publicly promised to support the Ulstermen. The spectre of Civil War, which the Liberal Government, the Ulstermen, the Unionist Party, and the Irish Nationalists, must each in their own way answer for and justify at the bar of history, was abroad in the prosperous island. Then came the European War and the Home Rule Act was suspended. The Ulster battalions turned their arms against the Germans; and subsequently the Government announced that Ulster would not be compelled, against her will, to come under Home Rule. It was hoped, and by many good judges confidently expected, that she would in time, of her own free will, join a united self-governing Ireland.

In the midst of the controversy King Edward VII died (May 6, 1910). He was succeeded by his only surviving son, George Frederick, as George V.

§ 3. Tariff Reform

Free Trade and Protection. Important as was the question of Ireland, there were three other things of even surpassing

importance in the history of the years 1900–1914. These three things, each of which literally involves the existence of the British people, were the Franco-British entente, the labour movement, and the movement for Protection by Tariff.

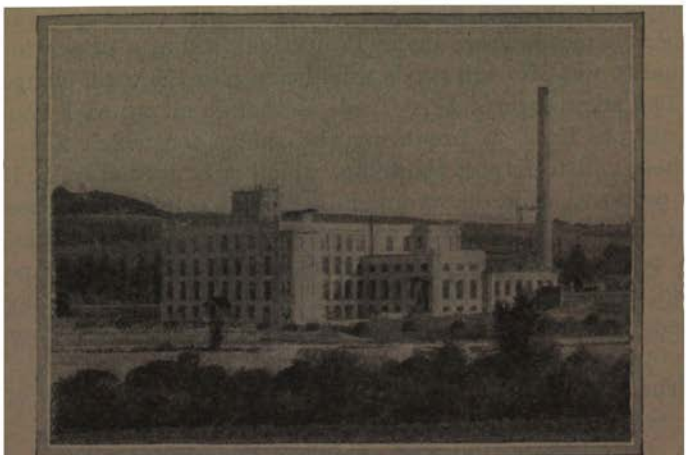
A Tariff for Protection means the levying upon imports of duties sufficiently high to free the home industries from serious competition by imported goods. By diminishing foreign competition the tariff secures the home-market to home industries, but at an enhanced cost. For the home producers, having little competition to face, can, and probably must (for wages and all other charges increase under Protection), sell at a price which is equal to what foreign goods would cost *plus* the tariff charge.

The advantage of Free Trade is that it allows each country to devote itself to producing the things for which it is best suited, and to import the things which it is not naturally fitted to produce. The disadvantage is that a country may become too specialized, producing comparatively few things, and having its people employed along too exclusive lines. Many people hold, for instance, that under Free Trade the population of Great Britain has become too industrial, with too few workers devoted to agriculture.

The Corn Duty. To remedy this was one of the objects of the Protectionist movement, which was revived in 1900. But Mr. Chamberlain, its chief promoter, had another object more keenly at heart, and that was to give the colonies a closer, almost an exclusive commercial interest in Great Britain, and so to bind the Empire together by strong economic ties. During the Boer War (1899 to 1902) a duty of one shilling per quarter had been laid on imported wheat. This was some small protection to the British farmer, and yet was not high enough to keep out the necessary foreign supply. It gained a small revenue for the Government, but of course it raised the price of imported wheat by one shilling; and incidentally raised the price of British wheat by one shilling too, although the British farmers had not to pay the tax. The tax was only a measure for the war, but when the war was over Mr. Chamberlain proposed that the duty should be maintained for foreign wheat, and remitted for wheat

which came from the overseas dominions. This was to be the beginning of a comprehensive scheme of Imperial Preference, by which the British colonial producers were to have an advantage over all foreigners.

The Conservative Split. The Conservative Premier, Mr. Balfour, was on the whole in favour of some form of Protection and Preference, but his Cabinet was divided, and some resignations took place in 1903. Mr. Chamberlain, in order not to involve Mr. Balfour in a too critical policy, and to have his own



MANUFACTURE TO-DAY. A COTTON MILL

hands free, also unselfishly resigned his high post, and thenceforward devoted his time and his fortune, as a private man, to the cause of Protection and Imperial Preference.

Mr. Balfour filled the gaps in his Cabinet with lesser lights of the Conservative and Unionist Parties. This Ministry did much useful work, particularly in reorganizing the Army (according to the lessons learned in the Boer War) and in colonial affairs. Also the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902) and the Anglo-French Entente (1904) were arranged by the Marquis of Lansdowne, a prudent and broad-minded statesman who then was at the Foreign Office.

In 1906 the Unionists were defeated at the General Election,

and the Liberal Administration which followed had a clear mandate from the bulk of the people to maintain Free Trade. So affairs stood till the European War began in 1914.

§ 4. The Liberal Government

The Liberal triumph. The Government which in 1906 succeeded that of Mr. Balfour was the strongest Liberal Administration since the death of Lord Palmerston. The Government itself was Liberal, the Nationalists and Labour members refusing to enter the Cabinet, although they regularly voted on its side of the House. One Labour member, Mr. John Burns, became President

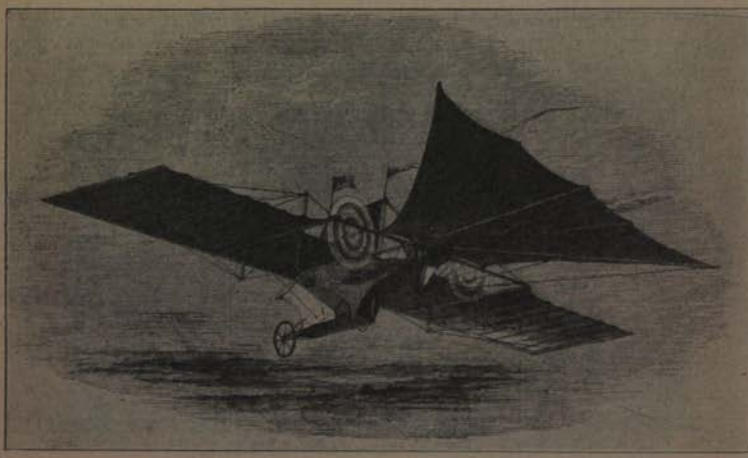
A COTTON-WEAVING SHED

of the Local Government Board, but by this he practically severed his connexion with the Labour Party and joined the Liberals.

The Liberal Cabinet contained, besides the existing Premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, two future Prime Ministers (Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George), and men who were to make a mark in various difficult posts, like Lord Haldane, successively Secretary for War and Lord Chancellor, Lord Morley, Chief Secretary for Ireland and later Secretary of State for India, Mr. McKenna, who became in turn First Lord of the Admiralty and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. W. S. Churchill, who, besides holding Cabinet office continuously for 1906 to 1914, was successively First Lord of the Admiralty and Minister of Muni-

tions in the great European War, and subsequently was Secretary for War, and Colonial Secretary. Sir Edward Grey, a member of a very old Northumbrian family, became Foreign Secretary, a position which he was to hold for ten years.

Domestic Policy. This remarkable Government used its immense power of work and its voting strength freely. Its legislative activity was enormous, and in certain respects was attended with splendid results. A nation like that of Great Britain is too big and complex to show results rapidly; and the Liberal



HENSON'S AERIAL STEAM-CARRIAGE (1842) failed through lack of motive power

Government may perhaps be criticized for being in a hurry to make a new world out of an old. They abandoned the good old practice of appointing strong committees of Parliament to think out every aspect of a Bill, in all its likely and unlikely effects, before the Bill should be submitted to Parliament. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the Acts which were soon passed were found to have undesigned results, and to require serious amendments, after they were put in operation; for legislation is indeed one of the most difficult things in the world.

The expenditure of the Government was tremendously increased, but the elastic revenue easily kept pace with it. In 1905

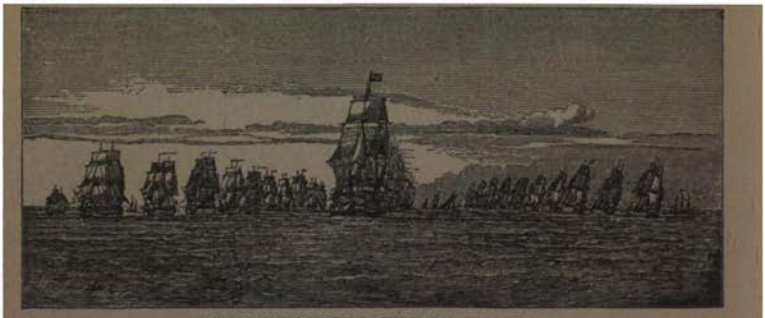
the expenditure and revenue balanced at about £140,000,000; in 1914, before the War, at about £200,000,000. It would have been well for the country if, in the days of prosperity, the Government had paid off more of the National Debt; though it must be remembered that much was paid off—about £100,000,000—between 1906 and 1914, while no other nation in Europe was paying off any of its permanent debt at all. Still, more could easily have been paid off, had the Government been less ambitious in other directions.

AN AEROPLANE TO-DAY

All honour must be given to the Government from 1906 to 1914 for its honest effort to do justice by all classes—to care for the children, to give the workman a better chance in life, to ease the lot of the aged, sick, and poor. These were only a few of its efforts. A brief notice of some of the most momentous Acts will best convey an impression of the public life of Great Britain in the last eight years before the War.

Military System. One of the first things to be taken in hand was defence. Military defence was Lord Haldane's special charge. His great achievements were, in the first place, the creation of the Territorial Force. This took the place of the old Volunteer Army, a very good body indeed, but not fully organized or

trained. The Territorial Force was based on the County system. Thus most regiments came to have units as follows: the first and second battalions were *Regular*, the third was *Special Reserve*, the fourth was *Territorial*. The 'county spirit' made the scheme a success; men were proud to join the fourth (Territorial) battalion of famous old regiments like the *Queen's Royal West Surrey* or the *Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry*. Thus the old regular army was 'paralleled' by a second or Territorial army. When the War broke out in August 1914, the Territorial Force showed itself capable of rapid and easy expansion; and second and third 'lines' (in effect fresh battalions) were



THE CHANNEL FLEET IN 1800

formed, by voluntary recruiting in practically every Territorial battalion.

The Special Reserve was the old Militia, under another name. One difference, however, was introduced; every one who joined the Special Reserve undertook the liability for foreign service. The Special Reserve (or third battalion of most regiments) thus became a 'drafting' unit for the regular battalions in time of war. On the outbreak of War in 1914, all the Special Reserve battalions were at once 'embodied' (in time of peace their men and officers were dispersed in civilian life) and became garrison or depot-battalions, to keep the first and second battalions, which were fighting, supplied with men.

The third military reform of Lord Haldane was to create the Officers Training Corps. Every University was encouraged to form a corps out of its members. The object of these Officers

Training Corps was to fit a large number of educated young men to be officers if the need arose.

This system proved of immense use at the outbreak of the War in 1914. It was fortunate for the country, that, owing to Lord Haldane's foresight, the Officers Training Corps had a large number of young men who could almost at once become officers. Like the Universities, all the middle-class schools of the country also had (junior) Officers Training Corps, and after the Universities had been drained of their young men in the War, the school

THE NORTH SEA FLEET TO-DAY

O.T.C.'s were the only sources left in the country for a ready-made supply of young officers.

The Navy. The efficiency of the Navy was maintained under the careful administration of Mr. Reginald McKenna, who followed the same policy as the two previous Conservative First Lords, Earl Cawdor and the Earl of Selborne. The permanent official at the Admiralty, during all these three administrations, was Admiral John Fisher (Lord Fisher), who was probably the originator of the Cawdor policy. This policy was, briefly, to 'scrap' every ship that was not perfect and fully up to date for modern fighting; and to build extensively and continuously, especially heavy 'capital' ships, battle-ships, and battle-cruisers.

Social and Economic Legislation. A large number of Acts

were passed, and official organizations established, to promote the social and economic well-being of the people. An Act passed to permit Municipal and County Councils to raise and spend money for dinners for the schoolchildren was much criticized, as taking over a duty which parents ought to perform. The Authorities, however, were empowered to recover the charge from parents who could afford to pay it ; for the sake of helpless and badly nurtured children, young lives worth saving at any cost, compromises on the pure principles of freedom must be made, which ought not to be made with regard to people who are old enough to help themselves.

The Old Age Pensions Act (1908) was the most sweeping innovation of the Government, and, at the time, the most criticized. It simply allowed every one who was seventy years of age or more, and who had less than £28 per annum, to claim from the State five shillings a week. Such pensions had already been instituted by the Governments of Australia and New Zealand. Many people argued that the pension should not be a mere gift, but that workers should contribute to a State pension fund during their working years. This was not possible, of course, for the existing old people, but such a scheme might have been arranged for future pensioners. The Act was obviously one which, once passed, would probably never be repealed.

When two years later, Mr. Lloyd George, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought forward his scheme for ' national health insurance ', people found that he had adopted the contributory system for this. A fund was established, into which all workers earning less than £100 a year were compelled to pay fourpence a week out of their wages ; the employer had to contribute another fivepence for each of his workmen, and the State threepence. Out of the Fund payments are made to workers who fall sick. The Bill was opposed by many people throughout the length and breadth of the country, but the Government, which commanded a very well-disciplined majority in the House of Commons, insisted on passing the Bill, which, after becoming law, has worked smoothly and proved an undoubted benefit to the mass of the people. At the same time an Unemployment

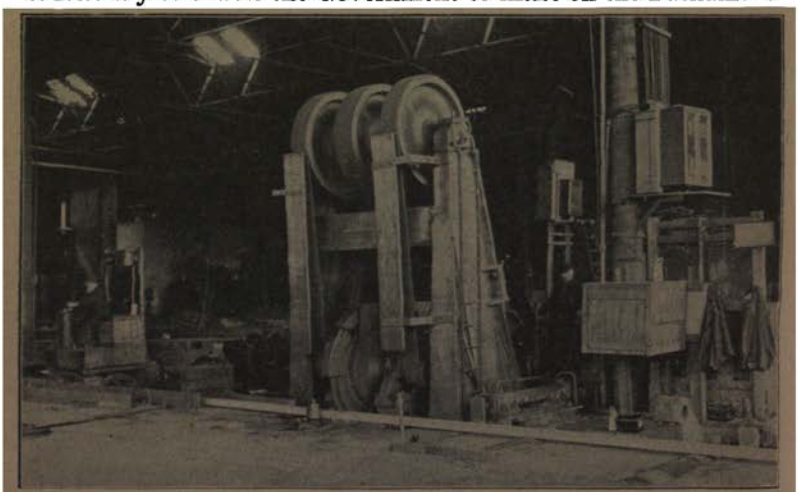
Insurance Act was passed for the Building Trade; in 1920 the Act was extended to other trades, and now deals with about twelve million workers. Like the National Health Insurance scheme, the Unemployment Insurance scheme depends on contributions paid by the workmen, the employers, and the State.

The Trade Disputes Act (1906) was more severely, though not more generally, criticized than any other innovation of the Liberal Government. It was adopted by the Cabinet and passed by it through Parliament, on the insistent request of the Labour Party. A decision in the Law Courts in 1901, known as the Taff Vale decision (after the name of the Taff Vale Railway, one of the parties in the dispute), had established that Trade Unions could be fined for acts of their officials; not merely were the officials personally liable before the law, but their Union was liable, if the acts complained of were done by the officials when acting for the Union. This meant that during a great strike, organized by a Union, the Union might find itself prosecuted, heavily fined, and so made helpless, for the acts of its officials. The Trade Disputes Act removed this liability of Trade Unions for all civil offences. Lawyers complained that this put Trade Unions above the law, and placed them in a different position from all other associations. The result was greatly to strengthen the hand of Trade Unions during strikes.

The House of Lords. The Liberal Party had for long complained that the absolute veto of the House of Lords over legislation was an anachronism, and a most unfair one. Nearly all the Peers were hereditary; they were not chosen to represent the country at all. The great majority of them were Conservative; Liberal Governments might create new peers, but these peers or their sons sooner or later adopted Conservative views. Thus, it was pointed out, the Bills of Conservative Governments had easy passage through the House of Lords, while the Bills of Liberal Governments often got a very short shrift. On the other hand, defenders of the House of Lords pointed out that a Chamber whose business was to criticize and revise bills, naturally found more to disagree with in the Bills of a ' forward ' party than in the Bills of

the moderate (or as some called it, less progressive) party. At any rate, the Liberal Government of 1906 was determined to modify the powers of the House of Lords so that the Lords should be able to postpone Bills and to discuss them very thoroughly, but should not be able to reject them outright. They were to have a *suspensive*, not an *absolute* veto.

The Budget of 1909. The occasion which roused the country sufficiently to enable the Government to insist on the Parliament



MANUFACTURE TO-DAY. Cutting steel rails with a circular saw

Bill was the rejection of the Budget in 1909. The expenditure of the Government had largely increased. To meet this, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, brought in an elaborate and ably constructed Budget for raising the required sum (£200,000,000—a quite unprecedented charge) entirely by Free Trade finance. The chief increases were in income tax, death duties, and in land taxes. It was these last that caused the greatest dispute; and the Lords, who regarded the land-taxes as an unfair charge upon one class of the people, rejected the whole Budget. With the consolidated Budgets, which Mr. Gladstone had brought into use, the Peers could not pass such portions as they liked and reject what they disliked; they

had to swallow the whole Budget or not at all. So in 1909 they rejected it, and the Government had to borrow money to make up the deficit for the year.

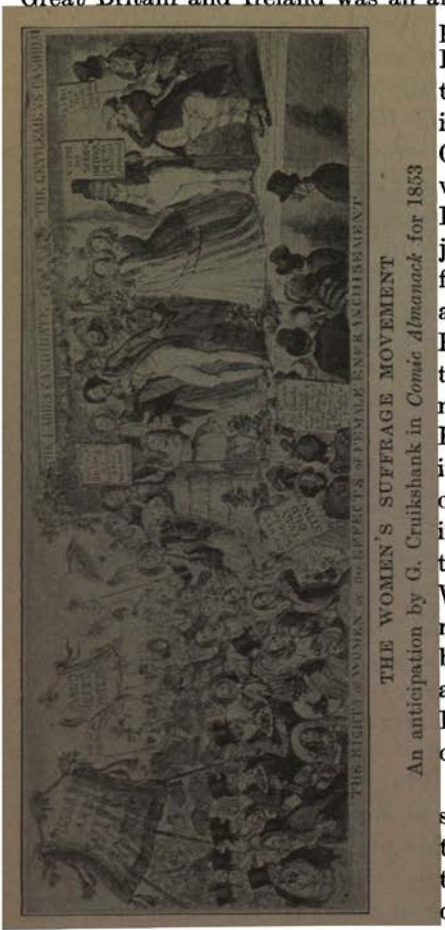
The action of the Lords created a tremendous controversy. As a rule, they had not dealt with finance, on the ground that, after all, commoners paid nearly all the revenue, and so finance was an affair entirely for the House of Commons. A General Election showed that the Government still had the confidence of the majority (though a rather smaller majority than before) of the people. The Government determined, therefore, to bring in a Bill taking from the Lords their power of rejecting the legislation of the Commons. The difficulty was to get the Lords to pass the Bill—as it were, to mutilate themselves.

The Parliament Act. The Parliament Bill was duly passed through the House of Commons, and then went before the Lords. Naturally there was great opposition; there were probably not fifty members (out of the 600) who really liked the Bill, though a fair number thought it a concession which they must make. On the last evening a magnificent debate took place, when the worthiest traditions of a House, always famous for its grave eloquence, were vindicated to the full. Amid profound calm Lord Morley announced that the Government had the promise of the King to create sufficient new Peers to overcome any opposition. The simultaneous creation of four or five hundred hereditary peers would certainly have destroyed the whole Order, and the effects would have reverberated through every rank and class of British social life. With many protests, therefore, the Bill was passed (August 1911). The bulk of the Conservative peers, under Lord Lansdowne, left the House without voting, just as the Duke of Wellington's followers did at the time of the Reform Bill in 1832.

The Parliament Act provided that any Bill which has passed in three successive sessions of the House of Commons shall become law notwithstanding the opposition of the House of Lords.

Result of the Parliament Act. The Parliament Act was really passed in order to get a Home Rule Bill through Parliament;

for it was well known that that was one thing to which the Lords would never assent. To them the maintenance of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland was an article of quite unquestioned political faith. When the Parliament Bill became law, the Home Rule Bill was introduced in the House of Commons (see p. 977). It was passed through the Lower Chamber, twice rejected by the Lords, and finally passed into law by and with the consent of the King and Commons, under the operation of the Parliament Act. Meanwhile the House of Lords went along its usual course ; the powers of the Parliament Act were invoked for only two Bills, the Home Rule and the Welsh Church Disestablishment Bills, both in 1914, before the Great War came, and of these two the Home Rule Act never came into operation.



THE WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT
An anticipation by G. Cruikshank in *Comic Almanack* for 1853

Curiously enough, ever since the passing of the Act the position of the Lords in the public eye grew continuously stronger. The House of Commons was getting busier and busier with the ever-increasing affairs of country and Empire ; while the Peers, in the serene atmosphere of their Chamber, discussed the affairs of state with great dignity and with great effect. The people of the country no longer felt any grievance with the Peerage, now

that its power of utterly 'killing' Bills was gone; they respected its abilities, its power of effective criticism, its sagacious way of looking to the future. The House of Lords had neither been killed in the open nor had it died in the dark.[1] It had merely gone through a certain experience, along with the rest of the English people, and then had quietly adjusted itself to the changed conditions. And behaving thus, in the spirit of gentlemen who were neither soured nor irritated, the Peers were found by the whole people to be still part of their political life.

Women's Suffrage. The years of Liberal Administration were also marked by an insistent demand made by many women (chiefly young women of the educated class) for the right to vote at Parliamentary elections. The demand was marked by some deplorable deeds; and it had not been satisfied when the Great War broke out.

The End of a Period. It is only now and then that historians come to a real dividing-line in the roll of the past which they unfold. The Norman Conquest is such a line, a red line, it has been called, drawn across the history of England. The year 1789 is another fixed point: Europe was a different place before it, and after. And now our story of England stops with 1914, and the outbreak of the European War. Here we have a real dividing-line, a deep trench indeed, across the history of the whole world. For good or ill, England, Europe, the inhabited globe will never be the same again. The map of Europe has been rolled up, discarded, and a new map made.

The eight years which preceded the War were prosperous, but troubled. Work was plentiful; food, clothing, all the necessities and many of the luxuries of life, were still comparatively cheap; wages were steadily rising, and all classes lived in a state of plenty. Yet there was a *malaise* over Europe and over the British Isles. In England there was a great railway strike in 1911, and a coal strike in 1912. These were more than local troubles: they were comprehensive efforts to paralyse the whole economic life of the country for a time, so as to 'hold the nation

[1] 'The question is—Shall we perish in the dark by our own hand, or in the light, killed by our enemies?'—Lord Selborne, speaking for the rejection of the Parliament Bill in the House of Lords on August 10, 1911. [*Hansard.*]

SOUTHAMPTON DOCKS TO-DAY. Photographed from the air

to ransom '. There is nothing unfair in either local or general strikes if conducted without breaches of the law. Every one has a perfect right to abstain from work if he objects to the conditions; but the strikes of the period 1906 to 1914 were accompanied by a certain impatience of legal restraints which was not a wholesome sign. At the same time, however, the method of settling strikes by industrial arbitration made great progress; and there was good ground for hope that it would gradually replace the wasteful method of strikes, with all the losses which strikes entail to the community, and all the miseries which they inflict upon the women and children of the workmen.

The economic malaise was accompanied by a political malaise, and the parties became more deeply divided from each other; so deeply, in fact, that in place of the old attitude of reasonableness, of give and take, a spirit that contemplated even civil war was apparent. The use of force against the law was being appealed to in Ulster, when the European crisis forestalled civil war. This crisis came also at the end of eight or ten years of *European* malaise, when appeals to arms had been plainly threatened and diplomatists had had their hands full. Why the political atmosphere of the western nations was so charged with electricity, it is difficult to say; but certain it is that the storm which broke over Europe in August 1914 had been brewing for long.

CHAPTER XLIX

FOREIGN POLICY FROM 1878 TO THE GREAT WAR

§ 1. The Concert of Europe

A Foreign Policy. The object of a 'foreign policy' is to keep a country's relations with other countries friendly and peaceful, just as good manners and a clean character keep a man's relations friendly and peaceful with his neighbours. In the relations of private life, when the worst comes to the worst, a man can always appeal to the law of the land to settle disputes with his neighbour. Independent States, however, had (until the League of Nations was established in 1919) no such court to control their actions;

the only final arbiter was war. The object of a healthy foreign policy is to make unnecessary the appeal to war.

Since 1815 the means pursued by England for living quietly in the society of European States had been twofold; first to keep our hands free, to abstain from entering into any agreements or alliances which might involve the country in unforeseen struggles, at unexpected times. The other means was to support the Concert of Europe, as a way of adjusting any international disputes which seemed likely to produce war.

The Concert of Europe. The Concert of Europe was not (as is the League of Nations) a formally organized body. It had no 'constitution', yet custom and precedent made it something fairly definite in the nineteenth century, although it could only work by voluntary agreement. The 'Concert' was the understanding between the chief Powers of Europe that, when anything threatened the general peace, they would come together in the persons of their high diplomatists, to see if they could peacefully settle the dispute. In common parlance the Concert meant the actual meetings of these Powers, assembled to settle international affairs.

These meetings had started with the great Congress of States which sat at Vienna in 1814 and 1815 to resettle the map of Europe after the sweeping changes made in the Napoleonic Wars. Similar congresses met at intervals throughout the nineteenth century, and down to the Conference of London in 1913. The meetings of the Concert were occasional, optional, and were in no sense an alliance or a league; but they settled, or tided over, several serious disputes, and averted several wars. Nevertheless, any State that was determined to appeal to force could refuse to come to a Congress, so that, when most required, as in the Danish question of 1864 or the Austro-Serbian question of 1914, the Concert could do nothing and did not even meet.

Actually the Concert of Europe has only met thrice in full session in the last forty years; in 1878, at Berlin, when it settled the frontiers of the Balkan States after the Russo-Turkish War; in 1906 at Algeciras, when it settled the relations of France and Germany as regards Morocco; and in 1913 at London, when it

made a new settlement of the Balkan frontiers, a settlement, however, which, though accepted by the Balkan States at the moment, was never carried into effect. But besides these grand sessions, there were many useful meetings of diplomatists, and interchanges of notes, which resulted in common international agreements concerning, for instance, Macedonia and China.

§ 2. Turkey

Turkey. The main part of the Eastern Question—what to do with Turkey ?—is still unsolved. In the last forty years European Turkey had shed one province after another, yet the Turk still remains encamped in Europe, enjoying in the periods between wars and insurrections, brief intervals of repose. In 1878 the Congress of Berlin at the end of the Russo-Turkish War took from him Bulgaria (a small Bulgaria), and a part of Herzegovina, which was given to Montenegro. Austria received the right and duty of administering Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Britain, by a separate convention, received the administration of Cyprus. In 1881 the Powers, actuated chiefly by the French statesman M. Waddington, induced Turkey to give Thessaly to Greece. In 1885 the young State of Bulgaria added to itself Eastern Rumelia, the Turkish province south of the Balkans.

Macedonia. Still the Turk clung to Constantinople and Thrace, to Macedonia and Albania. Where the Turkish Government rules, the soil becomes barren, the people remain poor and ignorant. In Thrace, where the people are mainly Turkish, the responsibility for rule or misrule was considered the Turk's affair only ; but in Macedonia rose a perpetual cry, Bulgars, Greeks, and Serbians calling for union with their kin. In their tumble-down villages they founded their little schools, to spread the culture of Greece, Bulgaria or Serbia, according as the villagers held themselves to be of one or the other race. Periodically bands of their young men revolted, and then the Turks swept the country with their ragged troops, and bloodshed and mutilation, seldom the work of one side only, cast their horrid shadow over a famished land.

Something has been done in the last thirty years to settle

the troubles of Macedonia and Albania, but the result so far has not been very fortunate. In the Treaty of Paris (1856) and the Treaty of Berlin (1878) the Sultan had bound himself to reform his administrative system and to allow complete religious equality. The efforts of Great Britain were chiefly confined to bringing pressure, along with the other Powers, to bear on Turkey to carry these engagements into effect. No good result was achieved, however, till 1903, when the Sultan at last agreed that Macedonia should be policed by foreign gendarmerie. Under this system the peasants of Macedonia should have breathed more freely; but those who wished to join themselves to Greece, Bulgaria, or Serbia could not remain quiet, and there were continual conflicts between local bands of patriots and the Turkish soldiery. The country remained in this unsettled state till the era of the Balkan Wars opened in 1912.

The Young Turks. In 1908 the Turks had a revolution with the object of establishing constitutional government and of welding the Empire together in a common Ottoman patriotism. The *Young Turkish* party, one of the chiefs of which was Enver Bey, an active young colonel, deposed the Sultan Abdul Hamid, and set up a new Sultan with a Parliament. The rule of the Young Turks, however, proved no better than Abdul Hamid's.

Since 1878 Austria had been administering the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina very efficiently. In 1908 she took the step of annexing them completely, an act which would have been unobjectionable if she had first made arrangements with the other Powers who signed the treaty of Vienna with her. Four years later Italy made war upon Turkey, and took from her the northern African province of Tripoli.

The First Balkan War. The Balkan States—Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria—fearing that Austria might occupy still more Turkish territory, had formed a *Balkan League* (1909). The chief promoters of this alliance were Eleutheros Venizelos, the Prime Minister of Greece, and King Ferdinand of Bulgaria. In 1912, when they felt ready, the members of the league demanded that Turkey should reform Macedonia in earnest, and when the negotiations began to drag on as usual, they declared war.

The Turkish army collapsed, and the whole of Turkey in Europe was conquered, except the Chatalja lines which protect Constantinople, and the Peninsula of Gallipoli.

At this point in the Balkan War, the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, proposed that the Balkan statesmen should meet in London, and that a Conference of the Powers should take place there at the same time. The proposal was accepted, and at the Palace of St. James's the Treaty of London was concluded on May 30, 1913. By this treaty Turkey ceded all her territory in Europe (except Albania) north of the line Enos–Midia, and the ceded territory was to be shared between Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, and Bulgaria. Albania was to be an independent State.

The Second Balkan War. Unfortunately the Treaty of London was not carried into effect. The Balkan States immediately quarrelled over the division, and after a second short but bloody war of Bulgaria against Greece, Serbia, and Rumania (which had not joined in the first war), they made a new treaty on their own account, at Bucharest (August 10, 1913).

This miserable Second Balkan War, with its unfortunate Treaty of Bucharest, bore fatal fruit next year. For Bulgaria had to give up to Serbia a good part of what she claimed as Bulgarian Macedonia ; and she also had to give up the Bulgarian Dobruja to Rumania. It was to recover these that she entered the European War on the side of Germany and Austria in October 1915. Turkey also had taken advantage of the Second Balkan War to advance beyond the Enos–Midia line and to re-enter Adrianople. Thus she recovered her place in south-eastern Europe, and saw in the animosities of the former members of the Balkan Alliance the means of recovering still more. When the European War broke out in August 1914, Turkey was ready to take a part.

Turkey joins in the European War. The influence of Germany had for years been steadily increasing over that of Great Britain at Constantinople ; and the friendship of Great Britain with Russia (a very old enemy of the Turks) tended further to incline the Porte to the German side. By the Treaty of Paris, 1856, the

Turks were obliged to close the Dardanelles to the ships of war of all nations when the Porte was at peace. Yet on August 11, 1914, the Turkish Government admitted into the Dardanelles the German warships *Goeben* and *Breslau*, which were escaping from the British and French Mediterranean squadrons. In order to allay all suspicions which the Turks might feel about the intentions of the Entente Powers towards them, Great Britain, France, and Russia on August 22 declared that if Turkey remained neutral :

> They will further give a joint guarantee in writing that they will respect the independence and integrity of Turkey, and will engage that no conditions in the terms of peace at the end of the war shall prejudice this independence and integrity.'

This should have convinced the Turks that their country was safe enough from any designs on the part of the Entente, but apparently their lot was already cast with the Central Powers. After a few weeks of diplomatic fencing, Turkey threw off the mask and made war upon the Entente Powers on October 29, 1914.

§ 3. Great Britain and Germany

Relations with Germany. During Queen Victoria's reign, except when the Schleswig-Holstein question was agitating Europe (pp. 814–815), the relations which existed between England and Germany were, on the whole, friendly. The dual alliance between Germany and Austria (1879) was welcomed by Lord Salisbury as a guarantee that these two Powers would fight each other no more ; and when the alliance became Triple, through the adhesion of Italy in 1882, this was thought to be only another step in a peaceful association.

When Germany, after it was formed into a united empire

in 1871, began to found colonies, Mr. Gladstone (1884) said, 'God speed her. She becomes our ally and partner in the execution of the great purposes of Providence for the advantage of mankind.' In 1890 Lord Salisbury made no difficulty about ceding Heligoland to Germany, in return for a free hand in Zanzibar.

The Period of Tension. After 1890, however, there began a period of gradually increasing tension between Great Britain and Germany. This tension can be traced to three special causes: the accession of the Emperor William II in 1888; the creation and rapid growth of a German battle-fleet; and the decay of Turkish power, giving Germany an opportunity to gain influence at Constantinople, and so to come into competition with English interests there.

—HELIGOLAND 1890

The evidences of the strained relations lie in certain definite historical facts: the Emperor's telegram to Mr. Kruger in 1896; the visit of the Emperor to Tangier in 1905; the Algeciras Conference in the next year; the Agadir Affair in 1911; and lastly, the European crisis of July 1914.

The first cause of strain was then the accession of the Emperor William II in 1888. It was not that he had any personal dislike of England that his character was particularly aggressive. He was not anxious to fight, but he was anxious that Germany should be great and splendid, in Europe, on the sea, and in Asia. He dropped the cautious 'pilot', Prince Bismarck, and chose Chancellors who would defer more to his will. He undoubtedly helped towards a wonderful growth of German commercial and political influence; so zealously did he foster this, indeed, that he seemed deliberately to be trying to rival the

other Power of world-wide commercial and political influence, namely England.

The creation of a great German Fleet markedly increased the strain. Till 1890 the Germans had practically no battle-fleet; and as their sea-board was not large and their colonies were few, they seemed wise in saving themselves this expense. William II, however, gradually built up a very fine navy, a navy, however, which had no very obvious duties, in an almost purely continental empire. Many people came to the conclusion that the only purpose of the German fleet must be some day to take part in an invasion of England.

One of the chief lines of German commercial and political expansion was in Turkey, always threatened with ejection from Europe, and ready to make friends with any one who seemed likely to support her. Between 1890 and 1914 the friendship of the German and Turkish Governments became very marked, and syndicates of German business men obtained very important concessions, both in Constantinople and in Asia Minor. The greatest of these concessions was in 1899, to build a railway from Konieh in Asia Minor to Bagdad, the capital of the Turkish province of Mesopotamia, and thence to the Persian Gulf at Koweit. This concession brought German influence into the Tigris region, where the British (owing to our Indian Empire) had also great interests. The Bagdad railway was not completed in the period between 1899 and 1914, but about 1,200 miles of it were constructed, so Britain looked like being gradually made to take a second place to the Germans in Mesopotamia and Asia Minor. And something further might be intended, when the 'Berlin–Bagdad' line should be completed.

The Crises. The stages of acute feeling between Germany and England are plain in the annals of the time. When Dr. Jameson made his disastrous raid into the Transvaal, and was defeated ignominiously at Doornkop, the German Emperor sent to President Kruger a telegram, which seemed to offer both congratulation and a very solid promise of protection (see p. 942).

The Raid was certainly nothing to be proud of; but Britain was not on this account more pleased that the German Emperor

should throw his mantle over the Boers. Actually the hope of protection came to nothing. During the Boer War of 1899–1902, British warships strung out along the Channel made a cordon of protection for the army transports; and Germany, though believed to have felt tempted to strike then, withheld her hand.

MANUFACTURE TO-DAY. The building of a big British liner

The next stage was the Tangier episode. In 1904 Franco had begun her penetration of Morocco; but the German Emperor did not wish to see Morocco become a sort of French Egypt. In March 1905 he surprised Europe by steaming in his yacht to Tangier, and there delivering himself of a speech on

the independence of Morocco. German interests, he significantly said, must be safeguarded. The speech was a challenge not merely to France, but to England, which had by treaty acquiesced in France's action in Morocco.

From January to April 1906 a Conference of the Powers was held, to see if it could ensure to Germany what, indeed, she was entitled to—namely, that her commercial interests in Morocco, and her reputation there, should not be obliterated by France.

The Conference of representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, and Spain, met at Algeciras, a beautiful Spanish seaside town near Gibraltar. The meeting was presided over by a Spanish grandee, the Duke of Almadova. The result was an Act (1906) acceded to by all the Great Powers, to the effect that the Sultan of Morocco should remain independent, that his territories should be kept entire, and that the commerce of all nations should be equally free there.

The Act of Algeciras would have amply met the needs of the international situation if the Sultan of Morocco had been able to keep his dominions in order, and to allow people to come and go freely there. Civil war and brigandage were, however, normal features of the country. Things got so bad that in 1911 the Sultan himself asked France, who, through possessing Algiers, was a close neighbour of his, to intervene. France gave notice of her intention to the Powers who had signed the Act of Algeciras, and in April 1911 sent a small military expedition to Fez. Thus the French began to police Morocco, somewhat in the same way as Great Britain began to police Egypt, and with much the same results. For they have remained in the distracted country, and have brought peace within its troubled borders. The Sultan of Morocco is still there, but it is the corps of French officials and soldiers which keeps the land from anarchy.

Germany had not objected to the French expedition into Morocco in April 1911, but soon afterwards she thought that a French occupation of the country was against the Act of Algeciras and prejudicial to German interests. So to show that Germany was not sleeping, and that her arm was long, she suddenly sent the gunboat *Panther* and the cruiser *Berlin* to

the Moroccan harbour of Agadir (July 1, 1911). This action was meant to show, as the Chancellor Dr. von Bethmann-Hollweg said, that Germany could intervene to protect her subjects in Morocco, just as well as France could to protect French subjects.

For a month or two the chance of peace and war trembled in the balance : and the nations of Europe inhaled the electrical, overcharged atmosphere, which reappeared again in July 1914. Then the British Government spoke, saying that if France were attacked for her action in Morocco, Great Britain would stand by her. On July 21, 1911, Mr. Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, spoke as plainly as people need under such circumstances : he said that great as was the blessing of peace, there were times when peace would only be ' a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure '. The German Government saw what was meant, and as they did not wish to fight France and England together, they held their hand again. France, unimpeded, went on to arrange, by treaty with the Government of Morocco, for a French protectorate there, but the Germans went on building their fleet and raised an extra 50 million pounds to increase their army.[1]

France and Germany, although at peace, were, in effect, in opposite camps, and England had proclaimed to all the world that she sympathized with the French side. The German Emperor, however, made an effort to come to an agreement with England. He let it be known that he would like to meet a British statesman. So in February 1912 Lord Haldane was sent to Berlin. He had some very friendly conversations with the Kaiser, and a few, not quite so smooth, with the Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg. Lord Haldane's proposal was that the Germans should not go on making a huge fleet, as it was so obviously only aimed at England. This the German Government refused to agree to unless England would bind herself to be neutral in the event of a European War. So the negotiations

[1] France agreed that, as she was getting a free hand in Morocco, she would give up something elsewhere. This was the policy of the Premier, M. Caillaux, who on November 4, 1911, arranged a treaty ceding to Germany a part of the French Congo and Cameroon.

had no effect except to make the Germans convince themselves more than ever that we would fight on France's side.

The Triple Entente. When the crisis of 1911 occurred, Great Britain had been for some years a political friend of France. In 1904 the British and French Governments had made two treaties—one concerning Egypt and Morocco, the other concerning Newfoundland (April 8). By the first agreement France had recognized England's predominant position in Egypt and England had recognized France's special interest in Morocco. The second agreement put an end to the troublesome *Treaty Shore* on Newfoundland, that is to say, France renounced her right to erect fishermen's huts and workshops on the north-

KING EDWARD AS BOY, YOUTH, AND MAN

eastern and north-western coast of Newfoundland, a right as old as the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713. In return for this renunciation France received a piece of Gambia, in West Africa, from Great Britain.

Three years later Great Britain concluded an agreement with Russia concerning Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet (August 31, 1907). By this the two Powers bound themselves not to compete with each other for political influence in these three countries; and like the Anglo-French Treaty of 1904, this agreement was meant to be part of a general policy of friendship between the two countries concluding it, namely, Great Britain and Russia. Thus Great Britain had made friends with France (in 1904) and with Russia (in 1907); France was already allied with Russia (since 1896); accordingly all three

countries were now connected with each other; the *Triple Entente* was made. It is well known that, though officially concluded through Lord Lansdowne, Foreign Secretary in 1904, and Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary in 1907, the Entente was due to King Edward VII, and would never have come into effect without his visits to President Loubet and to the Tsar Nicholas II.

The object of the Triple Entente was to show that in Europe, besides the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, there was another diplomatic group—namely, Great Britain, France, and Russia. It was not a military alliance, and it did not intend to go to war with the Central Powers. Rather the Entente Powers hoped to avoid war, by showing the Triple Alliance that none of them stood quite alone, and that war would be a very risky thing. There is no doubt that the common front in international diplomacy shown by the Entente Powers in 1911 averted war that year. It was unable to do so, however, in July 1914.

THE TSAR

The Crisis of July 1914. On June 28 the heir to the Austrian throne, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, was assassinated in his carriage in Sarajevo, the capital of the Austrian province of Bosnia. The Austrian Government alleged that this foul deed had been due, in part at least, to the intrigues of Serbian officials. Austria, accordingly, on July 23 sent an ultimatum to Belgrade, demanding among other things that certain Serbian officers (to be named by Austria) should be dismissed from the Serbian army, and that in the search in Serbia for persons suspected of the Sarajevo conspiracy, Austrian officials should take part. Only forty-eight hours were allowed for an answer, so that no time was permitted for any sort of diplomatic bargaining or compromise which might have spared the Serbian feelings, while inducing them to accept the terms. When the forty-eight hours expired the Austrians began war on Serbia.

Unfortunately the war could not be confined to the Balkans, for the Russian Government had told Serbia she would support

her. At the end of July Russia began to get her armies ready to help Serbia; and thereupon Germany presented an ultimatum to Russia (August 1). The ultimatum expiring without reply, Germany immediately made war, by attacking Russia's ally, France, through the 'neutralized' country of Belgium (August 4).

The British Attitude, In the month which preceded the German invasion of Belgium, anxious inquiries had been made by both the French and German Governments about the British intentions in the event of a European War. The Government would not promise to fight for France; nor would it promise to remain neutral. It would see how each side acted.

The British Empire shown by the Canadian issue of 1898 enlarged

There were two things which helped to decide the attitude of the British Government in July 1914. One was the disposition of the French Fleet, the other was Belgium. In 1912 France, knowing that she had nothing to fear from England, had removed most of her Fleet from the Channel and Bay of Biscay, and concentrated it in the Mediterranean. Great Britain at the same time had removed the greater part of her Fleet from the Mediterranean, and had concentrated it where she thought it most likely to be wanted, namely, in the Channel and North Sea. This arrangement had enabled both France and England to avoid the expense of each keeping a large fleet both in the northern waters and in the Mediterranean at the same time. But the result was that when the crisis of 1914 arose, Sir Edward Grey had to confess in the House of Commons:

'The French Fleet is now in the Mediterranean, and the northern and western coasts of France are absolutely undefended.'[1]

[1] Speech of August 3, 1914.

Accordingly the British Government felt bound, in fairness, on August 2 (1914) to give an assurance to the French Government:

'That if the German Fleet comes into the Channel or through the North Sea to undertake hostile operations against the French coasts or shipping, the British Fleet will give all the protection in its power.'[1]

The second thing which went to decide the attitude of the British Government was Belgium. In 1839 the independence and neutrality of Belgium had been recognized and guaranteed

by the famous Treaty of London (April 19, 1839) between Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

On August 2, 1914, however, the German Government (in which Prussia has the commanding part) sent to the Belgian Government a message saying that:

'The measures of Germany's opponents force Germany, for her own protection, to enter Belgian territory.'[2]

The reply of the Belgian Government was that, in accordance with her engagements, she would do her best to repel any Power which infringed her neutrality. The British Government had already demanded from Germany an undertaking that she would respect the Treaty of 1839. As this was disregarded, and as on August 4 the German army had crossed the Belgian frontier, Great Britain declared war. The notice was posted

[1] Speech of August 3, 1914.

[2] Belgian Grey Book, No. 20.

outside the door of the Foreign Office, fifteen minutes after midnight, on August 5.[1]

[1] 'Owing to the summary rejection by the German Government of the request made by His Majesty's Government for assurances that the neutrality of Belgium will be respected, his Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin has received his passports and his Majesty's Government have declared to the German Government that a state of war exists between Great Britain and Germany as from 11 p.m. on August 4.' (*The Times*, August 5, 1914.)

BY THE KING.

A PROCLAMATION

For Calling Out the Army Reserve and Embodying the Territorial Force.

GEORGE R.I.

WHEREAS by the Reserve Forces Act, 1882, it is, amongst other things, enacted that in case of imminent national danger or of great emergency it shall be lawful for Us by Proclamation, the occasion having first been communicated to Parliament, to order that the Army Reserve shall be called out on permanent service; and by any such Proclamation to order a Secretary of State from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for calling out the forces or force mentioned in the Proclamation or all or any of the men belonging thereto:

AND WHEREAS the present state of Public Affairs and the refusal of the demands on Our Military Forces for the protection of the Interests of the Empire do, in Our opinion, constitute a case of great emergency within the meaning of the said Act and We have communicated the same to Parliament:

AND WHEREAS by the Territorial and Reserve Forces Act, 1907, it is, amongst other things, enacted that immediately upon and by virtue of the issue of a Proclamation ordering the Army Reserve to be called out on permanent service it shall be lawful for Us to order Our Army Council from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for embodying all or any part of the Territorial Force, and in particular to make such special arrangements as they think proper with regard to units or individuals whose services may be required in other than a Military capacity:

NOW, THEREFORE, We do in pursuance of the Reserve Forces Act, 1882, hereby order that Our Army Reserve be called out on permanent service, and We do hereby order the Right Honourable Herbert Henry Asquith, one of Our Principal Secretaries of State, from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for calling out Our Army Reserve or all or any of the men belonging thereto:

AND WE do hereby further order Our Army Council from time to time to give and, when given, to revoke or vary such directions as may seem necessary or proper for embodying all or any part of the Territorial Force, and in particular to make such special arrangements as they think proper with regard to units or individuals whose services may be required in other than a Military capacity.

Given at Our Court at Buckingham Palace, this Fourth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fourteen, and in the Fifth year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

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